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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published by

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Index to Volume LI, 1973

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

SPRING, 1973

Volume LI Number 1

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Webbers Falls, Shawnee and Western Railroad
First Train out of Webbers Falls
to Warner 1911

(U.S. Signal Corps Photo, National Archives—Brady Collection)

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

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The Chronicles of Oklahoma is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office in the Historical Building at 2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma

The subscription rate is $6.00 a year. Single numbers of *The Chronicles* are available at $1.50. All members of the Oklahoma Historical Society receive *The Chronicles* free. Annual membership is $5.00; Life membership $100.00. Subscriptions, change of address, membership applications, orders for current issues of *The Chronicles* and non-current back issues should be sent to the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

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the
chronicles
OF OKLAHOMA

Volume LI | *Spring 1973* | Number 1

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Cover: The Webbers Falls, Shawnee and Western Railroad train on its first excursion out of Webbers Falls to Warner in 1911. The original photo of this celebration is in the collection of Mrs. Sue Mullen, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

BUFFALO, A "PLACE" DESIGNATED COUNTY SEAT BY THE CONSTITUTION OF OKLAHOMA

By Blue Clark

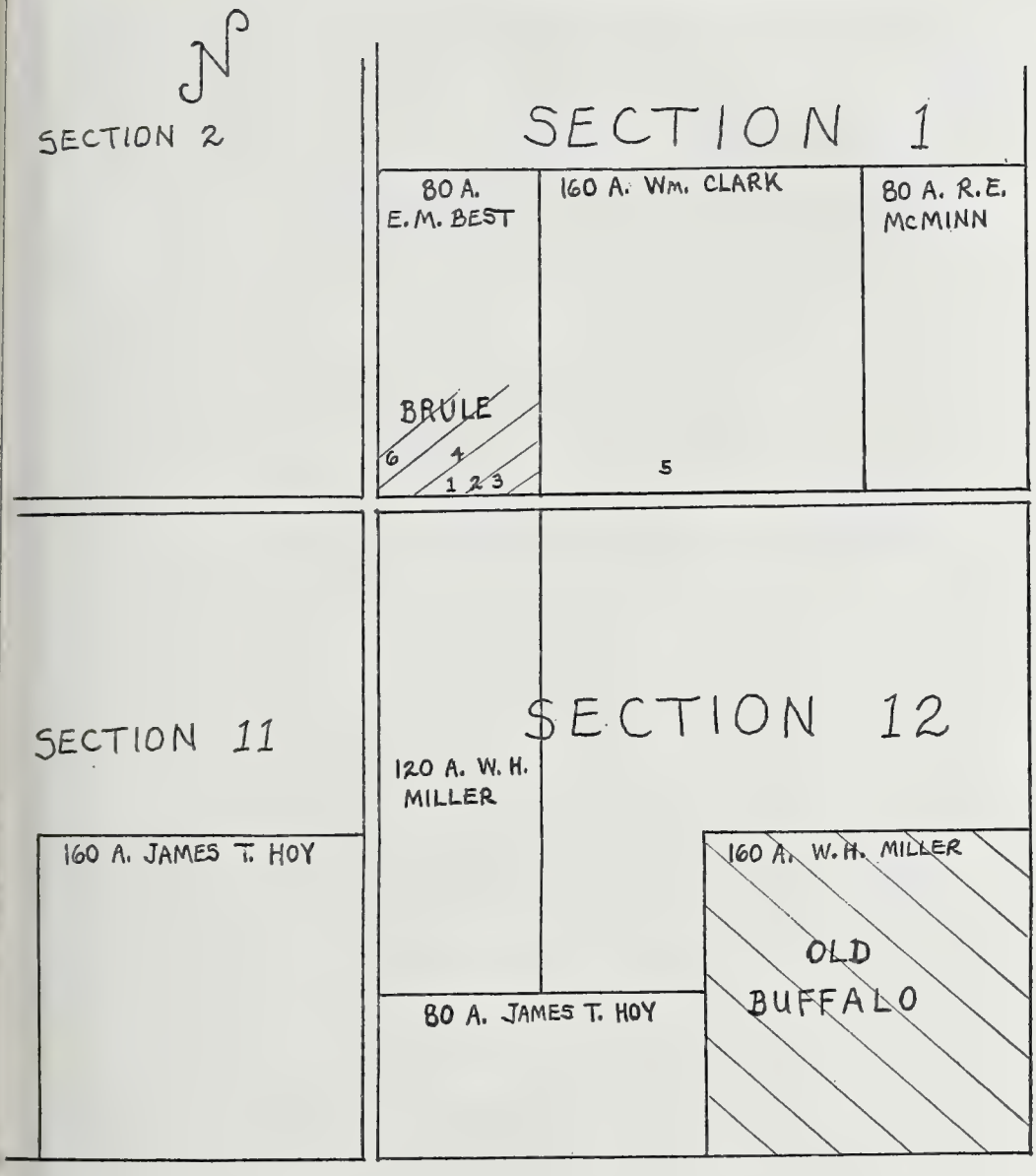
CITATION: "The word 'town' as herein used, shall be construed to mean town, city, or place." —*Constitution of the state of Oklahoma*, Article XVII, Section 6.

When the districts in Oklahoma Territory were defined for the November 6, 1906, election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, the 3,600 square miles of Woodward County comprised three districts, and a part of a fourth. Out of District 3, except for an area extending north and east across the Cimarron River, the Convention created Harper County.

When the Cherokee Outlet was opened for settlement in 1895, few homesteaders settled in the northern tier of townships of Woodward County bordering Kansas and the Oklahoma Panhandle, called Beaver County. Not until after 1900 did settlement progress. Even as late as 1907 the United States Bureau of the Census listed no town in the area with as many as 75 inhabitants.[1] Nevertheless, post offices were established in the area, usually in the home of the postmaster. Below Beaver Creek, which cuts across the southwestern lower third of Harper County, post offices were designated at *May* (1896), *LaVerne* (1898), *Speermore* (1901), *Kingsley* (1905), and, a few miles above the Beaver from May, *Cupid* (1895) and *Wyanet* (1902). Across the center portion of the area, from west to east, were *Readout* (1902), *Murray* (1902), *Stockholm* (1901), *Kibby* (1901), *Ballaire* (1903), *Brule* (1899), *Fern* (1904), *Palace* (1903) and *Charleston* (1901). Nearer the Kansas border were *Kimball* (1903), *Wyatt* (1905), *Iris* (1904), *Yelton* (1902), *Willard* (1902), and *Paruna* (1903).[2]

[1] A special census for Oklahoma was made in 1907. This lists 8,089 inhabitants in the area of Harper County. Towns, and settlements with more than 75 persons, are listed by counties. There are none listed in Harper County. The regular census of 1910 credited the county with 7,189 inhabitants and Buffalo, with 282, is the only listed town. See *Thirteenth Census of United States, in 1910*, Supplement for Oklahoma, Abstract, Statistics for Population, p. 579 (Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1913).

[2] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, pp. 38–104, (Spring, 1952). An excellent portrayal of living conditions in the area before statehood and community activities can be found in the unpublished Masters thesis by Elizabeth Parker Southern, "Pioneer Communities in Harper County, 1893–1908," Oklahoma University, 1965.



KEY TO BRULE

1 THE POST NEWSPAPER.
2 J.T. HOY HARDWARE, MEETING HALL UPSTAIRS
3 MRS. JANSEN, BARBER SHOP
4 D. G. ROGERS, BLACKSMITH
5 WILLIAM CLARK SODDIE
6 W. H. TEMPLE, FARM IMPLEMENTS

LOCATIONS OF BRULE AND OLD BUFFALO

The listing indicates there were only four post offices established before 1900 in the region later to be Harper County. Two were below Beaver Creek, one just north of Beaver Creek, and the fourth was Brule, which served a larger area including farms and ranches along the drainage area of Buffalo Creek. This last post office was established in the home of Oscar Greene Harper who was appointed postmaster on June 15, 1899. Two years later a homesteader, E. M. Best, put up a store building on his place about three and one-half miles east of the Harper farm and the Brule post office was moved to the store building.

In September of 1898, O. G. Harper had selected a claim in the fertile valley of Buffalo Creek at a time when there were but four neighbors within a radius of 5 miles. The nearest town was Ashland, Kansas, more than 30 miles north, while the county seat was 45 miles away to the southeast at Woodward. There were no roads to either place from the Buffalo Creek area except those uncharted ones made by settlers and visitors picking the easiest routes around hills and across ditches, creeks, and the prairie.[3] When Harper staked his claim, there were probably fewer than fifty homesteaders in all the whole area that later became designated a county in the new state. But during the period 1900 through 1904 this number, including settlers buying up relinquishments, increased thirty-fold.[4]

The Harper home was a convenient stopping place for home seekers and their families moving toward locations in Beaver County or the northwestern part of Woodward County. During the first two years, before star routes were established for rural mail delivery and while Harper's home served as post office for the surrounding area, he or anyone in the neighborhood who had business in Ashland took the mail to that point on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, and brought back mail for distribution from his home. During this period the usual, short "three months in the year" school terms were held in his home.

[3] Roscoe E. Harper, "Homesteading in Northwestern Oklahoma Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVI, 326–336 (September, 1938). Roscoe, a nephew of O. G., was reared in the latter's home. O. G. Harper was born near Osceola, Missouri in 1874, graduated from the local high school in 1892, then taught in neighborhood schools. After filing on his claim in 1898, he taught one term of school in Kansas and two at his home. See "Portraits of Representative Citizens and Leading Men of the County" in *Plat Book of Harper County, 1910* (Western Publishing Co., Ashland, Kansas, 1910).

[4] This summary is based upon a table "Arrival Date of Those Who Owned Land in Harper County in 1910," prepared by Mrs. Southern, in her M.A. thesis, Op. Cit., 13. She prepared the statistical information from the *Plat Book of Harper County, 1910*, Section 2, pages 1–27 (The Western Publishing Company, Ashland, Kansas, 1910). The Library. Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas has a copy of the *Plat Book*, examined by the author December 27–28, 1970. Mrs. Southern used the *Plat Book* owned by her father, the late D. P. Parker, Alva, Oklahoma. This copy was lent to the Oklahoma Historical Society, which made a microfilm copy. This copy is in the Newspaper Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society as Micro # *3934*.

These community activities made him well known in that end of Woodward County and he deserved the tribute paid him some years later by William H. Murray: "He was well-qualified, intelligent, a farmer with a fair education."[5] He was an active Democrat serving as secretary of the Woodward County Democratic Party when the election of delegates to the constitutional convention was held. By the time the constitutional convention met, Harper's place was known as the "Cloverdale Stock Farm" where he had fifteen acres in alfalfa and was engaged in stock raising.

Republican party delegates met in county convention at Woodward on August 25, 1906, to register their approval of a nominee for Congress and to pass resolutions on party policy. The county convention also designated the number of precinct delegates to attend district conventions to select nominees for the office of delegate to the constitutional convention. District 3 precinct representatives met at Supply September 19 and considered four candidates for a place on the ballot: R. B. Daly of Palace, N. S. Rogers of Stockholm, Paul Yelton of Jackson precinct and Thomas A. Seibert, the local candidate. On the fourth ballot, Seibert of Supply won the nomination, defeating Judge Daly by one-half vote.[6]

Seibert was editor of the Ft. Supply *Republican* and well known in the southern part of District 3, having taught in several schools of the district. Other weeklies of the district—the May *Monitor*, the Speermore *Advocate*, the Palace *Weekly*, and the Brule *Post* were also Republican in sentiment as were the principal papers mailed into the district, such as the Oklahoma *State Capital* of Guthrie, the Wichita *Beacon*, and *Eagle*, and the *Weekly Kansas City Star*. Seibert's party, too, had won all the Woodward County offices in the election of 1904 against candidates of the Democratic, Prohibition, and People's parties.

On September 22, Democrats from precincts within District 3 met at Brule to select their candidate for the November 6 election. This community was the principal trading center for settlers along the Buffalo Creek valley. The owner of the site, E. M. Best, had expanded his original wooden building into a two-story structure. Nearby was a hardware store owned by J. T. Hoy, a blacksmith shop operated by D. G. Rogers, and a small wooden structure housing the *Post*, the weekly newspaper published by William Forster which was first issued on June 16, 1905. The following February W. H. Temple built a sheet-iron building for his windmill and farm implement business. Not far from Best's General Merchandise Store

[5] William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, II, 83 (Three Volumes, Boston, Meador Publishing Co., 1945).

[6] Woodward *Bulletin*, September 28, 1806; May *Monitor*, September 21, 1906; Ft. Supply *Republican*, October 11, 1906.

—down the road less than 200 yards—was the sod house of William Clark where board and room were available to occasional visitors.[7]

The assembled Democrats wanted to nominate O. G. Harper, but he declined the honor by explaining that farming and ranching operations would demand much of his time during the short campaign. He pointed out, however, that someone should be nominated with leanings toward Populism. He should be a strong advocate of prohibition, in order to keep minority party candidates from entering the race and taking votes that would otherwise go to his party's nominee. Harper pledged active support to the nominee selected who later proved to be Reverend E. R. Williams of Stockholm.[8] Williams was a member of the Baptist Church and held services for that denomination in various communities of the area, preaching at Brule the third Sunday every month.[9] The nominee was well known in the central and northern parts of the district, and a correspondent from the Stockholm community to newspapers of the county. Williams had qualifications suggested by Harper: As a Baptist preacher he was an outspoken advocate of prohibition and looked forward to the closing of the saloons in Oklahoma Territory. The People's Party, in flood tide during the early 1890's, was waning in political power in Mid-America but there still existed a strong spirit of revolt against the economic plight of farmers. With the collapse of the People's Party, two splinter movements appeared as outgrowths of Populism: the American Society of Equity and the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union. Both groups had active locals in District 3 and many of the locals established by the American Society of Equity came into being in 1905 through the efforts of Mr. Williams. Because of his known anti-saloon sentiment and organization work for the Society of Equity, neither the Prohibition Party nor the People's Party (Populist) entered a candidate for the office of delegate.

The Republican editor of the Brule *Post* used his newspaper to further election prospects of Seibert:

[7] There is no way to estimate the population of Brule in 1906. William H. Murray's remembrance that it had only 7 inhabitants is obviously an underestimate. See Murray's *Memoirs, Op. Cit.*, II, 82.

When the author visited Buffalo for information relative to this study on May 27, 1971, Mrs. Joan McVicker, Town Clerk, accompanied him on a visit to the modern home of Mrs. Pearl Clark Downs, built in 1926 immediately back of the sod house. The soddy mentioned above was her home 1902–1926. When the author commented that the *Plat Book of Harper County* indicated that, as late as 1909, many if not most of the homesteaders lived in dugouts, she gently remonstrated: "Not dugouts, young man, but sod houses. Nice, comfortable soddys."

[8] The *Post* (Brule) after the election, in its November 23 issue, stated that O. G. Harper was "the wheel horse of the Democratic Party" during the campaign.

[9] The *Post* (Brule), June 1, 1906.

LOCATION OF BRULE AND PLATTED TOWN OF BUFFALO

NORTH

Key to Brule

1 The Post
2 J. T. Hoy Hardware, meeting hall upstairs
3 Barber shop of Mrs. Jansen
4 Blacksmith, D. G. Rogers
5 Soddie of William Clark
6 W. H. Temple Farm Implements

SECTION 1

160 A
William Clark

80 A
Robert E. McMinn

40 A
Elmer Best

BRULE

6 4 1 2 3 5

120 A
Elmer Best

160 A
Maud L. Turner

80 A
Patent to May M. Smith
War. Deed to Robert E. McMinn

SECTION 12

120 A

160 A
W. H. Miller

Patent to Joseph W. Mix
War. Deed to Thomas C. Hoy

BUFFALO PLAT

SOUTH

The editor wrote in support of his candidate in the November 2 issue: Seibert, the Republican candidate for delegate in his district, does not rant and swell up with pretended antagonism to saloons and whiskey, but when it comes to fact he is the only candidate in this district with the boldness and honesty of purpose to run on a platform which presents a practical and even a possible way for the people to decide the question of prohibition. Let us vote for more business and less gab. . . . The great election comes next Tuesday. This is a critical time in the birth throes of a great state. Let every patriot go to the polls with a vote and a prayer for Oklahoma—especially every Republican patriot.

In the election Seibert and Williams each carried eight of the sixteen precincts, but Williams was the winner by a margin of eighteen votes, 572 to 554. In the precinct where Harper voted, Seibert received 31 votes; Williams, 79.[10] The editor of the Brule *Post* reserved his comment on the election for the November 23 issue: "It is evident now that the Lord intended the Democrats should control the constitutional convention. He moves in mysterious ways His wonders to perform. Is it possible the Lord has only given the old negative party an opportunity to destroy itself? Let us watch and see."

Harper accompanied Williams to Guthrie on the weekend before the opening of the constitutional convention on Tuesday, November 20. They met with Charles N. Haskell, Muskogee delegate busy with organizational plans, and with other delegates. Harper and Williams let it be known they would favor a division of Woodward County. William H. Murray, the Tishomingo delegate, arrived in Guthrie on Sunday, November 18, and was quoted as favoring the division of larger counties in Oklahoma Territory. After he was chosen president of the convention, he was accorded the privilege of appointing clerks and stenographers and other personnel such as the chaplain, the janitor and pages. One of Murray's first appointments was that of O. G. Harper to be minute clerk.[11] Harper was present, therefore, and a witness in December to the heated and sometimes acrimonious discussion by delegates on counties and county boundaries, and, in January, the designation of temporary county seats.

President Murray, in his opening remarks to the convention, asked delegates to submit first, second and third choices for committee assignments,

[10] Election returns from the 16 precincts were certified November 9 by the Woodward County Commissioners, G. W. Gilbaugh, John S. Latta, and Marion Clothier, and the County Clerk, C. C. Hoag. They are included in "Oklahoma Returns," official volumes on the election of delegates, housed in the Archives of the State Library, State Capitol, Oklahoma City.

[11] See *Journal* entry, November 21, 1906, p. 36, in *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the Proposed State of Oklahoma Held at Guthrie* November 20, 1906 to November 16, 1907 (Muskogee, 1907). Murray, in his *Memoirs*, II, 83, recalled that two delegates from the northwest were "Harper" men.

"because I have understood that nearly everyone wants to be appointed to the Committee on County Boundaries." The following morning Robert L. Williams, Durant, delegate from District 108, announced for the Committee on Rules and Procedures that each standing committee would consist of fifteen members. E. R. Williams of Stockholm was assigned to the following committees: Public Institutions, Legislative Department, and Primary Elections, and was named chairman of the Committee on Public Debt and Public Works. A week later the hand-picked membership of the committee on counties was announced, eight of the members from Indian Territory, seven from Oklahoma Territory, under the chairmanship of Royal J. Allen, District 93 delegate from Duncan. All were members of the Democratic Party.[12]

Committee work on county boundaries had proceeded at such a slow pace by mid-December that remedial action became necessary by the leadership if a report were to be considered by the delegate assembly before adjournment for the Christmas holidays. "Like a bolt out of a clouded sky came the appointment of Delegate C. N. Haskell to a position on the Committee of Counties and County Boundaries to take the place made vacant by the resignation of Delegate D. P. Wills."[13]

The promotion of Haskell to the committee on counties was a signal to dissidents on county division in Oklahoma Territory that the leadership would not be persuaded from its intent, and a rumor circulated that President Murray, before he appointed members to the committee, had them take an oath to report a map already prepared. There was some feeling expressed that division of counties would cause a Democratic Party split and bring disastrous results in future elections. Some of the party leaders in Oklahoma Territory spoke out in criticism of the report that larger counties were to be divided. Roy Hoffman of Chandler, a member of the Democratic Central Committee and already an announced candidate for nomination to a seat in the United States Senate, resigned the party post in protest to division. Blind Thomas P. Gore, Lawton, a Democratic leader who had served in the territorial legislature, was in Guthrie to lobby against

[12] *Ibid.*, see *Journal* entries for November 20, 21, and December 4 on pages 16, 32, and 72 respectively.

[13] Wichita *Daily Beacon*, December 18, 1906. The December 19 issue of the Wichita *Eagle* stated Haskell was put on the committee because he was the real backbone of a 40-county move for Indian Territory; he would be in better position to fight for the adoption of the report on the floor. It reported things were getting in bad shape on the committee so his "master hand" was needed to straighten things out. For Haskell's version, see the article "Governor Haskell Tells of Two Conventions," with introduction by Paul Nesbitt, in *Chronicles of Oklahoma XIV*, 189–217, particularly pages 210–211 (Summer, 1936). Nesbitt directed the press bureau for the Democrats in the campaign for delegates to the convention and, later, served as secretary to Governor Haskell.

division of Comanche County. And Jesse Dunn of Alva who, as chairman of the Democratic Party led it to overwhelming victory in the November 6 election of delegates, was outspoken in opposition to the division of Woods County.[14]

The parliamentary move by the leadership on the morning of December 19 to make consideration of the county boundary committee report a special order of business ahead of scheduled reports invoked spirited and, at times, sharp-tongued debate, and members of the convention, after adjournment, recalled this session as the most tempestuous. The Wichita *Eagle* used the following headlines in its report of the morning session: "Murray a Czar in His Rulings: Are Beyond All Precedents and Tyrannical." The article included these statements: "Beyond all precedents were the rulings of President Murray; members of the opposition being frequently ruled out of order and, also, those rising to ask for information while the point of order that it requires a two-thirds vote to make the matter a special order was 'not well taken.' The Republicans did not participate in the debate." Other newspaper accounts of the morning session, as well as the typed transcription of the debate indicate the presiding officer was not overly tolerant of the opposition.[15] Murray was on the floor as the roll call on the motion progressed, looking each delegate directly in

[14] Wichita *Daily Beacon*, December 15, 1906; Wichita *Eagle*, December 15, 1906. In the November 6 election of the 112 delegates, 96 were listed Democrats and 12 were Republican. Of the two elected on an Independent ticket, one (P. B. Hopkins of Muskogee) was a Republican, the other (F. J. Stowe of Wynnewood) was a Democrat. A. L. Hausam of Coweta ran on the Farmer's ticket. He was a Democrat, as was C. N. Haskell of Muskogee, winner on the designation, Greater Muskogee ticket. Haskell, the following spring when he sought nomination for the office of governor, in referring to the constitutional convention often reminded audiences they had "sent 99 Democrats to Guthrie and 13 witnesses to watch them." *New State Tribune* (Muskogee), May 16, 1907.

[15] The typed transcription of the session, housed in the Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, indicates the leadership was in no humor to tolerate a postponement of the report. When W. J. Caudill remonstrated because his special committee report was being replaced, Haskell asked him if it would shock his nerves to have the County report read after his Geological Survey report was read, and after a colloquy in which J. F. King raised a point of order to remarks by Caudill, the latter asked Murray: "Now, what do you want me to do?" Murray's reply: "It is immaterial what the Chair would want Mr. Caudill to do, for he wouldn't do it anyway.

Guthrie had made available its city hall for the convention. A balcony to accommodate 150 spectators, with a special section reserved for Negroes, had been added to the assembly room and the offices of the Mayor, City Clerk, Water Commissioner, Attorney, Engineer were vacated and designated committee rooms.

The gallery was packed with onlookers at this, the most crisis-ridden session of the convention. The reporter who was present caught some of the tenseness of the moment in his article which appeared in the Wichita *Eagle* December 21, 1906: "Murray pounded with his gavel while opposition members spoke . . . . He ordered Captain Seeley, a local (white) Republican politician out of the Negroes' gallery. Seeley refused, saying he was an American citizen and that Murray couldn't do that. The sergeant-at-arms persuaded him to leave."

the eyes as his name was called to vote. The motion narrowly passed 54 to 52. E. R. Williams was one of those who cast a favorable vote.[16]

The committee report, considered by the Committee of the Whole House, was hastily drawn and incomplete in details. Counties were presented by numbers; each numbered county had boundary descriptions. Numbers 1–40 pertained to proposed counties to be created in the Indian Territory; 41–58 pertained to revised or newly created counties in Oklahoma Territory; 59 was the county to be created from the Osage Reservation, and under number 60 were grouped the sixteen counties in Oklahoma Territory which were to retain existing boundaries: Kiowa, Cleveland, Grant, Kay, Garfield, Pawnee, Dewey, Blaine, Kingfisher, Logan, Lincoln, Custer, Washita, Canadian, Oklahoma, and Pottawatomie. Each county description was considered in a consecutive order. The report included for each county description estimates of area, population, and valuation, and one or, at most, two towns considered to be the principal city or cities.

The report included names for many of the newly created counties; the naming of each of these was a courtesy usually reserved for the delegate from the area. Those counties unnamed were considered by number only and, at later sessions of the Committee of the Whole, names were adopted. A few of the counties bore temporary names later changed by official action. For example, counties numbered 3, 10, 12, and 18 were named, respectively, Lee, Coo-Wee-Scoo-Wee, Bartlesville, and Scott in the committee report. But by Committee of the Whole action at the time, or later, and before third reading and final passage of the county section in the constitution, these names were changed to Adair, Rogers, Washington, and Hughes. Counties 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, and 48 were considered only by number; the names Pittsburg, Haskell, Latimer, LeFlore, Choctaw, and Beckham were approved in later sessions.

There was one exception to these procedures followed in naming the newly-created counties. The printed report showed the name "Moman" for County 16. The county retained that name after the third reading and final passage of this section of the constitution on March 8, 1907. It was not until after the constitution had been engrossed and, on April 19, was being read for final approval by the delegates that the name "Moman" was scratched through and "Creek" substituted for it.

The County report, considered section by section, that is, county by county, tied up the convention from the morning of December 20 into the early hours of the following day.[17] As the Committee of the Whole con-

[16] All the Republican delegates except J. H. N. Cobb of Sapulpa voted against the motion.

[17] A Democratic caucus, set for 7:30 P.M. December 19 to iron out differences on counties and county boundaries, did not break up until 2 A.M. the 20th, therefore many of the delegates had had little time for sleep since the night of December 18.

tinued into the night session—many of the delegates wanted to express approval, a few, condemnation—it was clearly evident to observers that the opposition would have few votes to cast against a favorable report.[18] Indicative was the naming of County 22 for delegate Haskell. When County 35, already named Murray in honor of the presiding officer, was reached in the report, there was no opposition. During the discussion of County 41, Alfalfa, a suggestion was made to add "Bill" after it. Midst laughter of the delegates, Murray opposed the idea by stating the county was likely to go Republican and he would be ashamed of it.[19]

County 44 was reached in the order of consideration shortly after 11 p.m. and, in addition to the boundary description, its single-line entry on estimates of area, population, valuation, principal city, and name was: "Harper (from Woodward; Stockholm) 1200 square miles, 8,000 population, $2,100,000.[20] All but the southern tier of townships in District 3 and a small segment north and east of the Cimarron River were placed in the newly-formed county. The Committee on Counties and County Boundaries respected the wishes of the delegate or delegates from an area included in the county when it was named. Since E. R. Williams was the only delegate from the area affected, he was accorded the privilege of naming the county in honor of his friend, O. G. Harper. Incidentally, Harper was the only employee of the convention for whom a county was named.

The Committee of the Whole rose from consideration of the county report shortly after 1:30 a.m. December 21, and Murray, Allen, Haskell and other members of the county committee were busy until after 5 a.m. with

[18] The discussion of the report, and later action brought technical changes in boundary descriptions from the original description, the transfer of a township or townships, or sections to another adjoining county. That, apparently, all boundary adjustments were not covered is indicated by the following law passed by the First Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, "An Act to Declare the Status of That Strip of Territory Lying Between the South Line of Woodward County and the North Line of Ellis County," *Session Laws* of 1907–08, for the State of Oklahoma, 391–92.

[19] Wichita *Eagle*, December 23, 1906. The typed transcriptions reveal that Dr. George N. Bilby, District 6 delegate from Alva and very much opposed to the division of Woods County, made the suggestion. The *Eagle* reported in its December 22 issue that there was a movement afoot to re-name Tulsa County, Irving, to honor Washington Irving's visit to the area in 1832, and change Harper County to Vest, in tribute to Senator George Vest of Missouri. Extant transcriptions on the Committee of the Whole consideration of the counties do not reveal these proposed name changes. They do reveal a very impassioned speech by J. K. Hill, delegate from Catoosa, who did not approve of the way boundaries were drawn for Tulsa County. He suggested, from its shape, it should be named Catholic Cross County.

[20] "Report of the Committee on Counties and County Boundaries" *Committee Report 16* read first and second time December 18, 1906. After the Committee of the Whole House completed action in the early morning hours of December 21, the report was revised to reflect county boundary changes. In January, 1907, *Committee Report* 16 was re-issued on recommended temporary seats. Copies of the similarly numbered reports are in the Library, Oklahoma Historical Society.

stenographers and the printer preparing the revised report. The convention opened with a short session at 10 a.m. and about an hour later Haskell appeared to read the revised report for final consideration and final passage. Shortly before noon the task was completed, the weary delegates approved the report by the vote of 90 to 12. Before accepting the motion to adjourn until January 3, Murray rapped for order, had the delegates rise, and their voices filled the hall as he led them in singing, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

The Woodward *Bulletin* considered county division a dastardly act and reported that Delegate Williams and Minute Clerk Harper were making themselves "scarce" about the community.[21] The editor overlooked a more worthy news item for his weekly issue. W. H. Miller, who lived near Brule, appeared at the courthouse January 7, to file with the Register of Deeds a plat for his 160 acres, the southeast quarter of Section 12, in Township 27 North Range 23 West, located less than one mile southeast of the community of Brule. The tract was surveyed into streets and alleys, blocks and lots. Each 300 feet by 300 feet block was divided into 24 lots, 140 feet by 25 feet with a 20-foot wide alley. Two bisecting streets, Broadway, East and West, and Main, North and South, were 120 feet wide. Other streets for the 49-block area were 80 feet wide. Block 8 was set aside for school purposes and Block 33 for a courthouse.[22]

Residents in and near Brule community had watched the survey under progress or heard of its purpose, and were more aware of its implication. The Brule *Post* reported that W. H. Miller, R. E. McMinn, O. G. Harper and "perhaps others" had formed a townsite company, that the whole of Miller's 160 acres had been platted and placed on Woodward County records as the town of Buffalo.[23]

Meantime, Harper returned to Guthrie and his duties as Minute Clerk at the convention which re-convened January 3. Some of the delegates on visits to their home districts had been subject to harassment over boundaries created for the seventy-five counties, and several newspapers had been extremely critical of the number of counties. R. E. Echols, mayor of Mangum, a Democratic leader in Greer County and editor of the Mangum *Star*, addressed a letter to President Murray which appeared in newspapers of the territory.[24] The letter stated grave charges had been made against the

[21] Woodward *Bulletin*, January 11, 1907.

[22] After statehood, records pertaining to the townships which comprised Harper County were transferred from Woodward to Buffalo. Lucille Baird, County Clerk of Harper County, showed the author the plat filed at Woodward January 7, 1907, when he visited her office May 28, 1971.

[23] Brule *Post*, January 11, 1907.

[24] "R. C. Echols to W. H. Murray," December 27, 1906, published by the *Weekly Okla-*

convention, against some members, and against Murray. Among other allegations Echols implied that Altus citizens paid C. N. Haskell $5,000 to secure the zigzag county boundary line to the east of Mangum when Jackson County had been created, that "some felt Haskell would clean up a million dollars" on county boundaries.

Even the *Daily Oklahoman*, a leading Democratic newspaper, found newsworthy a current rumor.[25] Under the heading "Grafters in Danger Zone," it stated a prominent Indian Territory politician looked for someone in the "Con Con" with nerve enough to bring graft and bribery charges before the convention. One of the allegations was that railroad companies paid $10,000 to secure the division of Woods County, "paying the dollars in the lobby of the Royal Hotel." Three days later it correctly reported that the question of county boundaries would not be reconsidered but that minor errors might be reconciled by unanimous consent. The intervening time, too, gave the editorial writer some time for reflection. Under the heading "Fatherless Rumors," he wrote:[26] "It's a common practice of those disappointed to charge bribery and graft. No one has charged his fellow delegate with graft on boundary lines. The "Con Con" should form a bipartisan committee to investigate."

Convention leadership already had taken steps to investigate charges of bribery in direct answer to the allegations made in the Echols letter. Delegates welcomed the opportunity to hear any relevant facts that Echols, Clarence B. Douglas, the editor of the Muskogee *Phoenix*, or any other critic cared to present. A Democratic caucus was held January 3, and the following morning Delegate C. N. Haskell introduced Resolution 60, an invitation to the press and outside parties to come forward to testify to the Committee on Rules regarding bribery or corruption of any member of the convention. The resolution passed. On Saturday, January 5, J. F. King of Newkirk, delegate from District 16 and chairman of the rules committee, reported procedures had been established to investigate and accept testimony that reflected on the honor and integrity of the convention membership. He announced that the committee would be in continuous session to receive charges or statements for consideration from any member or any source.[27] During the work week beginning Monday, January 7, twenty

homa State Capital (Guthrie), January 5, 1907. The author has also seen the full text of Echols' letter in the Tulsa *World*, the *Daily State Capital*, the *Daily Oklahoman*, and the Wichita *Beacon* issues of this period.

25 *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), January 3, 1907. (Newspaper stories on the constitutional convention always referred to it at the time as the Con Con.)

26 *Ibid.*, January 7, 1907.

27 *Proceedings*: The Haskell resolution appears in the *Journal*, 137–38, morning session, Friday, January 4, 1907; and King's report, *Op. Cit.*, 139, Saturday, January 5, 1907.

witnesses appeared before the Committee on Rules. None presented corroborative evidence, and the hearsay evidence presented did not involve delegates.[28]

The Committee on Counties and County Boundaries, meantime, was receiving petitions and delegations relative to the naming of seats in the newly-created counties, and was examining provisions made by other state bodies for the changing of boundaries and seats of counties. Committee Report 16, submitted January 12, was devoted to those provisions looked forward to by so many delegates and non-delegates alike: "That the temporary county seats of the counties herein named be as follows. . . ." Consideration of the report began in Committee of the Whole January 16, county by county in alphabetical order, with motions for adoption on each, and substitute motions from the floor with discussion before final vote in many instances. For example, when the first line received a reading, "Adair County, Westville," a substitute motion prompted discussion and vote, but the following three, "Alfalfa County, Cherokee," "Atoka County, Atoka," "Beaver County, Beaver," were adopted without discussion. Line five, "Beckham County, Sayre" brought forth a substitute motion and a lengthy debate.[29]

Discussion of the report was completed Saturday afternoon, January 19, with one exception. Two days earlier when "Harper County, Buffalo" was reached, this line was passed over while ugly rumors circulated in the capitol that a delegate would benefit by designating an unsettled area as the seat in the newly-created county. These rumors could not be ignored. The allegation was directed at Delegate E. R. Williams as he was responsible for the naming of the county created within his district and its seat, a courtesy extended by the Committee on Counties and County Boundaries.

On Monday afternoon, January 14, the Committee on Rules, chaired by J. F. King, began hearings on the propriety of designating the planned townsite of Buffalo as the county seat. The Committee of the Whole delayed final consideration on temporary seats on Saturday because King reported his committee was still holding hearings regarding the Harper County seat, that members were exhausted, that they "had been up several nights until 2 a.m."[30]

[28] See *Daily Oklahoman*, January 11, 1907. A book credited to Moman Pruiett, *Moman Pruiett, Criminal Lawyer* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Co., 1945), page 198, confirms he appeared before the committee. Someone had charged he favored Sapulpa as the county seat of Moman County for an alleged consideration of $1,000. This he denied and presented a counter charge that a prominent citizen of Bristow had offered him $5,000 to use his influence to assure Bristow the county seat.

[29] *Typed Transcriptions*, Committee of the Whole, morning session, January 16, 1907.

[30] Proceedings, *Journal*, Saturday afternoon, January 19, 1907.

The investigation was triggered by a petition and affidavits filed by three townsite promoters interested in having Brule named the temporary seat.[31] The petition credited Brule with seventy-five inhabitants and stated that it lay on high ground within two miles of the geographical center of the county. The petitioners pointed out that no town of Buffalo existed. They charged that certain parties, including O. G. Harper, had purchased 160 acres southeast of Brule and proposed a town there named Buffalo.

The affidavit related to a conversation held January 9, with Harper in the Metropolitan Hotel, Guthrie. According to the affiants, Harper claimed to own forty percent of the land where Buffalo would be located, and Delegate E. R. Williams did not dare oppose the proposed location of the seat because Williams was chosen delegate through Harper's influence.

Harper, in a statement to the *State Capital*, said he did not own the townsite; that W. H. Miller owned the land where Buffalo had been planned; and E. M. Best owned the land where the Brule post office was located. He indicated A. V. Brown had approached him to use his influence with Williams to name Brule the county seat.[32] Harper and Williams were among those summoned before the Committee on Rules. Testimony before the committee indicated Harper was offered a one-half interest in the townsite of Brule to use his influence in making it the seat; that a company had been formed to develop the townsite of Buffalo, that he was offered 40 percent of the stock and that he had not paid anything for it. Williams had no interest in the townsite and had not been promised any town lots. He was absolved of any wrongdoing.

Brewer, resident of District 9, had the delegate from that district, D. G. Harned of Ringwood, offer Brule on January 21 as a substitute for Buffalo as temporary seat. Brown, meantime, contacted other delegates in behalf of Brule. The *State Capital* reported he spoke with Delegate Royal J. Allen, chairman of the county committee; had promised he would build a courthouse in Brule 70′ by 100′, two stories high, a schoolhouse large enough for all purposes for the next three to five years, and guaranteed a railroad within two years.[33] But Allen told Brown the committee would not accept any propositions.

[31] The petition was signed by A. V. Brown, A. O. Brewer and George H. Knapp; the affidavit by Brown, certified by Brewer and Knapp. Newspaper reports do not list the address of Knapp. Brown was from Oklahoma City and credited with being a townsite agent for the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad. Brewer was from Carmen, Oklahoma.

[32] *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), January 18, 1907; *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), January 26, 1907.

[33] The decade 1897–1907 was an era of townsite and railroad promotion in the territories. There were no railroad lines in the proposed Harper County and the promise of a railroad was always a fascinating bauble dangled by townsite boosters. It was not until 1920 that a railroad line reached Buffalo, this 51.4 mile spur of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe from Waynoka.

On February 2 Haskell moved that the Convention go into Committee of the Whole to consider unfinished business. *Committee Report 16* was the first business on the calendar, but no action could be taken because the rules committee had not reported on Harper County. Nevertheless, a short discussion followed in which Haskell expressed the belief that Buffalo would be designated the seat. He believed that a part of the tract would be conveyed to the county and that town lots sold would pay for the construction of a courthouse. W. A. Ledbetter of Ardmore pointed out that the owner of the tract and his wife could execute a deed of trust to the county to put the tract on record.

Henry E. Asp, brilliant Republican minority leader from Guthrie, interjected a few remarks with reference to the propriety of a "place" being designated a county seat, and the activities of O. G. Harper, which prompted Murray to come to the defense of the Minute Clerk by suggesting: "I say the gentleman has no right to quarrel and suck his thumb like a spoiled child." And the presence of the Guthrie delegate inspired Haskell to offer: "Mr. Asp cannot possibly regret more than I do that the people of Oklahoma need protection in many respects against the government that has heretofore existed in that Territory and it is with the kindliest spirit and fellow feeling that we of Indian Territory are now joining hands with the oppressed of Oklahoma to contend for honest government."

Although pin pricks by Asp were mildly irritating to the majority leaders, it was the pen of an editorial writer for the *State Capital* that jabbed wounds which brought cries of anquish. Haskell stated from the convention floor that "anyone who would be influenced by an editorial in the *State Capital* was not a good Democrat." Murray referred to the writer as a "dirty, lying editor," and E. R. Williams, smarting from criticism over his recommendation to have Buffalo the seat of Harper County, followed with a diatribe in which he compared the editor to a festering carbuncle sloughing off the nose of time. He found the writer "a pin-headed fellow, who hates all not in his class. And as his class is restricted to a circle of spiral domed nincompoops, he hates almost all the world."[34]

E. C. Patton of Tishomingo and Murray's appointee as official clerk of the convention appeared to report a conversation held earlier with the Stockholm delegate in one of the committee rooms. According to Patton's statement, Williams had remarked that the postmaster at Brule offered him an interest in developing a townsite there provided the seat was located at Brule. Upon the direct question by a committee member, "Did he, in that conversation, say that he had any interest in the townsite (of Buffalo)?"

[34] Quotes for the two paragraphs above are excerpts from the typed *Transcriptions*, February 2 and 9, 1907, and were faithfully reported in issues of the *State Capital*.

Patton answered: "No. sir. He said that he had none." On another evening Judge A. S. Dickson of Beaver City, accompanied by fellow-townsmen A. J. Gate and J. W. Culwell, appeared before the committee. They, evidently, were townsite boosters, miffed because Miller had turned down a $5,000 offer for his platted townsite. Their testimony in no way whatsoever reflected upon the actions which motivated Williams to sponsor Buffalo as the seat."[35]

The statement Charles H. Pittman, Enid delegate, made before the investigating committee is herein reproduced as it possibly illustrates to some degree outside pressures exerted during the county boundary and temporary seat locations. His testimony leaves much doubt that Buffalo would have been planned had the postmaster at Brule campaigned as vigorously in the November election for a Democratic victory as he had for Republican victory.

Delegate Pittman made the following statement:

I will state to the committee that a few days before affidavits were filed here by Brown, Brewer, and Knapp, Brewer met me in the Royal Hotel and told me he wanted to introduce me to a man, and introduced me to A. V. Brown.

"Brown raised the question of the county seat of Harper County. He told me he was allied with a railroad company and connected with a town site and railroad promoter who had been successful throughout Indian Territory; that they wanted to locate the county seat of Harper County and build a railroad to it; that he wanted my influence for that purpose.

I asked him where the county seat was to be located and he told me it was to be located at Brule. I told Mr. Brown that I did not think it proper for a delegate who knew nothing about the situation to interest himself in those matters; that Mr. E. R. Williams was the delegate from that county and that this convention had adopted the policy of naming in each county the county seat recommended by the delegate from that particular county, and that I, therefore, would refer him to Mr. Williams.

He said that Mr. Williams was not favorably inclined toward this proposition, that he desired the location of the county seat at another town site, that while Mr. Williams would not oppose them that he would not espouse their cause and all he wanted was someone to represent them on the floor. I told him I would see Mr. Williams.

I saw Mr. Williams and talked with him about the matter and he told me that the only thing in the location of the county seat at Brule was that Brule was on a Republican's land, one who had given the Democratic Party considerable trouble in that community, that he felt and the other Democrats of that

[35] Woodward *Bulletin*, March 1, 1907. The lengthy article on testimony before the rules committee has a Guthrie heading dated February 22.

county felt, in the location of the county seat, inasmuch as no town was there, it ought to be located on a Democrat's land.

Immediately after seeing Mr. Williams, Mr. Brown called to see me at the convention here. I was busy with another party and together we walked up the street to the Elk's Hotel. Brown and Brewer followed me. When I saw they were following me I excused myself from the other gentlemen and told him that I presumed that these men wanted to see me about some other matter and that I would see what it was.

Mr. Brown then said, "I want to talk to you some more about that Brule proposition," and Brewer said, "Pittman, there is no use in beating around the bush about this matter. There is big money to be made in this proposition and if you will stand by us we will see that you are greatly benefitted by it."

I said, "Brewer, I want to say to you and to your friend Brown that, while I know nothing about the matter, yet I am strictly and positively against the location of the county seat at Brule because of the statement you have made and I shall oppose any effort upon your part to locate the county seat anywhere. I feel that the people who live there and who know the conditions and who must take the responsibility upon themselves are the people who should be allowed to locate this county seat."

Finally, after a 6-week delay in designating the seventy-fifth county seat, the "place" designated Buffalo was approved through convention action on February 26. The final Committee Report on county boundaries and temporary seats was adopted by the vote of 81 to 7 on March 8 for incorporation into the constitution.[36]

Editor William Forster of the Brule *Post* fired one final blast in the neighborhood spat: "Now that the county seat is located we are very sorry to see our Brule friends lay down and let a bunch of 'grafters' and 'boodlers' pull it two miles east of the center of the county and set it in the middle of a 'frog pond.' "[37] His resentment, however, was short-lived because soon his paper was carrying an advertisement of the valuable lots available in Buffalo. In September the townsite company offered 1,000 lots free to those who would erect a dwelling or business property, the only exception being that every other business lot was exempted from the offer. The *Post* carried on its masthead "Brule, Woodward County" in its issue of August 16,

[36] "Article XVII—Counties" of the constitution contains other pertinent information including provisions for creating or altering counties and the removal of county seats. It also provided that not until after April 1, 1909 could public money be expended for courthouse or jail construction unless the voters of the county had already voted on the relocation of the county seat.

[37] Brule *Post*, March 8, 1907. A tributary to Buffalo Creek ran diagonally across the townsite of Buffalo. Brule was located on higher ground to the northeast, less than one mile distant. When Robert E. McMinn, who had settled near the Brule community in 1902, appeared before the rules committee in behalf of Buffalo, he said the water at Brule was "terrible." See *Daily Oklahoman*, January 18, 1907.

but the next week's issue showed "Buffalo, Harper County," a sign of the times, as all of Brule had moved to Buffalo. A rival paper, probably established to get the county printing which is no small item for a struggling weekly, had announced in an earlier issue, "All that remains of Brule is the fact that it once was."[38]

Despite the fact that the two neighboring landowners, E. M. Best and W. H. Miller, had tied up the constitutional convention for weeks over the merits of their tracts for the location of the county seat, they remained warm friends and cooperated in the building of Buffalo. That Best had an interest in the townsite development is indicated by a news item appearing in the Brule *Post*: "Elmer Best, R. E. McMinn, and the town site man, George E. Ford, went to Ashland Wednesday to fix up the papers on the big land deal."[39] And apparently O. G. Harper received lots from the company. The *Plat Book of Harper County*, 1910, states he owned lots in Buffalo and on one "had a cement building, now used as a court-room."[40] At any rate, the sentiment expressed by a resident of Yelton, near the Kansas border, early in January was fulfilled. He said that no longer would it require a 5-day trip to the county seat to transact an hour's business.[41]

[38] Harper County *Democrat*, Buffalo, July 5, 1907.
[39] Brule *Post*, March 15, 1907.
[40] *Plat Book of Harper County*, 1910, Section 3, page 1.
[41] Brule *Post*, January 11, 1907.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONFEDERATE TREATIES WITH THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

*By Kenny A. Franks**

Albert Pike, the man responsible for the success of the Confederate efforts to gain alliances with the Five Civilized Tribes, was fully devoted to the betterment of the South's Indian wards. In August, 1862, he forwarded an eleven-point program to President Jefferson Davis designed to carry forward the good relations which had been established with the Indians. Pike's major proposal encouraged the complete separation of Indian Territory from all military connection with Arkansas, an association he viewed as completely detrimental to the Indians' cause. He argued that the interest of Indian Territory would always be subordinate to the interest of western and northern Arkansas, and the sorely needed troops, arms, and ammunition would be directed elsewhere. Pike also contended that the officer in command of the Indian Department must not be subject to the orders of officers who had no knowledge of the conditions existing in Indian Territory. The area occupied by the command was so large and the communications so slow that the efficiency of the command was hindered by subordination to officers who were too far distant to act promptly in an emergency or to adequately exploit any military advantage.[1]

Pike also pleaded for the necessity of more white troops to garrison Indian Territory. He pointed out that the forces of approximately 1,300 mounted Texans and six pieces of artillery were wholly inadequate without the necessary infantry support, which was totally lacking. Pike suggested that the country be garrisoned by four full regiments of infantry which would be well armed and from states other than Texas or Arkansas. The reason given for this action was that troops from other than surrounding states would not be so anxious to hurry to the relief of their own states, nor be so persistent in their demand for furloughs to visit their nearby homes. Pike suggested that one regiment from South Carolina, Georgia,

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[1] Pike to Davis, August 1, 1862, United States Department of War, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (4 series, 70 volumes, 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901) Ser. I Vol. XIII, pp. 871–872. Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.

Alabama, and either Mississippi or Louisiana be dispatched to provide Indian Territory with adequate military protection.[2]

The treatment of the Indian troops in the supply system of the Confederate Army also was discussed. Pike advocated the immediate dismissal of any officer who seized supplies enroute to Indian Territory, and the direct shipment of all monies allocated to the Indians to the officials responsible for their distribution. He also urged the immediate distribution of coats, pantaloons, shirts, shoes, and hats to the Indian troops. The full reimbursement of past due payments of the Indian troops and the instigation of a program designed to ease the severe shortage of medicine in Indian Territory also were urged. Pike likewise prodded the Confederacy to honor claims for supplies which had already been provided by the Indians.[3]

The regular army, Pike insisted, should place a military officer in the rank of brigadier general in command of Indian Territory and authorize him to enlist a force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery sufficient for its defense. This action would rid the country of the Indian mounted volunteers who had become more of a nuisance than an efficient military force. Care must be taken, Pike declared, that all troops should be carefully screened so as not to include any of that type of men who would as soon shoot an Indian as a wolf. Principal supply depots should be established at Fort McCulloch and Fort Washita to adequately supply the troops within Indian Territory and to deter any Northern invasion. An auxiliary force of Indian troops should be formed in addition to the regular troops to provide adequate protection. Pike urged that special action be taken to insure that no groups of white men would carry predatory warfare into Missouri and Kansas from bases within Indian Territory. The guarantee that Indian troops should not be either asked or allowed to take part in military actions outside the limits of their own country should be enforced.[4]

Turning to the condition of the Indians after the war, Pike insisted the South should honor its commitments and provide adequate protection for the Indians from both white and Indians. He suggested the establishment of heavily fortified posts complete with strong field works and artillery near the Grand Saline on Grand River, at Frozen Rock on the Arkansas River, on the south side of the Canadian River, and on the Blue River thirty miles from the Red River. Aside from these major posts, other frontier camps should be created in the Wichita Mountains, in the Antelope Hills, along the Arkansas River, and at Tulsey Town. Pike contended that

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 872.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 873.
[4] *Ibid.*

these posts and camps should be established immediately and maintained even after the cessation of hostilities. He reasoned that they would then serve a two-fold purpose, for not only would they deter any Federal invasion of Indian Territory, but also they would continue to provide protection for the Indians after the end of the war.[5]

Pike encouraged the immediate appointment of a Superintendent of Indian Affairs and of agents for the several tribes which had none. These men, he argued, should be of high character and intellect, should respect the Indians, and should not alienate them through abuse or neglect. Care should be taken that neither these offices nor the Commissioner of Indian Affairs would be allowed to ignore their responsibilities or relax their labors.[6]

Thus the man who had done the most to gain Southern treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes proposed a program which was designed to insure the success of the relationship. Just how much the Confederacy was to ignore Pike's advice can be seen in the early attempts at implementing the treaty stipulations. Though the programs outlined for Indian Territory were well organized and developed, they never were adequately initiated and maintained.

The treaties between the Confederacy and the Five Civilized Tribes joined them in both offensive and defensive alliances. The treaties provided, however, for certain civil obligations to be performed by both parties. The Confederacy agreed to find a substitute for the United States postal service, the federal judicial system, and the other necessary civil duties required by society. Likewise, the Indians were obligated to contribute a larger amount of civil duties than ever before. It was not long after the signing of the treaties that implementation began.

All of the agreements called for the furnishing of Indian troops for the protection of Indian Territory. These troops were to be used exclusively within the boundaries of Indian Territory and were not to be subject to service elsewhere. The number of men to be raised varied among the tribes. The Creeks and Seminoles pledged a regiment of ten companies; the Chickasaws and Choctaws were to furnish one regiment. The Cherokees not only agreed to the raising of one regiment, but also to the furnishing of two reserve companies. All of these troops were to be mounted, and their officers were to be elected from among the troops. The Confederacy was to assume the burden of equipping and paying the forces. These Indian troops were to be granted the same pay and allowances as all other Confederate forces.[7]

[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 874.
[7] *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 434, 457, 679.

The troops raised by the Indians for service with the Confederate Army were organized as the First Regiment of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles under the command of Douglas H. Cooper; a battalion composed of both Creeks and Seminoles, commanded by Chilly McIntosh, the Creek war chief, and John Jumper, the principal chief of the Seminoles; the First Cherokee Mounted Rifles under John Drew; and the Second Cherokee Mounted Rifles commanded by Stand Watie.[8]

The Confederacy next began to assimilate these forces into its military structure. The first military command of Indian Territory was created on May 13, 1861, when Brigadier General Ben McCulloch was given the command of the District of Indian Territory. In addition to the Indian troops raised within Indian Territory, the new district also was assigned one regiment of mounted troops from Texas under an obligation to serve for eighteen months; another regiment of mounted men from Arkansas, who were to serve for the duration of the war; and a regiment of infantry from Louisiana which had enlisted for a year. Indian Territory remained an independent district until November 22, 1861, when it was reorganized into the Department of Indian Territory; Brigadier General Albert Pike of the Provisional Army of the Confederacy was given the command. Finally, by special orders of the Adjutant and Inspector General's office, on January 10, 1862, the area was joined with a portion of Louisiana and Missouri, and all of Arkansas, to form the Trans-Mississippi District with Major General Earl Van Dorn commanding. Thus the Indian forces within Indian Territory were transformed into an integral part of the Confederate command structure.[9]

The nearly unanimous decision of the Federal Indian agents within Indian Territory to side with the Confederacy gave the South a nucleus on which to build an efficient agency system among the Five Civilized Tribes. The Congress of the Confederate States at once began the necessary procedures for the establishment of a system of Indian agencies. On February 20, 1861, section two of a bill which created the Confederate War Department placed the care of the Indians under the Secretary of War.[10]

The Indians remained directly under the care of the Secretary of War until March 14, 1861, when the Bureau of Indian Affairs was created. Two

[8] Cooper to Benjamin, January 20, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. VIII, p. 5.

[9] Cooper to McCulloch, May 13, 1861, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. III, p. 375; Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Special Orders No. 234, November 22, 1861, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. VIII, p. 690; Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Special Orders No. 8, January 10, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 734.

[10] *Journal of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States of America*, 7 vols., *United States Senate Documents, No. 234*, 58th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), Vol. I, p. 69.

days later President Davis appointed David Hubbard of Alabama as the first Confederate Commissioner of Indian Affairs. It was eleven months later, however, before Robert W. Johnson of Arkansas, a member of the Confederate House of Representatives, introduced a bill calling for the organization of the Arkansas and Red River Superintendency of Indian Affairs. The bill was doomed to die in endless committees. The measure was later reintroduced by the then Senator Johnson and approved by the Confederate Congress on April 8, 1862.[11]

This act provided for the creation of the Arkansas and Red river Superintendency of Indian Affairs and the regulation of trade and intercourse with the Indians within its boundaries. It also called for a superintendent and six agents to handle the affairs between the Indians and the Confederacy. The agents were to be bonded in the amount of $50,000 and were required to continue residency in Indian Territory during their terms of office. They were prohibited from engaging in mercantile pursuit or any other gainful occupation and were not allowed to prosecute Indian claims against the Confederacy. The area of the superintendency which was to include all of the Indian country annexed to the Confederacy, was described as being located west of Arkansas and Missouri, north of Texas, and east of Texas and New Mexico.[12]

The measure provided a salary of $2,500 a year for the superintendent and $1,000 a year for his clerk. In the selection of interpreters, applicants of Indian descent were to be given preference. The act left the control of trade within Indian Territory in the hands of the tribal authorities, but trade privileges were greatly limited. Safeguards against fraud and graft were provided for in all payments due the Indians, and all land alienations were removed. All spirituous liquors were banned from the territory, as were all intruders. The Indians were allowed to retain their own customs of citizenship and adoption. Any foreign emissaries were designated as spies and were to be treated as such and foreign interference in Indian affairs was prohibited. Indian Territory was temporarily attached to the western district of Arkansas for judicial purposes, and the South reserved for itself the right to apprehend all criminals other than Indians. Armed police were provided in the absence of regular troops for the maintenance of order and the protection of citizens. The South also reserved the right of jurisdiction over cases involving counterfeiting and the fugitive slave laws and the eminent domain over all agency sites and buildings and military installations. The law provided for the headquarters of the superintendency

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 142, 154, 640; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 210.

[12] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 51–52; Annie Abel, *The American Indian as a Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1919), pp. 174–178.

to be located either at Fort Smith or Van Buren, Arkansas, whichever the President chose. It also compelled the agents to make the payments due the Indians in either specie or treasury notes. With the implementation of this law, the Confederacy was ready to assume its role of protector and ally of the inhabitants of Indian Territory.[13]

With the organization of the superintendency, the problem of selecting its director became apparent. Nearly six months was required for the Confederacy to choose a man for the job. This tardiness in filling the position resulted in some delay in the payments of annuities and allowances due the Indians. Though Pike had been instrumental in securing the Indian alliances for the Confederacy, Douglas H. Cooper became foremost among the aspirants for the position. Cooper, however, was determined not to divide the civil and military responsibilities of Indian Territory. Thus on August 8, 1862, Cooper asked to be placed in command of the military forces in Indian Territory and also to be appointed the ex officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He contended that he was entitled to the post because he had prevented the seizure of the area by Federal forces and because Pike was totally unfit for the responsibility.[14]

Cooper received his appointment on September 29, 1862. However, following charges that "habitual intoxication and notorious drunkenness" had caused his withdrawal without resistance in the face of Northern forces, his commission was withheld on the urging of Major General Theophilus H. Holmes. Holmes indicated that there were matters connected with Cooper's appointment which made it necessary to prevent his taking immediate charge. Instead, Holmes ordered Major General Thomas C. Hindman to search for some competent officer to receive the commission, and in the meantime he appointed Brigadier General John S. Roane to assume the duties of Indian Affairs Superintendent.[15]

These delays in the choice of a suitable superintendent for the Arkansas and Red River Agency did nothing to enhance Southern chances of producing a workable alliance with the Indians. The Confederacy, by its own bureaucratic blundering and ineptness, failed to formulate a clear and concise program needed for the success of its efforts in Indian Territory. Had the South followed the suggestions of Pike's proposals, perhaps the

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 178; *Journal of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States of America*, Vol. II, pp. 51–52.

[14] Cooper to Davis, August 8, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, pp. 820–821; James D. Richardson, comp., *The Messages and Papers of Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy* (2 vols. New York: Chelsea House, 1966), Vol. I, p. 238.

[15] Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Special Orders No. 227, September 29, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 885; Randolph to Holmes, October 27, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 908; Holmes to Hindman, November 5, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 910–911.

confusion resulting from the attempts at creating an Indian policy would have been avoided.

The Confederacy then began efforts to fulfill the civil functions required by the treaties. The functioning of these civil services of the South within Indian Territory were hampered by Federal military occupation and domination of large areas of the country throughout the course of the war. In addition, because of the subserviency of civilian control to the military, the South was never able to completely fulfill its role in civil matters.

All of the treaties provided that the Confederacy construct and maintain post roads and carry the mail at reasonable intervals and at the same rates of postage between the principal locations within Indian Territory. The Postmaster General of the Confederacy, John H. Reagan, attempted to organize the Confederate postal system along the lines of the abandoned Federal system inside Indian Territory. From the beginning, however, the Confederate Postal Service was plagued by shortages of essential materials necessary for successful operation and pay for personnel who maintained the service.[16]

To insure that the postal service would continue uninterrupted, Reagan gave the local postmasters extra authority to initiate temporary service until a regular system could be established. Apparently the first regular route began operation on January 10, 1862, in response to a bid proposal issued the previous September. The route was operated by John A. Shaw and ran from Clarksville, Texas, to Doaksville, Choctaw Nation. From this beginning a regular system was soon established which covered most of the Indian lands. The northernmost office was Grand Saline on the Grand River in present-day Mayes County, and from there the route spread southward, encompassing Tahlequah, Fort Gibson, and Webbers Falls. These offices were joined with the regular postal system in Arkansas at both Evansville and Fort Smith. The system continued southward through Perryville, Boggy Depot, and as far west as Fort Arbuckle. Another route began in Washington, Arkansas, and ran westward through Wheelock, Doaksville, the Armstrong Academy, and Fort Washita. The entire system in Indian Territory was linked to the postal service in Texas at Clarksville, Sherman, and Gainesville.[17]

The Confederate postal system soon began to deteriorate, however, as successive waves of Union and Confederate armies swept over the area. The routes in the northern portion of Indian Territory soon ceased to function because of the reconquest of the Cherokee country by the Federal

[16] George Shirk, "Confederate Postal System in Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, No. 2 (Summer, 1963), pp. 164–167.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 171–215.

forces. The volume of mail on the southern routes decreased to such an extent that routes became practically nonexistent. Some regularity was maintained, however, by the incorporation of the Army Courier Service into the civilian postal system. The army system had been maintained separately from the regular postal service but it soon began to carry not only military dispatches but private correspondence also. It was by this makeshift arrangement that a semblance of postal service continued to operate throughout the war in the Confederatee occupied portion of Indian Territory.[18]

Of all the civil functions promised in the Indian treaties, the one calling for the creation of a court system within Indian Territory was probably most widely hailed by the Indians. Because they had long experienced white man's laws as applied to the Indians on white man's ground, they were eager to have control over their own judicial system. Article XXXVII of the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty and Article XXIII of the Cherokee Treaty provided the framework for the court system that the Confederacy hoped to establish in Indian Territory.[19]

In order to secure the enforcement of the laws of the Confederate States and to prevent the Indians from being harassed by foreign courts, two judicial districts were established. The Tush-ca-hom-ma district, which was to meet semiannually, was located at Boggy Depot in the Choctaw Nation; and the Chalahki district, which also met semiannually, was located at Tahlequah in the Cherokee Nation. These courts were to be regular district courts of the Confederacy with the exclusive power in criminal cases to try, condemn, and punish offenders who violated the law. They also were empowered to pronounce sentence and carry out execution. They were to exercise the same judicial power as any other district court system in the Confederacy.[20]

The Indian courts were to have jurisdiction in all civil suits and equity questions when the value of the suit was greater than $500. This power was not restricted to cases involving Indians alone, but was to include all cases between citizens of any state or territory of the Confederacy. All judges, clerks, marshals, and other officers of the courts were to be appointed by the Confederate Congress, but filled by citizens of Indian Territory whenever possible. The courts were restricted from trying or punishing any person who had brought suit or committed a crime before the signing of the treaty. The courts were required to furnish court-appointed counsel for

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

[19] Annie Abel, *The American Indian as a Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915), pp. 177–178; *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 455, 676.

[20] *Ibid.*

persons unable to afford attorneys themselves, and the costs of subpoenaing a witness, plus mileage and fees, were to be underwritten by the Confederacy. The judiciary was given the full faith and credit of the judicial officers of the same grade and jurisdiction in any of the Confederate states. Thus was established for Indian Territory a workable judicial system based on the same rights and privileges as white citizens of the Confederacy, and on equal terms with the other Southern states' court systems.[21]

Not only did the Confederacy give the Indians control over their courts, but also the treaties greatly increased the legal rights of the Indians. Extradition was provided for not only among the Indian nations themselves, but also between the Indians and the other states of the Confederacy. These actions by the South virtually ended all discrimination based on Indian blood within the Confederate court system.[22]

The Confederacy had provided the Indians with a judicial system which gave them control over the courts and extended their legal rights; however, like the other civil services which the South attempted to establish inside Indian Territory, this one also failed. The treaties stipulated that until these courts were actually in operation, the Indians would be placed under the jurisdiction of the District Court of Western Arkansas. Though this was meant as a temporary measure, the Indians never received the courts they were promised. This inability of the Confederacy to fulfill its obligations to the Indians was blamed on the disturbed condition of the country. Whatever the reason, the question of the courts remained a course of dissatisfaction among the Indians throughout the war.[23]

The Indians were not subject to taxation in their relationship with the Confederacy, and were further guaranteed that they would not have to bear any of the cost of the present war or any future war. These measures removed the Indians from any obligation of the war debts incurred by the South. Relieved of such burdens of taxation, the Indians did not tax themselves; instead, they relied on the few revenue raising measures allowed in the treaties.[24]

The Indians were allowed to tax all licensed white traders importing goods into Indian Territory. This import tax, to be based on the initial cost of the products, was not to exceed one and one-fourth percent, and the license was not to be required of citizens of Indian Territory who engaged in trading. All goods offered for sale by an unlicensed person, along with

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 455–456, 676–678.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 432–433, 454–456, 518–519, 677–678.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 455–456; Scott to Seddon, December 1, 1861, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Part IV, pp. 1088–1089.

[24] *Ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 434, 457, 520, 679.

all wines and liquors, were subject to seizure. The Indians also were permitted to collect a fee of one dollar per head for all cattle which were pastured on their lands.[25]

The main income of the Indians continued to be the annuities paid to them by the Confederate government. The Creeks received $24,500 in perpetual annuities per year, the Choctaws $9,000, the Chickasaws $3,000, the Seminoles $25,000, and the Cherokees $10,000. These annuities, however, were not the sum total of the financial aid which the Indians received each year from the South. All of the Five Civilized Tribes received money for the establishment of schools, the development of blacksmith facilities, and the increase of agricultural production. When these payments along with the interest on bonds held by the Confederacy are considered together, the revenue of the Indians reached great proportions. The Creeks received $7,000 for educational purposes, $7,640 for agricultural projects and blacksmith shops, and $32,820 for interest on their bonds. With these allotments the total paid to the Creeks by the South rose to $71,960.[26]

The other tribes received the same special allotments. The Choctaws received $600 for the support of their Light Horsemen, $600 for blacksmiths, $320 in lieu of the permanent provision for iron and steel development, and $25,000 in interest. These made their total $35,520. The Chickasaws were entitled to $22,616.89 in various assorted allotments, in addition to sharing in the special allotments of the Choctaws. Their total reached $22,616.89. The Confederacy paid the Seminoles $3,000 for the support of their tribal schools, $2,000 for agricultural development, $2,200 for blacksmith facilities, plus an additional $1,000 for the erection of two schoolhouses. These sums, along with interest, made the total due the Seminoles $45,000. The Confederacy granted the Cherokees $4,500 for a permanent orphan fund. $17,772 for educational purposes, and $43,372.36 in interest on state bonds. The Cherokees were also to receive the interest paid on $5,000 per year for their orphan fund. With these allotments, it would appear that the Indians greatly benefited from their alliance with the Confederacy.[27]

This aid, which the South promised the Indians, would have been very beneficial to the Indians had the Confederacy been able to honor its commitments. The progress of the war, however, made it practically impossible for the South to fulfill its obligations in regard to financial aid. By the summer of 1862, the Confederacy began to default on its annuity payments, much to the dissatisfaction of the Indians. Later in the war attempts were

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 430–432, 451–452, 518.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 435–437, 457–461, 521–522, 680–685.
[27] *Ibid.*

made to rectify the situation, but by that time payment was being made in nearly worthless script or in cotton for which there was no market.[28]

Elias Cornelius Boudinot, the Cherokee representative to the Confederate House of Representatives, attempted to prod the Southern government into honoring its obligations. He met with the Confederate Indian Commissioner, S. S. Scott, and Lieutenant General Edmund Kirby-Smith, the commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, in an attempt to gain more financial aid for the Southern Indians. This attempt was unsuccessful, however, and Boudinot secured a loan on his own responsibility for $10,000 for the aid of the Indians. Later Boudinot introduced a bill calling for a loan of $100,000 by the Confederate government to the Cherokee Nation. The measure was passed and signed into law on January 22, 1864.[29]

Boudinot warned the Southern Indians that the loan should be kept at the lowest possible sum. He argued that the loan would have to be paid back in full and that the growing inflation and depreciation of Confederate currency would destroy the face value of the money. He urged that the Cherokees spend as little of the money as possible until the currency was stabilized, at which time the Indians could benefit from its full value.[30]

Toward the end of the war the South attempted to fulfill some of its financial obligations. Boudinot secured the passage of an act by the Confederate Congress to pay the back annuities in cotton. He also planned to attempt to secure passage of an act which would appropriate an additional $50,000 for aid to the Cherokees. The Confederacy, however, was never to fulfill its annuity agreements with the Five Civilized Tribes.[31]

To permit the Indians to participate fully in the government of the Confederacy, the Creeks and Seminoles were allowed jointly one representative in the House of Representatives. The Choctaws and Chickasaws were also allowed one representative to be elected alternately from either tribe, and the Cherokees were entitled to a single delegate. These representatives were to serve two-year terms, had to be twenty-one years of age and under no legal disability. The Creek and Seminole delegate had to be a member of either nation. The Cherokee representative was required to be a native born citi-

[28] Pike to Hindman, June 8, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. XIII, p. 914.

[29] Ohland Morton, "Confederate Government Relations with the Five Civilized Tribes, Part 2, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1953), p. 313; Boudinot to Watie, November 4, 1863, Edward E. Dale and Gaston Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge–Watie–Boudinot Family* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), pp. 143–144; Angie Debo, "Southern Refugees of the Cherokee Nation," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (April, 1932), pp. 258–259.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[31] Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838–1907* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), pp. 167–168.

zen, and the Choctaw and Chickasaw member had to be a tribal member by birth either on the father's or mother's side.[32]

The election of the delegates was to be held at the times and places designated by the Indian agents, or in the case of the Cherokees, under the conditions which were prescribed by the principal chief. All future elections were to be held in accordance with the laws of the Confederate States. In case of a vacancy due to death or resignation, an election was to be held to determine the replacement who would serve out the unexpired term. The new representative was to fulfill the same requirements as the one he replaced, and in the case of a united tribal representative, the replacement was to be elected from the same nation as the one he replaced. In either case the agent was to declare the person who received the greatest number of votes to be the duly elected representative.[33]

The delegates were to insure that the Indians would be able to secure the rights they were entitled to without the intervention of their agents. The delegates were allowed to propose and introduce measures for the benefit of the Indian nations. They were also permitted to speak on other questions under consideration, subject to possible restrictions placed upon them by the Confederate House of Representatives.[34]

This was perhaps the most successful of the civil functions which the South attempted to implement in Indian Territory. The Indians were very enthusiastic at the opportunity of having a voice in the Confederate government. The prescribed elections were held, and the duly elected delegates hurried to the Southern capital to assume their duties. The first Indian delegate to appear was Robert M. Jones, a Choctaw, representating the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. He was given his seat in the House of Representatives on January 17, 1863. Jones was followed the next year by Elias C. Boudinot, representing the Cherokees, who was admitted on January 8, 1864, and S. B. Callahan, the Creek and Seminole representative, who was seated on May 30, 1864.[35]

These delegates offered the Indians their best method of stating their grievances and insuring themselves of consideration in the policies followed by the Confederacy. Apparently the Indians used their representatives with a great degree of success. Through them they were able to secure for the various nations substantial sums of money to relieve the suffering resulting from the course of the war. It was in this function that the South came closest to fulfilling its obligations to the Indians.

[32] *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. 1, pp. 435, 452–453, 520–521, 679–680, 687.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 435, 443, 452, 456, 520, 527, 679, 687.
[35] *Ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. III, pp. 1189, 1191.

It appeared that the Confederacy had very little success in establishing the civil functions which were so necessary for the operation of normal government agencies in Indian Territory. Though the programs outlined for the country were well organized and developed, they were never adequately initiated and maintained. This difference in paper planning and actual execution was the result of many factors. Perhaps the most relevant of these was the continuing devastation of Indian Territory as the opposing armies advanced and retreated across the country. The dislocation and confusion resulting from the military campaigns made it virtually impossible to establish a civil government with any degree of effectiveness. The Confederacy was hampered also by financial problems from the onset of the Civil War, and early in the conflict the money promised by the South became worthless.

Apparently in its haste to gain the much desired Indian alliance, the Confederacy was guilty of promising much more than it could ever deliver. In return for the needed buffer territory to protect Texas from a Northern invasion, the South seemed willing to offer such bountiful promises that it would be impossible either for the Indians to refuse or the South to honor them. Perhaps also the failure of the Confederate treaties could be blamed on Albert Pike and his successors. Pike had worked with the Indians for most of his adult life, and he was deeply concerned with their treatment. He found a method: gain for the Indians what had long been denied by the Federal government. Early in the war he submitted an eleven-point proposal designed to make the Confederate effort in Indian Territory a success. The majority of the points of this plan were ignored by Southern officials in Richmond. It is evident that if Pike's way had prevailed, the Indians would never have suffered because of the disinterest of the Confederacy. Partly because he could not fulfill all of the treaty stipulations, Pike resigned his commission, and his successors did not have the welfare of the Indians at heart. The blame for the Confederate failure to carry out the treaty stipulations cannot be laid entirely on the central government in Richmond, for it was so concerned with its own existence after 1863 that it had little time to carefully investigate and act on charges of mismanagement in Indian Territory. The Indians were not ignored by the South, but it became physically impossible early in the war for the South to fulfill most of its obligations to the Five Civilized Tribes.

UNITED STATES INDIAN AGENTS TO THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

*By LeRoy H. Fischer**

Introduction

Nearly all of the United States Indian Agents of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory between 1834 and 1870 had served in government positions before their employment by the Office of Indian Affairs. The abilities of the agents varied as widely as their backgrounds. Some had served as governors and legislators in different states. Many had seen military service, and a number had prior employment involving experience with the Five Civilized Tribes. As agents, all were tormented by the liquor traffic, alcoholism, and the need for education. Many other difficult problems varied widely from tribe to tribe. In 1869 the Office of Indian Affairs replaced the civilian agents of the Five Civilized Tribes, including the superintendent of the Southern Superintendency, with regular Army Officers. In the following year the Army officers were relieved and replaced by civilians. It was still common practice, nonetheless, to detail Army officers for service with the Five Civilized Tribes, such as during the removal and at other periods of change or unrest. During the 1870's, religious denominations were authorized to nominate persons to serve as agents, but this had little impact on the Five Civilized Tribes, for their individual agencies were combined into the Union Agency at Muskogee in 1874.

The Creek agents were headquartered at various places in the vicinity of Fort Gibson and the confluence of the Arkansas, Grand, and Verdigris rivers. For many years the agency was located on the Arkansas River six miles upstream from Fort Gibson. In 1851, when the Southern Superintendency replaced the Western Superintendency, the agency moved about five additional miles up the Arkansas River from Fort Gibson. During the Civil War, most of the Creeks who remained loyal to the United States took refuge in Kansas; thus the Creek agent established temporary headquarters in Kansas, first at Leroy and then at the Sac and Fox Agency. The Creek agent returned to Indian Territory in the last year of the war

* Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Professor of History at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, has continued and written the introduction here for the last of the series of four articles on U.S. Indian Agents of the Five Civilized Tribes, the first two of which appeared in *The Chronicles* for autumn, 1972 (Vol. L, No. 3).

and located about twelve miles up the Arkansas River above Fort Gibson near the old agency site. This was intended to be a temporary location, but permanent buildings for the Creek Agency had not been constructed anywhere when the separate agencies of the Five Civilized tribes were merged into the Union Agency in Muskogee in 1874.

The agents of the Creeks were mainly honest in their tribal work, and three had attained some degree of prominence by serving in state legislatures. The besetting problem of the agents was the lack of tribal unification due to the Upper and Lower divisions, among the Creek people, a condition that was not overcome until 1871. In addition, liquor traffic and alcoholism persisted. Until 1861, all Creek agents were associated with the military in the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes from the South, and therefore they brought valuable experience to their position. Without exception, all Creek agents were deeply interested in their people.

These men served as agents of the Creeks in Indian Territory:

Creek Agency	*Date Appointed*
Robert A. McCabe (subagent)	Notified July 8, 1834
Wharton Rector (subagent)	August 19, 1835
Francis Audrain (Subagent)	August 29, 1836
John W. A. Sandford	March 8, 1837
James Logan	February 23, 1838
James L. Dawson	May 16, 1842
James Logan	June 8, 1844
Philip H. Raiford	April 5, 1849
William H. Garrett	April 18, 1853
George A. Cutler	July 16, 1861
James W. Dunn	June 9, 1865
Capt. F. A. Field	July 15, 1869
Francis S. Lyon	January 23, 1871
Edward R. Roberts	April 9, 1873

The Seminole subagent, beginning in 1842, was headquartered on the Deep Fork of the Canadian River, but in 1845 was moved to a location near Little River, in present Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma. After the Seminole Subagency was made a full agency in 1855, and many additional Seminoles were removed from Florida in 1858, a new agency headquarters was built near present Trousdale in Pottawatomie County. During the Civil War those Seminoles loyal to the United States settled in Kansas and

the agency was moved to Neosho Falls. Finally, in 1867, the agency headquarters was moved to Wewoka in the Seminole Nation.

The lack of competent Seminole subagents and agents in the early years in Indian Territory hindered the adjustment of the tribe. A major problem for the agents was the desire of the Office of Indian Affairs to make the Seminoles a constituent part of the Creek tribe, a point of view opposed by all Seminole subagents and agents before 1856 except for John McKee. The other subagents and agents advocated separation for the Seminoles as a major step toward adjustment. Liquor traffic, alcoholism, and the need for education were continuing problems. On the whole, the Seminole agents lacked prominence before their appointments. Samuel Rutherford was the one exception. He had spent forty years in Arkansas and in national politics. He may, however, have taken the Seminole Agency as a semi-retired position, and the general obscurity of the other agents would also suggest that the Seminole Agency was not a coveted political plumb.

These men served as subagents and agents of the Seminoles in Indian Territory:

Seminole Subagency	*Date Appointed*
John McKee	January 19, 1842
Thomas L. Judge	October 29, 1842
Marcellus Duval	July 11, 1845
Bryant H. Smithson	April 26, 1853
Josiah W. Washbourne	April 20, 1854
Seminole Agency	
Josiah W. Washbourne	June 8, 1855
Samuel M. Rutherford	November 5, 1857
William P. Davis	Appointed July 13, 1861, but did not serve
George A. Reynolds	March 18, 1865
Capt. Theodore A. Baldwin	June 23, 1869
Henry F. Breiner	October 24, 1870

CREEK INDIAN AGENTS, 1834–1874

By Joel D. Boyd

Over the years Indian agents have sometimes been depicted as money-grabbers and self-serving opportunists. Many circumstances existed wherein agents could line their pockets at the expense of their wards. The Creeks, however, were relatively fortunate to have had a period of forty years when their agents were mainly honest.

Charged with insuring the well-being of the Creeks and aiding the progress of the tribe in attaining the white man's civilization, the agents were a necessary and indispensible link between the not always understanding Federal Government and the once affluent, once powerful, and still proud Creek Nation. Obviously, the proficiency of the agents in the execution of their duties profoundly affected the Creeks. Fourteen agents were appointed and served between the years 1834 and 1874. Their tenure in office varied from only a few months to as much as eight consecutive years. Although there were similarities in the background and experience of the agents, each was distinctively individual, and each one's attitudes toward and relations with the Creeks strongly affected Creek attitudes toward the Federal government.

Eight of the fourteen agents to serve the forty years from 1834 to 1874 were appointed and served from 1834 to 1853. Four of these eight served during the years 1834 to 1838. Thus, during the critical period of Creek removal and rettlement in Indian Territory, tribal stability and adjustment were hampered by the frequent turnover of agents. To add further to the difficulty, the location of the agency itself was moved five times during the forty years, three of which occurred between 1834 and 1851.[1]

In 1827 Chilly McIntosh along with some 1,200 of his followers had arrived in what was to become known as Indian Territory. Settling in an area near the mouth of the Verdigris River, these Creek Indians were the only substantial number of the tribe to emigrate voluntarily to western lands. In 1832 a treaty between the Creeks and the United States ceded all Creek lands east of the Mississippi to the United States and provided for individual Creeks to remain on their native lands. By 1835, however, the terms of the treaty were abrogated, and in February, 1836, the government proceeded to forceably remove the remaining Creeks to the vicinity of Fort

[1] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), pp. 182–183n.

Gibson. In 1836 alone, 14,609 Creeks were sent westward.[2] The removal and resettlement not only disrupted the progress of the tribe, but also retarded further growth of any good will that could have been achieved between Indian and white. Once independent and wealthy in their own right, the Creeks were now destitute and considered wards of the United States, and the United States was represented in the person of appointed Indian agents.

During the removal and resettlement period, agents for the Creek Nation were initially agents for removal and not particularly concerned with the readjustment of the tribe in the new location. Notable among the four men who served from 1834 to 1838 was Colonel Wharton Rector, who was appointed on August 19, 1835. Rector was a member of a prominent Arkansas family which had migrated from Virginia. He had served earlier among the southern tribes when he and three other army officers were dispatched in 1832 to the districts of the Choctaw Nation to determine the numbers of Indians who would emigrate that fall. After serving only eleven months as a removal agent for the Creeks, he was appointed Paymaster of the Army in 1836. His effect upon the tribe cannot be fully determined, but his conduct outside the office of agent may provide hints about his character.[3]

Major Ethan A. Hitchcock, dispatched in 1841 to investigate charges of swindling among the various tribes in Indian Territory, mentions Colonel Rector vividly in his journal.[4] It seems that Rector imbibed excessively in liquor. Major Hitchcock further states that he is "inclined to suspect him," apparently referring to the swindling charges.[5] "That I don't like him is true," Hitchcock confided, "a renegade as he is from St. Louis and desperate in his feeling as he certainly is. He suspects he is not respected because he feels that he has forfeited respect and he has found himself so successful in bravado heretofore that he has purposely sought a quarrel with me. I hope not to see him again."[6] If this profile is even true in part, then Rector's impact upon the tribe was more than likely negative.

In February, 1842, Rector died at the age of forty-two and was buried in Van Buren, Arkansas.[7] Rector's brother, Elias Rector, had considerably

[2] C. A. Harris to J. R. Poinsett, February 5, 1838, *Military Affairs, American State Papers*, 2nd Session, 24th Congress, and 1st and 2nd Session, 25th Congress (7 vols., Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1861), Vol. VII, p. 952.

[3] Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr., *The Removal of the Choctaw Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1970), pp. 151–152.

[4] Grant Foreman, ed., *A Traveler in Indian Territory: The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock* (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1930), pp. 21–23.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 21n.

more influence, particularly in 1860 and 1861, when he served as the head of the Southern Superintendency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which involved all the tribes in Indian Territory.

The second of the early agents following removal who had influence upon the Creek Nation was John W. A. Sanford. He was appointed as agent on March 8, 1837. He probably had more effect upon the Creek Nation prior to his appointment than during his service as agent. In 1833, together with Dr. Robert McHenry, he was appointed as certifying agent to witness the sale and transfer of the Creek lands in Alabama and Georgia to prospective buyers.[8] The sale of these lands was pursuant to the treaty agreement of 1832, which permitted the Creeks to sell their lands. Unfortunately, the Creeks had no concept of the value of their land in United States currency, and as a result they were the object of a gigantic fraud. The unabashed land swindle which followed caught not only Sandford but the entire Federal government in a tidal wave of scandal.

As for Sanford's part in the frauds, he had hinted to the government that they were occurring.[9] Furthermore, he took a dim view of the fact that a Congressman had received $500 for his advice to a company on contracts. He wrote: "What! a member of Congress paid for the indiscriminate defence of a landjobbing co. thro right and thro wrong.—paid, Sir, to tell or disguise the truth, to disclose or discolor facts so as to misguide one of the Departments of Government in its investigations."[10] Sanford's concern for the government appears to be sincere, and he attempted to correct and control the situation. By April, 1835, the government called a halt to certifying the sales and direct Sanford to conduct an investigation into the frauds. Perhaps due to his position as a certifying agent, the Indians did not trust him and the investigations were foredoomed to failure.[11]

In September, 1835, Sanford and some associates created an emigration company to remove the Creek Nation to the western lands. On September 17, 1835, an agreement between the United States government and John W. A. Sanford and Company was finalized. The agreement charged the company with the collection of the Creek Nation and its removal to the western lands. Furthermore, the company had to provide provisions for the tribe and their livestock. The company received $20 for each Creek that arrived in the western land. To insure that the company did not coerce the Creeks and that it treated them with "lenity, forbearance and

[8] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), p. 129.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

humanity," the government provided at least two military agents to accompany the Creek Nation west. The agents were charged with the duties of attending "particularly to the treatment received by the Indians . . . to remonstrate against any course of conduct on the part of the agents of the said John W. A. Sanford and Company." In addition, the government provided a surgeon for each removal group. The contract between the company and the government provided not only for protection against ill treatment of the tribe but for pecuniary penalties for the company should the stipulations of the contract be broken in any way. The contract terminated on July 1, 1836.[12]

On March 8, 1837, Sanford was appointed agent to the Creek Indians, and served only until February 23, 1838. Thus he likely had little impact on the Creeks while serving as agent. This lact of impact was probably true for the other two Creek agents who served during the removal and resettlement period, for they also had brief tenures. Captain Robert A. McCabe was appointed on July 8, 1834, and continued until August 19, 1835. Francis Audrain was appointed on August 29, 1836, and served until March 8, 1837.

On February 23, 1838, James Logan was appointed as agent to the Creek Nation; he served until May 16, 1842, and later from June 8, 1844, until April 5, 1849. In all Logan served a total of nine years, and he was one of the more abler Creek agents. He was born on March 11, 1791, in Danville, Kentucky, and moved to Arkansas in the early 1830's. On February 11, 1832, he became postmaster of Sprada, Arkansas, and in 1836 he was elected to the first state legislature. Logan was a former army officer and was considered an accomplished Indian linguist, spending his early years among the Shawnee, Delaware, and Piankashaw Indians.[13]

Upon becoming agent to the Creek Nation in 1838, Logan was confronted by what he considered two overriding problems: the division of the Creek Nation into Upper and Lower tribes, and the consumption of liquor by the tribe. Throughout both tenures in office, Logan sought to attain amicable relations between the two divisions of the tribe and to eliminate the liquor trade among the Creeks.

Immediately Logan set about to induce the two factions to unite and compromise their differences. Twice the heads of the two factions agreed to meet in council, but they failed to do so. Finally, on February 17, 1839, the two factions met in council to discuss their differences and unite the

[12] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 24th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1836), pp. 295–297.

[13] Steve Logan, "From Sarber to Logan," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1954), pp. 96–97; Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), p. 171.

tribe. In 1840 the Creeks united and constructed a tribal council house for annual meetings. The designation of Upper and Lower tribes remained in effect, however.[14]

Logan seemed optimistic about the progress and next set about to attack the traffic in liquor, which he felt was so detrimental to the tribe. This task, however, continued to frustrate Logan throughout his first tenure and a good portion of his second appointment. Even though the tribal council passed laws with severe penalties against the liquor traffic, it persisted. On May 16, 1842, Logan was replaced by Captain James L. Dawson, who served until June 8, 1844. On that date, Logan was reappointed agent to the Creek Nation.

The appointment of Dawson undoubtedly left Logan frustrated in his efforts to correct the liquor problem and improve the conditions for the Creeks. The picture he paints of the tribe in 1844, upon his return, illustrates his attitude toward any previous gains he had made, as well as his approach in improving the conditions of the Creeks: "So far as I have been able to discover, no important changes have taken place to better the Creeks within the last two years. On the contrary in the lower towns, they appear to be rather retrograding." Logan confided: "I find this portion of the nation flooded with whiskey; probably double the quantity of that article is now among them, to what I have known at any time previous." He concluded: "While such a state of things exists, it is impossible that they can prosper."[15] He goes on to describe a surplus of crops and varied agriculture, but commented specifically about a lack of spinning and weaving among the Lower towns, again attributing this to the abundance of liquor. He emphasized the liquor traffic as being one of geography, since the Lower Creek towns were easier to reach by traders than were the Upper Creek towns. He intended to attack the problem most vigorously through the Creek Tribal Council: "The general council of the Creeks will take place this fall; in attending it, I shall not fail to make an attempt to impress upon the minds of the chiefs the necessity of their bringing into operation the law passed by the council some years since, making the sale of ardent spirits a capital offence among their own people."[16] Still Logan continued to be concerned about the traffic in liquor, and later in 1847, he again reflected on his concern and his lack of progress in achieving the eradication of the sale of liquor.[17]

[14] Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 167.

[15] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 28th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1845), p. 466.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

[17] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 30th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Wendell and Van Benthysen, 1847), pp. 886–888.

Although Logan constantly fought the liquor traffic in the Creek Nation, his attention was on other problems simultaneously. In 1845 he was concerned with the relief of the tribe's plight as a result of floods that had struck in June of that year. He demonstrated concern over the governmental structure of the tribe and the inequities of annuity distribution by the tribal chiefs. His hope for the Creek Nation as a whole was one of continued improvement and general well-being.[18]

Logan also spent considerable time assuring that education was made available to the Creek Nation. A Presbyterian mission had been established among the Creeks in 1842, but progress of the mission in providing education and religion to the Creeks was inhibited by traditional religious beliefs still adhered to by members of the tribe. This condition persisted until 1845, when Logan first noted that some of the Creeks accepted both religious and practical education.[19]

On April 5, 1849, Logan was replaced as agent to the Creek Nation. He returned to Arkansas and lived there until his death in November, 1857.[20] During his nine years as agent, he had observed the development of the Creek Nation divided into two parties, each rivaling the other in intense hatred, jealousy, and discord.[21] By 1849, however, mostly due to Logan's efforts, the tribe was unified in deliberation and effort. The Creeks had become agriculturally prosperous and socially progressive. His attempts to eliminate the liquor traffic were never completely successful, but much of the traffic was stifled due to his efforts and his personal impact upon the tribal council. James Logan was an important figure in Creek history and should be considered as a positive influence upon the progress, well-being, and accomplishments of the tribe from 1838 to 1849. More importantly, he exerted the most positive leadership that had confronted the Creeks since the beginning of their removal in 1834.

As previously stated, in the midst of Logan's nine-year tenure, Captain James L. Dawson served as agent to the Creeks from May 16, 1842, until June 8, 1844. Captain Dawson was born in Maryland in 1799 and received a commission in the army in 1819. He served in the Seventh United States Infantry Regiment at Fort Smith, Arkansas, from 1821 until 1825, and at Fort Gibson from 1825 until 1835, when he resigned from the service. Dawson's military record was varied and, on occasion, flamboyant. He was, however, instrumental in surveying many of the early roadways in present

[18] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 29th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Ritchie and Heiss, 1846), pp. 514–522.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 519–521.

[20] Logan, "From Sarber to Logan," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, p. 97.

[21] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 30th Congress, 1st Session, p. 886.

northeastern Oklahoma and western Arkansas. In 1842, Dawson was near bankruptcy over some abortive dealings in Mississippi and Arkansas, but he managed to obtain an appointment as agent to the Creek Nation.[22]

Dawson was thoroughly familiar with the area where the Creek Nation was located, as well as somewhat aware of their situation when they were removed to the area. He had surveyed much of the land where the Creeks had settled and had frequent contacts with the Creeks who had settled along the Verdigris in 1827. He was intelligent but firey in temperament, having been court martialed as a result of his temper. This peculiarity would eventually lead to his undoing.[23]

Upon arriving at the agency, Dawson considered the tribe to be in excellent condition. He reported that "the utmost harmony prevails in the nation," and they possessed "the most abundant crop of corn, beans, and etc., ever before produced in the nation."[24] He further emphasized the desire of the tribal leaders for a Christian minister among the tribe. What little Christian religious activities the Creeks had were conducted by some of their black slaves. In 1842, the year Dawson began his work as agent, the Presbyterians established a mission among the Creeks. Later this mission provided not only religious instruction, but general education for the tribe. In 1843 Dawson considered the tribe to be progressing satisfactorily with good produce from their agricultural efforts and a satisfactory attitude toward whites, while his concern over the liquor problem was not as strong as Logan's.[25]

Dawson's bad year was 1844. On July 8, in an argument with his bondsman, Seaborn Hill, a trader in the Creek Nation, Dawson fatally shot Hill. Dawson and his brother-in-law and accomplice, John R. Baylor, were placed under arrest by Chief Roly McIntosh. McIntosh immediately notified the commander of the garrison at Fort Gibson. Due to a ruling concerning jurisdictional authority of the Arkansas courts over Indian Territory, Dawson and Baylor were released, and they fled to Texas. James Logan and others put up a reward for Dawson's capture. So ended Captain Dawson's career as Creek agent, and apparently any other means of livelihood. He was finally captured and taken to Little Rock in 1852, after eluding the law for nearly ten years. Although extradited, he was never convicted and died in Westminister, Maryland, in 1879. His contribution to the Creeks

[22] James Henry Gardner, "The Lost Captain: J. L. Dawson of Old Fort Gibson," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (September, 1943), pp. 219–227.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 222–223.

[24] United States Senate, *Executive Document* 2, 27th Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1842), p. 451.

[25] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number* 2, 28th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Blair and Rives, 1843), pp. 429–432.

was limited to the encouragement of the Presbyterian mission. His affect upon the tribe would probably have been more widely felt had it not been for the unfortunate turn of events in his life in 1844.[26]

On April 5, 1849, Philip H. Raiford was appointed as agent to the Creek Nation, succeeding James Logan. Like his predecessors, Raiford was a former army officer. However, unlike them, he apparently had little contact with the Creek Nation prior to his appointment, and he confessed to having only a "limited knowledge of their habits some years ago."[27] Upon arrival, Raiford dispatched a report to the Western Superintendent of Indian Affairs. His impression of the Creek Nation was favorable, he wrote, and he concluded that the Creeks were "contented and happy, having an abundance of the necessities of life around them." He emphasized further: "The Creeks are at peace with all the surrounding nations, among themselves there are no factionists to disturb the settled and peaceful habits of the tribe. Their law-makers are abolishing by degrees many of their old and barbarous customs, and enacting in their stead sound and salutary law."[28] Raiford's enchantment with the Creek Nation, however, would not last long, for two years later his attitude toward the Creek lawmakers and Creek government had changed.

In the years 1850 and 1851 Indian Territory was caught in a severe drought. The first year was by far the worst. Raiford, however, did not seem too sympathetic with the plight of the Creek Nation. The crops of the Creeks, heretofore always in abundance, were now threatened and the Creeks feared they might have to import foodstuff. "This misfortune [importation], however, if it occurs" Raiford said, "will have a tendency to make them less improvident, and stimulate them to renewed exertions in providing against such an occurrence."[29] This suggests that the Creeks, in the midst of their abundance, consumed all of their produce rather than storing some for emergencies. Further, the comment illustrates Raiford's attitude. Rather than being sympathetic and instructing the Creeks in preparing for emergencies or asking for aid, he thought the situation might teach the Creeks a lesson in foresight. He was also disenchanted with the Creek government, calling it "rude and irresponsible" in 1851. The apparent bliss he first observed in 1849 had now given way to internal "dissentions

[26] Gardner, "The Lost Captain: J. L. Dawson of Old Fort Gibson," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, pp. 229–237.

[27] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 31st Congress, 1st Session (Washington: William M. Belt, 1850), p. 1118.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 2*, 32nd Congress, 1st Session (Washington: A. Boyd Hamilton, 1851), p. 384.

and difficulties, if not strife and bloodshed."[30] He believed that this division and dissention was a result of the inequities of the annuity distribution, previously alluded to by his predecessor, James Logan. Since annuities were paid to the Creeks as the tribe directed, the Creeks were paid according to their rank and position in the tribe; the majority of the population received only a small portion of the annuity payment.

Raiford was not without a solution, however. He suggested that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs sent him a letter directing him to call a council and suggested the adoption of a national constitution with a more equitable distribution of annuity payments. He further suggested a council of all tribes in the southwestern superintendencies in order that discussions could be held between agents and tribes in an effort to profit from common experiences.[31] But why should Raiford request the commissioner to write such a letter? It would appear that Raiford was not as influential and dynamic as his predecessors. If he could not bring about a council to consider his suggestions, perhaps his affect was limited. Apparently the tribe ignored his suggestions, indicating that Raiford was not a positive factor. With regard to a council of the various tribes, a precedent for such a meeting had already been set during Logan's tenure in 1841. At that time the Creeks sent invitations throughout the superintendency and the United States to any tribes they had heard of in an effort to call together those tribes to discuss common problems.[32]

Raiford was positive in one area, however. He sought for immediate settlement of all stipulations of the Treaty of 1826 between William McIntosh and the United States. The treaty was a result of the aid McIntosh had given to the United States Army during the Red Stick War. He reminded the Office of Indian Affairs of its duties and obligations to pay in full all the claims of the treaty, and urged the department to present to Congress an appropriation bill for the payment. Raiford felt that the tribe was still depending on receiving the payment, and that they were unwilling to settle down to work until the payment was made.[33]

Finally, Raiford regretted Creek trading with various tribes in Mexican captives, mostly children: "Several of those unfortunate children have been purchased by Creeks, and others living in that section [southwestern portion of Creek territory] and by them held in *slavery*."[34] It is significant that

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 385.

[32] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 29th Congress, 1st Session, p. 518.

[33] United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 2*, 32nd Congress, 1st Session, p. 386.

[34] *Ibid.*

his comment was made forcefully and the italics were those of Raiford. It seems apparent that Raiford objected to slavery of Mexican children, although he made no comment regarding the blacks who were slaves of the Creeks.

When Raiford was replaced in April, 1853, the situation had not changed appreciably, according to his successor.[35] Raiford had served four years with little or no gains achieved. His first impression of the Indians had been eroneous, and his attitude had changed. His contributions are difficult to determine, but he was the first agent to recommend some sort of action concerning the delinquent claims of the tribe. His influence is questionable otherwise. The request for a letter of instruction to the tribe from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs seems to indicate a lack of confidence on his part and also in the tribe. There is no doubt that the inequities of the tribal government worked a hardship on the tribe. This had been recognized early, but to affect a change seemed most difficult. The chiefs were held in awe by the tribal population, and as such they were willing participants in the governmental system. Furthermore, even though the tribe was accepting some of the white men's ways, the old traditions still were deeply ingrained. To expect a change from what had been acceptable government for centuries to one approximating state or federal government in only nineteen years would seem to be expecting too much. Raiford's affect was neither negative or positive, and conditions noted in 1849 by Logan were the same conditions described by his successor in 1853.

When Raiford terminated his tenure as agent, the period of removal and resettlement also came to a close. In nineteen years eight agents had served among the Creek Indians. One of the agents had become an outlaw and another had become disgruntled. Their total affect was positive for the most part, enabling the Creeks to pursue their agricultural ways and develop educational facilities. The tribe had unified itself and functioned primarily as a unit, even though dissention and division still remained among the members.

On April 18, 1853, Colonel William H. Garrett was appointed agent to the Creek Nation. His assignment marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the Creeks; now well-established, their nation would progress and improve. Then the United States split, and the Civil War spilled over into the Creek Nation and Indian Territory. Colonel Garrett was an integral part of both the progress of the tribe and the strife of the Civil War.

Garrett was born near Hamburg, South Carolina, on February 22, 1819. He served as a removal agent for both the Creek and Seminole tribes. He

[35] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Beverley Tucker, 1854), p. 387.

represented Cherokee County, Alabama, in the state House of Representatives for the years 1843–1845, and served in the state Senate in 1847 and 1849.[36] Garrett served as agent to the Creeks from 1853 until 1861 without interruption. His influence was considerable and largely positive.

Upon assuming his duties, Garrett conceded that much that Raiford had said was correct. The inequities were large, and the governmental system practiced by the Creeks made any progress difficult. The privileged chiefs, numbered from 700 to 800, absorbed the majority of funds that were sent to the tribe by the United States. Unlike Raiford, however, Garrett did not believe that reform should be immediate, but rather sought, as an initial goal, the gradual curtailment of the number of chiefs at the insistance of the Federal government. He felt a radical reform such as the Cherokee Constitution would not produce the desired results. He considered the Creeks to be at a stage of development in which an abrupt change would only be detrimental to their future progress.[37] He based his opinion on the long held traditions, difficult to change, of the Creek tribal government.

Garrett's interest in governmental reforms remained a high priority during his tenure as agent to the Creek Nation. He did not confine his interest to that alone, however. Like his predecessor, he recommended immediate payment of claims to the Creeks. His efforts in this area were of high priority also. "The settlement of all the claims at issue between the government and the Creeks," he emphasized, "would give an impulse to the industry and improvement of their nation." Like Raiford, he felt that the continued procrastination by the government was extremely detrimental to tribal progress: "So long as they expect money from the government, it keeps them restless, and unprepares many of them for the agricultural pursuits of life, consequently in a great degree retards their improvement in civilization."[38] This problem, along with governmental reform, were Garrett's chief considerations during his tenure in office.

Through Garrett's insistence and hard work, the Creeks began adopting a new governmental system and achieving partial payment at least of the Creek claims. This success did not occur the very next year by any means, but by 1855, he reported the curtailment of the number of chiefs by two hundred. Still the Creeks had not received payment of the claims, and in his report of 1855 Garrett tactfully admonished the government for its continued procrastination. Even though $350,000 was paid to the Creeks,

[36] Marie Bankhead and Emmett Kilpatrick, eds., "Whitemen Associated with Indian Life," *The Alabama Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (March, 1951), p. 144.

[37] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 387–388.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 389.

Garrett still pursued the payment of the claims of the Creeks pursuant to the Treaty of Fort Jackson promulgated after the Red Stick War.[39]

Other considerations interrupted Garrett's concentration on those areas in 1856. Foremost among them were the Seminoles, who had settled in the Creek jurisdiction. The Creeks had ceded the land to the Federal government for Seminole resettlement, but being subject to the Creek Council troubled the Seminole Nation. Garrett's objection seemed to be that the Seminoles were importing liquor, an activity successfully curtailed in the Creek lands and in direct violation of Creek law. The Creeks were extremely upset by the Seminoles disobeying their laws. The clash of cultures was about to explode.[40]

Instructed to investigate the situation, Garrett came to the conclusion that the Seminoles should be treated independently rather than integrated into the Creek Nation. He determined that John Jumper, the Chief of the Seminoles, felt that the Federal government had failed to keep its end of the bargain by not providing separate land for the Seminoles. Garrett suggested that the government had only two alternatives: to either insure that the Seminoles abided by the Creek laws and the Treaty of 1845 or provide them with independent lands of their own. "The peace and harmony of this whole frontier," Garrett said, "require that this question should receive prompt attention." The government accepted the advice of Garrett and in 1856 provided the Seminole Nation with separate land and an independent government.[41]

In addition to the Seminole question, the years 1855 and 1856 brought another problem to Garrett. There was a rumor among the Creeks that Fort Gibson was soon to be abandoned. Garrett felt that such a move would only create difficulties in the area. He felt the presence of the military force at Fort Gibson served as a buffer between the Creeks and Cherokees and served as an incentive to them to remain on good terms. Furthermore, Garrett considered the garrison to be a deterrent to encroachment by too many whites and the prairie tribes. His objections went unheeded, and in 1857 the fort was abandoned.[42]

Garrett's efforts on behalf of the Creeks were not all unrewarded. By 1858, Creek claims against the Federal Government had been settled with the exception of claims on behalf of Creek children orphaned as a result of the Red Stick War. But it was not Garrett who succeeded in settling

[39] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 34th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Beverley Tucker, 1856), pp. 453–455.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 456.

[41] *Ibid.*, 456–457.

[42] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 11*, 35th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: James T. Stiedman, 1858), p. 512.

them. What he did achieve was due to hard work, which included numerous trips to Washington and continuous correspondence. Other troubles, however, were about to befall the Creeks.

By 1860, the United States was on the verge of the Civil War. Garrett was considered a secessionist, and he sought to include the Creek Nation in the Confederacy. The Confederacy in 1861 went so far in encouraging not only the Creeks but the other Civilized Tribes to join them, that they sent Albert Pike to Indian Territory to negotiate with the tribes. Garrett's activities in this matter have been the subject of much criticism. He was instrumental in the formation of the Creek Regiment for the Confederate Army. He even sought to command it, but was denied the honor at the insistence of the Creeks themselves.[43] Garrett's efforts in convincing the Creeks to join the Confederacy were not totally successful. "To sum up the whole matter," Garrett said, "there are 1,675 Creek warriors friendly to the Confederate States and 1,575 unfriendly; of those friendly, there are in the service of the Confederate States 1,375."[44] Those allied with the Confederacy were commanded by Colonel D. N. McIntosh. Those opposed were under the leadership of the aged Opothleyahola. Creeks under his leadership fled to Kansas and the protection of the Union forces. Their flight was not an easy undertaking, and they fought several battles and skirmishes before arriving in Kansas.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Colonel Garrett ceased his functions as Creek agent for the United States government and assumed the duties of Creek agent for the Confederate Government. The United States replaced Garrett, although denied the command of the Creek Regiment, he served as a colonel in the Confederate Army and in 1863 died of pneumonia while on active duty.

The Civil War had interrupted a relationship of mutual respect and appreciation. Garrett's understanding of the Creeks and his efforts on their behalf had yielded considerable benefits to the Creek Nation. The claims against the Federal government had been all but settled. The government of the Creeks had been modified and the chiefs of the tribe were elected and limited to two, one each for the Upper and Lower divisions. In 1860, the Creeks adopted a constitution and established a judicial system, and in the same year they created a militia to enforce the liquor laws.[45]

[43] Albert Pike to L. P. Walker, July 31, 1861, United States Department of War, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 Vols., 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Ser. i, Vol. III, pp. 623–624.

[44] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1864* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 334.

[45] Ohland Morton, "The Government of the Creek Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VIII, No. 1 (March, 1930), p. 47.

Unfortunately, all that Garrett accomplished was overshadowed by his efforts to incorporate the Creeks into the Confederacy. He had succeeded in dividing the Creek Nation again, and this division plagued the tribe for many years. Of all the Creek agents, however, Garrett probably accomplished more than did any of the others. He was a valued friend of the Creeks, and he respected their industry, pride, and independence as they respected his judgment and concern. His efforts on their behalf not only included his daily duties among them, but also written reports to the Federal government, and personal appearances in Washington.

On July 16, 1861, Dr. George A. Cutler was appointed United States agent to the Creek Nation. Cutler probably had the most varied life of any of the agents. Born in Nashville, Tennessee, on December 25, 1832, he attended medical school in New York City, graduating in 1853. He settled in Doniphan, Kansas, and in 1855 he was elected as a free-state representative to the territorial legislature. In October, 1855, he was elected as a member of the constitutional convention of the state of Kansas. In 1859 he and some associates established a new town in Breckenridge County, Kansas. He was elected to the legislature again just prior to being appointed agent to the Creeks.[46]

Upon being appointed, Dr. Cutler attempted to enter Indian Territory, but he was warned that it was in the hands of the Confederacy. He returned to Leroy, Kansas, and established a temporary agency there. A delegation of Creeks, Seminoles, and Chickasaws seeking the assurances of the Federal government in protecting them, contacted Cutler. After a discussion with the Indian representatives, Cutler proceeded to Fort Scott, Kansas, and then to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, taking the Indian representatives with him. Upon arrival at Fort Leavenworth, he was advised to proceed to Washington, D.C. The trip was successful in convincing the Indian representatives that the Federal government would still provide them protection.[47] But all was not well in Indian Territory, for the two factions of Creeks were fighting their own version of the Civil War. Dr. Cutler set out to investigate the situation and found it exceedingly desperate for the Union Creeks, because they were fleeing to Kansas in the dead of the 1861–1862 winter.

Upon joining the Creeks, Cutler estimated their number at approximately 4,500 men, women, and children.[48] He situated them around Leroy,

[46] George A. Root, ed., "The First Day's Battle at Hickory Point: Diary and Reminisences of Samuel James Reader," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 1 (March, 1932), P. 44n.

[47] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1862* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), p. 138.

[48] *Ibid.*

Kansas, on lands loaned by neighboring whites. The suffering of the Creeks was vividly portrayed by Cutler, and he encouraged the Federal government to occupy Indian Territory to halt further trouble.[49] He was then confronted by the awesome problem of providing as much assistance to the Creek refugees as possible.

Immediately the Creeks began expressing their desire to return to their tribal lands. Cutler fully understood their hope, but until the area could be secured, the tribe had to remain in Kansas. In the meantime, Cutler confined his efforts in providing what relief he could to the Indians. Beyond that he sent some eight hundred to nine hundred volunteers from the Creek refugees to the newly formed Indian Regiment. These troops proved themselves capable soldiers and provided the escort and reconnaissance for the returning Indians in 1864. This contribution to the morale of the Creeks was very important in sustaining them through the two years of exile in Kansas.

When the tribe was authorized to return to Indian Territory, the removal was conducted by Cutler and supervised by the Southern Indian Superintendent, William G. Coffin. The return was uneventful and well organized. However, the tribe stopped short of their lands at Fort Gibson, since the area to the south was still under the control of the Confederacy. This was upsetting to the Creeks for numerous reasons, but most important to the Creeks and their future survival, the halt was yet another delay in getting a crop planted for harvest the following spring. The winter of 1865 would be another one of suffering for the tribe. Furthermore, the prospects for an adequate food supply in 1866 also seemed in jeopardy.[50]

In June, 1865, Cutler was replaced and the new appointment is shrouded in mystery. A complete turnover of agents, however, had occurred in the Southern Indian Superintendency the previous year. There were accusations by the army that the agents had been illegally selling Indian cattle, and claims were argued back and forth. Whatever may have been the truth, active duty army officers were appointed as agents, and Cutler's replacement was an active duty major. Regardless of the scandal that arose in 1864 and 1865, Cutler's affect upon the tribe was positive in the final analysis. Unfortunately, his contributions were very short range when compared with the work of the other Creek agents. Although his prompt action for the Indian refugees reassured them and maintained their loyalty to the Union, his efforts were overshadowed by the strife and confusion of the Civil War.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

[50] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1864*, pp. 311–312.

Cutler himself moved on to other work, which further illustrated his versatility. After the war he moved to Sherman, Texas, and published the local newspaper. Later he started the *Red Rock Journal* and the *Dallas Daily Commercial*. He originated the Texas Press Association and served as its president in 1873. In the 1890's he moved to California and began practicing medicine again. As a doctor, legislator, soldier, Indian agent, publisher, and civic leader, he was indeed a remarkable man.[51]

With the end of the Civil War, another era of Creek Indian history came to a close. It was a period of ironies. In 1853, the beginning of the era, the Creeks were united and working toward continued progress in becoming one of the more prosperous Indian tribes in the United States. Furthermore, the open wound of delinquent government claims was nearly closed. William H. Garrett, the same man who had helped the Creeks create internal stability and prosperity, contributed just as earnestly to the separation and destruction of much of the progress the Creeks had achieved. By the end of the Civil War the tribal lands had gone to weed, the buildings had been leveled, and the tribe on both sides of the conflict had suffered mightily. They were once again in 1836 with the exception of knowledge gained through experience. They now had to apply that knowledge in rebuilding and reconstructing their lost prosperity.

It is truly unfortunate that William Garrett, by the course of national events, was forced to choose sides. But Garrett's choice was not the key. Regardless of the side he chose, the Creeks, like the rest of the nation, would have suffered. The prospects for their continued advancement seemed glowing by 1861, but the war dimmed that hope.

So in 1865 an era ended and a new one began. That year marked the beginning of reconstruction in the United States as well as in the Creek Nation. The first of the reconstruction agents was Major James W. Dunn, appointed on June 9, 1865. The first of his problems was the unification of the Northern and Southern Creeks. Dunn was not directly involved in this problem, however. The unification was accomplished in part by the Southern Indian Superintendent at Fort Smith during a grand council held prior to Dunn's arrival. When he arrived, the Northern Creeks were still divided and near violence; his first task was to deal with this situation before he could proceed with other problems in the tribe.[52]

As had been the case throughout the war years, the formerly agricultural Creeks were in difficulty as to how to provide sufficient produce for sustain-

[51] Root, ed., "The First Day's Battle at Hickory Point," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 44n.

[52] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), p. 290.

ing themselves through the 1865–1866 winter. "One-half of the people will have corn enough to do them, by proper care; the other half, one-fourth will have enough from their little patches to last them through the month of October; the other fourth did not plant," Agent Dunn revealed, "consequently cannot expect to reap, and must depend on government for assistance." Dunn emphasized: "I deem it absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the Indians of this Nation that the ration be continued."[53]

Dunn's picture of the tribal lands speaks of the destruction of the area during the four years of war. Little of what had been present in 1861 remained. The only buildings that were standing were those of the Presbyterian mission. He seemed to have a feeling of foreboding when he stated: "My people, a majority of them, are nearly destitute of clothing of any kind. I earnestly call your attention to the fact; if neglected, I shall not wish to remain here to witness the consequent suffering."[54] This comment seemed to keynote all that he saw and described.

Dunn's foreboding continued into the next year. Drought, illness, and poor diet contributed to very little agricultural activity during the year. "I cannot look," said Dunn, "at the coming winter [1867] without dread of the suffering that it will surely bring in its train." Dunn's plea for rations and clothing for his distribution among the most needy illustrated his concerned and yet helpless feelings. To further complicate matters, the once sizeable herds of cattle owned by the Creeks were gone, either as a result of the war or stolen since the cessation of hostilities. Dunn's obvious concern was providing for immediate needs. He was confronted simply with survival.[55]

The year 1867 brought some promise to the Creeks and Dunn. He saw doom again when grasshoppers began swarming and attacking the Creeks' spring crop, but when they departed, the Creeks replanted, and he looked forward to a good harvest. With the security of the prospective harvest, Dunn turned his attention to the claims of the Creeks against the government. He urged the settlement of the orphan claims of 1832 and the rapid conclusion of all stipulations of the Treaty of 1866.[56] Dunn further encouraged continued enforcement of limited access of the Creek lands to whites, feeling that both settlement of the claims and limited white contracts would allow continued progress among the Creeks.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1866* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867), p. 319.

[56] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1867* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. 320.

In 1867 Dunn mirrored the desire of the Creeks for a change in their system of government. By 1868 the laws had been changed and jurisdictions limited. "The government now provides for one principal chief and one second chief," Dunn said, "who are the executives of the Nation; the second chief, however, acts only in the absence or sickness of the superior." Dunn continued: "The legislative bodies are a house of warriors and a house of kings, corresponding to our State houses of representative and Senate." But the achievement was not without incident, and created yet another division in the tribe. The group in opposition to the national government became known as the Sands Faction. Importantly, Dunn, though professing to have made efforts to reconcile differences, conceded he was unsuccessful.[57]

The year 1868 was important for yet another reason. The long held claims of orphaned Creeks, pursuant to the Treaty of 1832, finally moved to the point of partial payment. Thirty-six years of claims and counter-claims, discussion and procrastination had passed before the first payments were made.[58]

In July, 1869, Dunn was replaced as Creek agent. Dunn had nominal success during his tenure. Faced with the gigantic problems left in the wake of the Civil War, Dunn pleaded over and over for aid. By 1867, due to the industry of the Creeks themselves, they could count on sufficient produce to sustain the tribe through the year. The changes in government, long held by his predecessors as necessary for the progress of the tribe, became a reality during Dunn's tenure. But the division created by the formation of the government continued on well after his departure. It would be the formation of the government continued on well after his departure. It would be the responsibility of his successor to pacify the Sands Faction; in addition, the problems with the plains tribes persisted and also fell to his successor for solution. All in all, Dunn's tenure was positive in result. The tribe, though confronted with difficulties, was returning to some semblance of normalcy. The mission was reoponed in 1866, and education began to interest the Creeks again. Agriculture was again on the rise. Integration of freed slaves was generally accomplished without incident. The prospects were better than Dunn had dared hope for four years earlier.[59]

On July 6, 1869, Captain F. A. Field became agent to the Creeks. Field

[57] United States House of Representatives, Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1868," *Executive Document Number 1*, 40th Congress 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. 743–744.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 744.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 744–745; Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), pp. 178–179; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1866*, p. 319.

was born in Ohio and had risen through the ranks to be brevetted for gallantry at Gettysburg.[60] After the Civil War, he served a tour of duty at Fort Smith until he was appointed to the Creeks. Being closely associated with the Indian situation due to his duty station, Field was not totally unfamiliar with the problems facing the Creeks.

His first assignment was to pass upon loyal Creek claims pursuant to the Treaty of 1866. This was the result of Dunn's insistence that the claims be settled immediately as well as the insistence of the Creeks themselves. The Creeks provided carefully preserved lists of property lost as a result of the war. They amounted to nearly five million dollars. The losses were adjusted to $1,836,830.41. Of this amount, $100,000 was paid the next year.[61]

Field felt that in general the tribe was in good condition, beginning to prosper, and capable of considerable advancement. He predicted that "next year will see more ground worked than ever was known in the Nation."[62] He did not seem particularly worried about the anti-constitutional party within the tribe. Nor did the problems on the border with the plains tribes seem to deeply concern him; in most cases he took military action by requesting troops from Fort Gibson. The presence of these forces in a troubled spot would avert bloodshed.

The next year Captain Field resigned from the service and the office of agent, taking his leave on October 1, 1870.[63] "The watchword seems to be 'advancement,' and men who have heretofore considered labor a disgrace have taken hold of the plow and hoe with a zeal worthy of their white brethern," Field said just before departing, "I am led to believe," he predicted, "that a few years will see the prairies in the Nation covered with all kinds of stock, as they were before the war." Field viewed the nation as progressive, and he seemed confident in the future of the tribe. He reiterated the pleas of his predecessors for the speedy settlement of claims filed by the Creeks, particularly those authorized by the authority of the 1832 treaty. The difficulties created by continuous procrastination and readjustment of claims by the Federal government strengthened the Sands Faction. The strife and division fomented by this group reached a critical point when Field departed, but even that did not deter him from his confidence in the Creeks.[64]

[60] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General William Babcock Hazen," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 4 (December, 1942), p. 327n.

[61] Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, p. 189.

[62] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1869* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), p. 414.

[63] Foreman, "General William Babcock Hazen," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, p. 32n.

[64] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), pp. 297–298.

In January, 1871, nearly four months after Field's departure, Francis S. Lyon was appointed United States Agent for the Creek Nation, and by the time he arrived, the political situation was acutely tense. Since 1867, after failing to gain control of the tribal government, the Sands Faction stood in direct opposition to the established government. Favoring a return to the pre-Civil War system, particularly in dealing with annuity payments, the faction had gained sufficient support to become a formidable political power by the election year of 1871. Lyon steadfastly supported the established government, and feared a confrontation between the two opposition groups. A month after the election, his fears became reality, as the Sands Faction occupied the Creek Council House and attempted to establish control. When Lyon responded to calls for assistance, he discovered two armed camps facing each other, fully prepared to do battle to settle the question. After many hours of persuasive negotiations, the Sands Faction agreed to send representatives to monitor the ballot counting which would occur the next month, but more importantly, they agreed to abide by the outcome of the election. In November, 1871, Samuel Checote was elected principal chief of the Creeks, and the Sands Faction joined the government.[65]

The tribe was unified again, but another development was becoming omnipresent, and Lyon could only foresee difficulties for the Creeks in the future. The desire of huge financial and industrial combines, particularly railroads, to open the West was beginning to wield tremendous political power. Lyon feared the detrimental effect of the accelerated growth in white population and the inherent destruction of the countryside should Indian Territory be opened to the railroads. He exhorted the Federal government not to yield to the pressure of the huge combines and pleaded that it "show them our government will protect the Creeks and their rights." But that was not to be, and by 1872 rail lines were crossing the Canadian River into the Choctaw Nation. Lyon and the Checote government continued to oppose the unending thrust of the railroads, but the political arena Lyon and Checote had entered was beyond their control. The Checote government came under fire and the Federal government investigated it, giving hope to some disgruntled members of the Sands Faction. Lyon in the meantime became the target of political attacks and was removed from office in May, 1873.[66]

65 Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, pp. 193–195; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1871* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), pp. 573–575.

66 Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, pp. 201–202; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1871*, p. 575.

By his resistance to the introduction of railroads, Lyon had disavowed any political ambitions he may have had, and had willingly committed personal political suicide by supporting the Creeks. Also, Lyon's moral and physical courage healed many of the long-infected wounds of disunion, and he represented an efficient and positive factor in the history of Creek tribal development.

A year after Lyon's departure, the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw-Chickasaw, and Seminole agencies were combined, forming the Union Agency. During the interim period, Edward R. Roberts served as agent to the Creeks. Although his term was relatively short, he identified the increasing white population resulting from railroad construction as a distinct problem area for the Creeks. The rumor of possible territorial government in Indian Territory and the accompanying accelerated white population growth added to his concern.[67] The future difficulties with a white population among the Creeks and the old problem of unsettled claims fell upon the Union Agency for solution. The Creeks, fortunately, were better prepared in 1874 for the difficulties they would face than in 1834, when they had commenced their migration to Indian Territory.

Lyon's sacrifice and Roberts' fears were reminiscent of their predecessors like Logan, Garrett, Dawson, Raiford, Cutler, and Dunn, who voiced similar concerns and demonstrated their individual courage in service to the Creeks. Their efforts on behalf of the Creeks were not without personal reward, and they made Creek life less difficult. Moreover, had these agents been other than what they were, it is doubtful that the Creeks would have been so well prepared for the future. The initial division of the tribe alone would have taken years to mend had it not been for the foresight of agents like Logan.

Three of the Creeks agents were former state legislators, and two of these had the longest tenure in office. Together all three men had a total of twenty-one years of service. With the exception of Cutler, they seemed deeply interested in seeing that the Creeks adopted a workable government. Garrett's concern about government was second only to obtaining the settlement of claims. Logan, on the other hand, emphasized advancement in government above all else, seeking a solution to his frustration over the liquor traffic. The combined influence of these two important agents climaxed in 1868 with the adoption of a government which both men would have approved. Logan desired Creek unification and worked hard to achieve it, while Garrett, although desiring unification, contributed to its division by urging secession in 1861. In the end, it was Lyon who secured

[67] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1873* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 211.

a unified Creek government in 1871 through his personal intervention in Creek political affairs.

All the Creek agents, with the possible exception of three, were former military men. This was, of course, not necessarily qualification for Indian agent service. Until 1861, all the agents had been associated militarily with the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes from the South. Even Raiford professed at least a limited knowledge of the Creeks. Therefore, the familiarity of the agents with the Creeks seems to have been adequate. All of them were deeply interested in the well-being of the Creeks. All would have agreed with Agent Dunn, who said upon his departure: "I will leave them with regret, hoping that their course will ever be guided by a respect for the rights for all, and for the enlightenment and improvement of their Nation."[68] The Creeks were fortunate indeed to have had these agents.

[68] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1869*, p. 414.

SEMINOLE INDIAN AGENTS, 1842–1874

By Thomas Elton Brown

Near dusk, a lone rider halted his horse before the door of the one-room, split-log dwelling located at Little River in Indian Territory. Dismounting, the messenger walked to the door and rapped sharply. From within, Seminole Subagent Marcellus Duval answered the door and invited the horseman into his simple home and office. The rider handed Duval several letters in exchange for thirteen dollars, the standard charge for carrying communications the one hundred miles between Fort Gibson's post office and Duval's Seminole Agency. Among the dispatches, the Seminole agent found one from the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington. Opening the letter, Duval read the carefully written script for his latest instructions.

Only by dispatching such a rider or by travelling himself could Duval contact the nearest post office located at Fort Gibson and, consequently, his governmental superiors and white society.[1] This separation from civilization was only one factor that contributed to the difficult life that Duval and the other Seminole agents experienced. The cold winter winds tore through the logs of the humble structure, and the hot summer sun brought insufferable heat upon the agent's home and office. Duval, like all the other agents, had to spend long, long hours travelling the rough terrain of the Indian lands to fulfill his duties. The setting sun would often find the agent lighting candles by which he would complete the heavy load of paperwork. Loneliness, discomfort, physical exertion, and long hours accompanied the agent's annual salary. With ten different individuals serving the Seminole Nation as agent from 1842 to 1874, each one assumed the responsibilities of his office with different attitudes and executed those duties with varying degrees of competence.

The Indians which these agents served were the most forlorn and pathetic of the Five Civilized Tribes. With only three thousand members, the Seminoles were numerically less than the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, or Creeks. Originally part of the Creek tribe, they had established their homes in Florida. Living by hunting and agricultural slave labor, the

[1] Marcellus Duval to William Medill, March 20, 1846, and January 18, 1847, Seminole Agency Letters Recieved, 1824–1876, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Seminoles were the least advanced of the Five Civilized Tribes. When the waves of the other four tribes rolled westward in the 1830's, the Seminoles were tenaciously fighting for their Florida homes. Although Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks had finished their migration by 1840, only a few of the Seminoles had journeyed to the new Indian lands in the West. When the movement of the main body of Seminoles resumed in 1842, the newly arriving Indians had to settle on the poorer land not already occupied. This scattered the Seminoles over the lands which were assigned to the other tribes. Thus limited Seminole education, late arrival, and dispersed settlement hindered the adjustment of the Seminoles to their new home and offered great challenges and opportunities to the agent.

The United States government, the agent's employer, followed during the pre-Civil War years a policy of trying to unite the Seminoles with their former tribesmen, the Creeks. In pursuing this policy, Seminole affairs were under the jurisdiction of the Creek Agency until 1842. The government also assigned both tribes to the same area in the Indian lands west of Arkansas.

The first break in this policy came in 1842 when the government appointed a subagent for the Seminole tribe. A subagent had the same duties and responsibilities as a full agent, but less prestige and salary. He implemented Washington's policy regarding the Indian nation he served. In doing so, he was responsible for issuing annuities, rations, and compensations which the government owed the tribe.[2] Any communication which the Indians made with the United States government passed through the agent's office and with his recommendation. Finally, the agent served as a negotiator for both sides during the formulation of treaties. Because of their lack of education, the Seminoles did not have a chief who could deal directly with Washington and, consequently, had to rely strongly on their agent. Since the tribe was dispersed throughout the Indian lands, the only symbol of unity was the agent and his agency. Contributing to this sense of disunity, new groups of immigrants arrived as late as 1859. Furthermore, the agent supplied each incoming group with rations to assist them through at least the first year. Since these types of conditions did not exist among the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, the Seminole agents had far greater influence over the direction of their tribe than did their counterparts among the other four Civilized Tribes.

[2] Edward E. Hill, *Historical Sketches for Jurisdictional and Subject Heading Used for the Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs: General* (Washington: National Archives and Record Service, 1967), p. 2.

John McKee

In 1840, during the Seminole Wars, the Florida commander of the United States Army had promised an agent for the Seminoles when they moved west. The government fulfilled this promise two years later on January 19, 1842, when the Office of Indian Affairs sent a letter to Lexington, Kentucky, for John McKee.[3] To establish a new agency, the government could not have made a poorer choice.

With the largest Seminole migration from Florida about to begin, McKee accepted his assignment on January 27, 1842, and immediately left for Richmond, Virginia. One month after his appointment, he told the Office of Indian Affairs that he was leaving the capital of Virginia for the capital of Kentucky. Two months after his appointment, he finally arrived at Fort Smith, Arkansas, on March 17. Not until the following April 12 did the less than punctual McKee travel the last eighty miles to Fort Gibson and assume his duties. Also indicative of his irresponsibility, McKee promised on January 27 that he would send in "a few days" his bond to guarantee his handling of federal funds. For McKee, "a few days" meant twenty-eight.[4]

After his arrival, his performance failed to improve. The Kentuckian received instructions from Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Armstrong that he should try first to persuade the Seminoles to adopt agricultural pursuits, and secondly to construct an agency around which the scattered Indians could settle. True to his nature, McKee failed to accomplish fully either objective. Although his spending most of his time at Fort Gibson prevented him from being with his charges, McKee found Fort Gibson more convivial than Fort Scott. He was unable to submit an annual report because a case of dysentery put him to bed. After having accomplished very little during his first six months on duty, he audaciously asked on October 5 for a furlough so he could return to Kentucky on business.[5]

The only originality which McKee displayed during his administration was the methods he devised to defraud the government. For each migrant

[3] Edwin C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 228; T. Hartley Crawford to John McKee, January 18, 1847, Letters Sent, 1824–1881, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[4] John McKee to T. Hartley Crawford, January 27, 1842, February 18, 1842, and March 19, 1842, William Armstrong to T. Hartley Crawford, April 12, 1842, John McKee to T. Hartley Crawford, February 24, 1842, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[5] William Armstrong to John McKee, April 2, 1842, John McKee to G. C. Sherman, October 20, 1842, and October 5, 1842, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Thomas Judge to William Armstrong, September 15, 1843, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 2*, 28th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Blair and Rives, 1843), pp. 424–425.

Indian, he wanted to spend $38.75 for beef and corn, but charge the government $82.50. He could then retain $43.75 for himself. Another scheme proposed that he go to Kentucky and hire a blacksmith for $12 a month. By recording the wages as $400 or $500 a year, McKee planned to pocket the rest. In the same fashion, he desired to locate a teacher in Kentucky who would teach the Seminoles for $300 or $400 a year while he charged the government much more. As Charles A. Beiley reported, "It appears that Mr. McKee intends to make money off every person employed by the Gov. in his agency. . . ."[6]

When the denial of his furlough cancelled these swindles, McKee located employment as a wagon and forage master in Indian Territory and submitted his resignation.[7] For one who had the great responsibility of laying a solid foundation for the agency, McKee proved to be an inept builder. Fortunately, his successor was competent.

Thomas L. Judge

On October 29, 1842, the Office of Indian Affairs appointed Thomas L. Judge the Seminole subagent through the influence of Major George W. Clark, the army officer who issued rations to the Seminoles. Also arriving late, Judge did not reach Fort Gibson until January 17, 1843. Since the number of Indians subsisting on governmental rations declined in early 1843, Superintendent Armstrong discharged Clark as issuing commissary and ordered Judge to assume those responsibilities. These new duties became a valuable aid to Judge since they brought him into close, personal contact with the Seminoles.[8]

The new agent, in the words of Armstrong, was a "man of practical governmental experience." As such, Judge believed that his principal mission was to persuade the Seminoles scattered throughout the Indian lands to settle as compactly as possible on the land assigned to them and the Creeks. In this effort, the agent proposed to build fifty miles from Fort Gibson an agency complex consisting of a house, school, and complete blacksmith shop. The distance from Fort Gibson would have the additional advantage of removing the Seminoles from the major source of

[6] McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, p. 238.

[7] William Armstrong to T. Hartley Crawford, November 1, 1842, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[8] McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, p. 240; William Armstrong to T. Hartley Crawford, January 31, 1843, February 16, 1843, and June 4, 1843, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

alcohol. The tangible goal of an agency complex reached completion during his second year of administration.[9]

The goal of consolidating the Seminoles living on other Indian lands was more difficult. Two Seminole chiefs, Wild Cat and Alligator, and their followers had lived for ten years on Cherokee land north of the Canadian River. In order to apply pressure to these Seminoles, Judge recommended in 1843 that the government withhold all annuities until they moved to the lands assigned to their tribe. In response to this and other pressures, Alligator decided to lead a delegation to Washington to secure permanent title to the land on which they had been living. To prevent this from happening, the chiefs of the other Seminoles sent their agent to Washington. Indicative of the respect which Judge had attained, they said: "We have given our agent . . . full power to go to Washington and settle our business with the government. We have full confidence in him and know that he will do everything in his power to promote our interests." Demonstrating the dedication which had earned this respect, Agent Judge had to forego his furlough to make the trip on behalf of the Seminoles.[10] In Washington, Judge did not prevent Alligator from receiving a sympathetic hearing, but he prevented him from gaining title to the lands. Yet he failed to get the Office of Indian Affairs to move the followers of Wild Cat and Alligator to the Seminole lands.

What Judge could not do in Washington, nature accomplished in the Indian lands. When Alligator and the other members of the delegation returned to their homes, they found that severe floods had destroyed their crops, granaries, and surpluses. Furthermore, the Cherokee Council responded to Seminole thievery, violence, idleness, and drunkenness by urging that the Seminoles move to lands assigned by the government.[11] In a treaty signed in 1845 between the Creeks, Seminoles, Cherokees, and the United States, all parties agreed that all Seminoles not living on the lands assigned to them should leave immediately.

[9] William Armstrong to T. Hartley Crawford, March 14, 1843, Thomas Judge to T. Hartley Crawford, February 10, 1843, Thomas Judge to William Armstrong, April 26, 1843, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Thomas Judge to William Armstrong, August 26, 1844, United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 28th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1844), pp. 477–478; Edward E. Hill, *Historical Sketches for Jurisdictional and Subject Heading Used for the Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs: Seminole Agency* (Washington: National Archives and Record Service, 1967), p. 2.

[10] Thomas Judge to William Armstrong, September 15, 1843, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 2*, 28th Congress, 1st Session, p. 425; Seminole Chiefs to T. Hartley Crawford, April 20, 1844; Thomas Judge to T. Hartley Crawford, March 14, 1843, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[11] McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, p. 252.

The Treaty of 1845 also provided for a slight autonomy for the Seminoles living among the Creeks. The pact allowed each Seminole town to make its own laws which would be subject to the Creek Council. The smaller Seminole tribe also would have representation in the Council. Outside of monetary affairs, no distinction would be made between the two tribes. When the Seminoles gained control over their towns and had financial independence from the Creeks, Judge had taken a small step toward another of his goals. Although he had previously endorsed the policy of making the Seminoles a constitutent part of the Creek tribe, Judge recommended in 1844 the total separation of the Seminoles from the Creeks. He believed that "the further apart these two people are, the better for both."[12]

Judge manifested sympathy for the Indian in another way. Trying to counteract Washington's disdain for the Seminoles, the agent maintained that contact with the white man had turned the Seminoles' natural generosity and magnamity into selfishness. Judge also praised the Indians for the familial loyalty. In rationalizing their laziness, he explained that the Seminoles had come from a climate easily productive of agricultural subsistence. Since the harsh climate of the Seminole location in Indian Territory was less productive, the fact that they appeared lazy did not surprise him. In fact, he explained, "Under similar circumstances, the same result would have attended the whites."[13]

Besides establishing the first school for the Indians, Judge was a forerunner of a policy which the government would adopt after the Civil War. Arguing that white selfishness had corrupted the Seminoles, he urged the establishment of boarding schools operated by religious bodies. People of a religious nature would be unselfish and motivated by the desire merely to help the Indian. Such an educational system, according to Judge, would prevent the corruption of the young Seminoles by selfish whites and by their parents who had already developed bad habits.[14]

In two years, the sympathetic agent had consolidated the Indians, established the agency, and begun the education of the Indian youth. On June 9, 1845, however, Superintendent Armstrong suspended him from office. The official reason revolved around Judge's provision of rations to the Indians when they moved near the new agency. Armstrong believed that the expenditure was unauthorized and that the price was too high. Other forces may have been at work in Judge's dismissal. The agent had pre-

[12] Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (6 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), Vol. II, pp. 550–552; Thomas Judge to T. Hartley Crawford, August 26, 1844, United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 28th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 476.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 477.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 477–478.

viously accused Armstrong of giving too much credence to the claims of Alligator and Wild Cat and of other Indian tribes against the Seminoles. After Judge had fired Joseph Carter from his position as the agency blacksmith, Carter denounced his former employer to the Office of Indian Affairs. In his attack, Carter accused Judge of being a puppet of a major trader in the Seminole lands, of diverting funds to his own use, and of drinking excessively. Although these charges were never substantiated, a shadow of doubt could have lingered over Judge's administration. More important to Judge's discharge than these were the licensed traders. Judge had given the contracts to A. H. Olmstead; Armstrong preferred that they go to Matthew Leeper. Consequently, the role which the licensed merchants played could have been substantial.[15]

Following Judge's departure from the agency, Gideon C. Matlock, an employee of Matthew Leeper and issuing commissary, became the acting subagent for the Seminole Indians. On June 21, 1845, Matlock asked that the Office of Indian Affairs appoint him as the permanent agent.[16] The Office of Indian Affairs rejected his request and appointed on July 11 Marcellus Duval as the Seminole sugabent.

Marcellus Duval

Before his appointment to the subagency for the Seminoles, Marcellus Duval had wide experience as a civil servant in Indian Territory. On September 14, 1842, Duval received an appointment as the first postmaster at Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation. Afterwards, he served as clerk to Pierce M. Butler, the agent to the Cherokees during the mid-1840's. This connection with the Cherokee tribe prompted a number of Cherokees to petition Washington in 1848 for the appointment of Duval as their new agent. Although another received the Cherokee office, this background undoubtedly provided Duval, a loyal Democrat, with the necessary political connections to gain the appointment as agent for the Seminoles.[17]

[15] Thomas Judge to William Armstrong, September 15, 1843, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 2*, 28th Congress, 1st Session, p. 425; William Armstrong to Thomas Judge, June 9, 1845, Thomas Judge to William Armstrong, February 25, 1843, Joseph Carter to T. Hartley Crawford, October 25, 1843, William Armstrong to T. Hartley Crawford, July 21, 1845, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[16] Gideon C. Matlock to William Armstrong, July 18, 1845, Gideon C. Matlock to T. Hartley Crawford, June 21, 1845, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[17] J. Y. Bryce, "First Post Offices in What is Now the State of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1926), p. 203; Pierce Butler to William Armstrong, July 30, 1846, Robert Johnson to George Manypenny, January 12, 1855, Seminole Agency Letters

Following the precedent of Judge, Duval also urged separation from the Creeks. Ironically, Duval proposed in 1851 that the United States sign an agreement with the Seminoles whereby they would receive an increase in annuities and a separate status from the Creeks in return for voluntarily sending a delegation to Florida to convince the remnants of the Seminole Indians to migrate west. This proposal was basically incorporated in the Treaty of 1856. Although both Judge and Duval desired separation, they differed in their reasons. Judge wanted it because separation itself would be advantageous for both tribes; Duval wanted it because it could effect the final removal of the Seminoles from Florida, which would benefit the United States government. Separation would further advance Washington's interest because it would bring peace to the Indian country.[18]

This belief in advancing the interest of the government was a basic attitude of Duval's administration. He felt that the agent should gain the respect of the tribes to which he was assigned in order that he might benefit the government. For example, the interest of the government dictated in Duval's reasoning that the agent should live among the Indians.[19] Thus Duval believed that the agent, who was to be the intermediary between the government and a particular Indian tribe, should serve the government first and the Indians second.

Duval also held the Seminoles in disdain. Rather than understanding, he condemned the Seminoles for their laziness and considered them "utterly depraved and worthless" for squandering their annuities. To prevent such waste, he delayed the issuance of farming implements until the planting season lest the Seminoles trade the tools for liquor.

Duval also found the many complaints which the Seminoles lodged with him to be a source of irritation. Perhaps the greatest indication of his attitude toward Indians came when he requested authorization to construct a home for the agent. In presenting his case, he asked the rhetorical question, "what man of decency could submit to have a set of dirty, filthy Indians (as some are) coming into his sleeping apartment and (as has often occurred with me) taking a seat or leaning on his bed?"[20]

Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Grand Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), p. 390.

[18] Marcellus Duval to Luke Lea, October 25, 1851, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 2*, 32nd Congress, 1st Session (Washington: A. Boyd Hamilton, 1851), pp. 406–410.

[19] Marcellus Duval to William Medill, January 18, 1847, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[20] Marcellus Duval to Luke Lea, October 25, 1851, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 2*, 32nd Congress, 1st Session, p. 407; Marcellus Duval to William Medill, April 30, 1846, and January 18, 1847, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Another attitude which pervaded the Duval agency was the strong support of the institution of slavery. Typical of his Alabama background, Duval believed that any emancipation of the Seminole slaves would be immoral. He was also concerned over the presence of free blacks in the Indian lands since they could provide a harbor for runaway slaves from Arkansas and thus endanger the slavery in that state. The Seminole agent also protested to Washington that the commander at Fort Gibson was granting the black people immunities and privileges, such as education, which all slave states and territories forbade. Duval bitterly complained, "The effect of this schooling and petting of negroes (or even grant they are free) is such, that every sensible man can see the evil of it."[21]

The problem with the Seminole slaves was the overriding concern of the Duval administration. During the Seminole Wars in Florida during the 1830's, the commander of the United States Army had offered the Seminole slaves their freedom if they would surrender and agree to move to the West. His successor promised the Seminoles that their property, including slaves, would be secure if they surrendered. To complicate the matter further, the United States Army also promised the Creeks who fought against the Seminoles all the slaves which they might capture. Confusion thus dominated the exact status of the black people living among the Seminoles. When the Seminole slaves settled in separate towns, as was the custom, in the Indian lands in the West, their physical state did not indicate whether they were still in bondage. Consequently, raids were conducted by whites and Creeks upon these black communities to kidnap former slaves or freeborn blacks and sell them into slavery. Thus the Seminoles, Creeks, and whites claimed various slaves who claimed to be free. Although the United States Attorney General ruled that the slaves belonged to the Seminoles, the Seminoles were restricted in the sale of their slaves.[22]

In this conflict over slave ownership, Duval had more than a passing interest. His brother, William J. Duval, had acted as an attorney for the Seminoles in their efforts to regain their slaves and claimed a third of them for his payment. When William Duval died, the claim reverted to a third brother, Gabriel, who was living in the Indian lands. Using the influence of his office, Marcellus Duval wrote several letters on behalf of his brother's claim. A key point in the agent's efforts was to obtain the removal of the restriction on the sale of the Seminole slaves. The only control which he

[21] Marcellus Duval to James Polk, December 21, 1846, Marcellus Duval to William Medill, July 10, 1846, and October 15, 1847, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[22] Marcellus Duval to James Polk, December 21, 1846, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 255–257; McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, pp. 259, 269.

would endorse would be the approval of their agent. Besides using the power of the agent's office, the Duval brothers used other means to gain ownership of Seminole slaves. For example, Gabriel Duval had taken part in the kidnapping raids upon the Seminole slave towns. It was this man, too, that Marcellus Duval placed in charge of the agency when agency business or the slave questions called him away from the agency. Through the machinations of the Duval brothers, they were able to secure several Seminole slaves to work their large farm south of Van Buren, Arkansas.[23]

During this slave controversy, Wild Cat led a group of Indians and blacks south to the Rio Grande to establish a community in Mexican territory. After writing to the Governor of Texas requesting that Texas capture the runaway slaves and offer them for sale, Marcellus Duval went south himself to locate the escaped slaves. Leaving Gabriel as acting agent, Duval was in Texas when the furor over his activities on behalf of his brother's claim surfaced in Washington. When Duval heard of the charges circulating against him, he requested on November 15, 1852, a hearing "before [Superintendent John] Drennen or any body else who is decent and has sense." Events, however, were moving too fast for Duval. Drennen had two months earlier recommended that Duval be replaced by an individual "whose *private* interest will not lead him wholly to neglect the public duties." Three days before Duval's request for a hearing, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the appointment of a replacement.[24]

Bryant H. Smithson

The man who received the recommendation was David W. Eakins of Fort Gibson. Despite the urgings of two friends, one of whom was Philip H. Raiford of the Creek agency, he decided to decline the appointment. After he had received word that the agent's salary was to be increased, and with further promptings from William D. Shaw, Eakins accepted the position on December 15, 1852. Within a week, however, the War Department offered him the chaplaincy of a Texas army post. Since he had previously applied for the position, had used his influence to obtain it, and believed it to be personally more rewarding, Eakins resigned from the Seminole

[23] Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 259, 263; Marcellus Duval to William Medill, October 19, 1848, John C. Henshaw to George Manypenny, June 7, 1853, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Marcellus Duval to P. H. Bell, October 21, 1850, Dorman H. Winfrey and James M. Day, *The Indian Papers of Texas and the Southwest, 1825–1916* (5 vols., Austin: The Pemberton Press, 1966), Vol. V, p. 92.

[24] Marcellus Duval to Luke Lea, November 15, 1852, John Drennen to Luke Lea, September 27, 1852, Luke Lea to A. H. H. Stewart, November 10, 1852, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

agency on Christmas eve, nine days after his acceptance. This left the Seminole Agency still vacant. With the aid of the influence of United States Representative A. B. Greenwood of Arkansas, the Office of Indian Affairs appointed Bryant H. Smithson on April 26, 1853, as the new Seminole subagent. Since he did not arrive until June 1, 1853, the Seminoles in substance were without an active agent for over six months.[25]

As agent, Smithson endorsed the recommendation of Duval that the United States offer the Seminoles separation from the Creeks in return for their assistance in bringing the Seminoles in Florida to the Western Indian lands. The basis for this endorsement was Smithson's belief that "something serious may grow out of the matter before it is ended." His agency administration was poorly executed if handling of accounts is any indication. During his tenure, Smithson neglected to send Washington vouchers for his expenses. Since he had the lowest per diem expenses of all the agents of the Southern Indian Superintendency, this lack of receipts is more indicative of lax administration than dishonesty.[26]

The laxity may have an explanation in Smithson's drinking problem. In defense of the accusations against him, Smithson declared, "If occasionally taking a glass of wine or brandy makes a man intemperate, I am guilty." Interestingly, Smithson minimized the problems associated with the whiskey trade among the Seminoles. Despite his offers to abstain entirely from alcohol, the Secretary of the Interior recommended his removal on April 15, 1854, less than a year after his appointment. Five days later, the Office of Indian Affairs mailed a letter appointing another agent for the Seminoles.[27]

Josiah W. Washbourne

The recipient of this letter was Josiah W. Washbourne, the first son of the Reverend Cephas Washburn of Vermont. In 1818, the American Board

[25] David Eakins to Luke Lea, December 15, 1852, and December 24, 1852, Thomas Drew to George Manypenny, January 27, 1854, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Bryant Smithson to Thomas Drew, September 1, 1853, United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Beverley Tucker, 1853), p. 399.

[26] *Ibid.*, Bryant Smithson to George Manypenny, November 24, 1853, Thomas Drew to George Manypenny, March 27, 1854, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[27] Bryant Smithson to Thomas Drew, January 27, 1854, Thomas Drew to George Manypenny, January 27, 1854, Robert McClellen to George Manypenny, April 15, 1854, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Bryant Smithson to Thomas Drew, September 1, 1853, United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, p. 399.

of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had appointed Reverend Washburn to missionary work among the Cherokees in the West. Before going to his assignment, he visited the Cherokee missions in Georgia, where he left his wife while he went west to locate a suitable site for the mission. His wife gave birth to Josiah Woodward before Washburn returned to escort his family west to the new mission.[28]

The young lad spent his first seventeen years in the Indian lands with his missionary parents at Dwight Mission. In 1836, Josiah went east for his advanced education. After completing his schooling, he returned to Arkansas, where he worked as a journalist. In 1845, he returned to Boston and Philadelphia with his father to help raise money for the Far West Academy at Fayetteville, Arkansas. While in New England, the future Seminole agent argued heatedly with his Yankee relatives over slavery and abolition. He became so incensed that he immediately changed the spelling of his name back to the Old English version of Washbourne. After returning to Indian Territory, he married in 1847 Susan C. Ridge, daughter of the Cherokee Chief John Ridge, and became editor of *The Arkansas Intelligencer* in Van Buren and later *The Arkansan* in Fayetteville.[29]

From this position as a journalist, United States Representative A. B. Greenwood of Arkansas recommended Washbourne, a Democrat, to the Secretary of the Interior, who in turn requested Washbourne's appointment by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on April 18, 1854. Two days later, Commissioner George W. Manypenny complied and appointed the thirty-five-year-old Washbourne as the Seminole subagent. By virtue of his extensive background in western Arkansas and in Indian Territory, Washbourne brought with him to the office an extensive familiarity with the Indian character and history.[30]

This knowledge of the Indians led Washbourne to view the Seminoles with a great deal of understanding and respect. He felt that the United

[28] Joseph B. Thoburn, ed., "Letters of Cassandra Sawyer Lockwood: Dwight Mission, 1834," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1955), p. 215; Genealogy of Lee Bird Washbourne, Oklahoma Historical Society Archives, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; United States Department of State, *Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military and Naval in the Service of the United States on the Thirtieth September, 1855* (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1855), p. 88.

[29] Genealogy of Lee Bird Washbourne, Oklahoma Historical Society Archives, Oklahoma City; C. S. Lockwood to the Society for Correspondence in Ipwich Female Seminary, March 7, 1839, Indian-Pioneer History Project, Vol. 58, p. 105, Oklahoma Historical Society Archives, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Joseph Absalom Scales," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1950–1951), p. 424; Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), p. 176.

[30] A. B. Greenwood to Robert McClelland, September 4, 1855, Robert McClelland to George Manypenny, April 18, 1854, Josiah Washbourne to George Manypenny, April 10, 1855, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

States government had neglected the Seminoles by not providing them with their own school, farming, and blacksmith funds. If such funding was provided to the tribal council, he had the confidence that the money would not be misapplied. When the amount of alcoholic consumption among the Seminoles declined in 1857, Washbourne forecast: "Ere long I doubt not the vice of inebriety will be less common among them than among some of their more enlightened neighbors."[31]

This understanding of the Seminoles manifested itself in the arduous work which the new agent gave to the establishment of a separate nation for the Seminoles. Believing that separation of the Seminoles from the Creeks would be the most expeditious manner of improving the lives of the Seminoles, Washbourne argued that both nations desired separation because they each felt that division could advance the status of the Seminoles and could end the complaints that each had with the other. To implement this recommendation, he accompanied a delegation of Seminole chiefs to Washington to aid them in the negotiation of the Treaty of 1856. The pact provided for separate lands further west and increased annuities in return for Seminole cooperation in the removal of the remaining tribesmen in Florida.

The Treaty of 1856 also specified that $90,000 would be given to the tribe and $12,000 would be allotted on a per capita basis to the tribe's members.[32] Disbursing annuities in money rather than in goods was another desire of Washbourne; he advocated this method because the equitable division of goods was impossible. The arrival of goods at one time prompted the Seminoles to exchange the goods for whiskey, whereas money could be doled out through the year for goods as the need arose. The United States, furthermore, would have less expense in transferring funds to the Seminoles than quantities of goods.[33]

In advocating money payments, Washbourne may have had an ulterior motive. After the Seminoles began receiving money through the treaty's

[31] Josiah Washbourne to C. W. Dean, August 15, 1855, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 1*, 34th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Beverley Tucker, 1855), p. 491; Josiah Washbourne to Thomas Drew, October 20, 1854, United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Beverley Tucker, 1854), p. 336; Josiah Washbourne to Elias Rector, August 17, 1857, United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 11*, 35th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: William A. Harris, 1857), p. 517.

[32] Josiah Washbourne to C. W. Dean, August 15, 1855, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 1*, 34th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 491–492; Kappler, ed. *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 756–763.

[33] Josiah Washbourne to Thomas Drew, October 20, 1854, United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session, p. 337; Josiah Washbourne to C. W. Dean, August 15, 1855, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 1*, 34th Congress, 1st Session, p. 490.

stipulations, he pocketed $13,000 from the $90,000 appropriated to the tribal council. He received $5,000 from a claimant in Florida who received $30,000 through the agent's aid. He pocketed another $5,000 from Seminole chiefs whom he allowed to divert tribal money to their personal use. This scheming was the cause which led the Southern Indian Superintendent to request his removal in the autumn of 1857.[34]

With secession and the Civil War, Washbourne became an ardent Confederate. A Union intelligence agent reported that Washbourne was one of the most rabid Southerners in Indian Territory because he was trying to compensate for his Northern parentage. This strong Southern sentiment led Washbourne to work for the Confederacy among the Indian tribes, including the Seminoles. Although his swindle of tribal money was well known, Washbourne still had their respect through his understanding and his long efforts for the separation of the Creeks and Seminoles. As his long acquaintance with the Indians had prepared him for the Seminole Agency, it also made him an able negotiater for the Confederate States with the Indians. From this vantage point, Washbourne urged the Seminoles to join the Southern movement. His line of argument was that the Union treasury was bankrupt and could not pay the annuities, that the European powers would support the Confederacy, and that only the South would guarantee the political independence of the Indian nations. Through this reasoning, Washbourne was able to persuade many Indians to organize military support for the Confederacy.[35]

Although his cause lost, Washbourne did not lose his Southern ardor. During the treaty negotiations with the Indian tribes in 1866, the former Seminole agent worked with the Southern Cherokees in presenting their case in Washington and struggled for a division among the Cherokee Nation. After the collapse of this effort, Washbourne retired to his home in Indian Territory, where he died two days after Christmas in 1871.[36]

[34] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1915), p. 238.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85; A. W. Wilson and Josiah Washbourne to Stand Watie, May 18, 1861, Edward E. Dale, ed., "Some Letters of General Stand Watie," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, No. 1 (January, 1921), pp. 34–36; Foreman, "Joseph Absalom Scales," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 424.

[36] Josiah Washbourne to Joseph Scales, June 1, 1866, and June 20, 1866, Edward E. Dale, ed., "Additional Letters of General Stand Watie," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, No. 2 (October, 1921), pp. 145–147; Genealogy of Lee Bird Washbourne, Oklahoma Historical Society Archives, Oklahoma City.

Samuel M. Rutherford

Josiah Washbourne was not the only former Seminole agent who worked for the Confederacy. When Samuel M. Rutherford replaced Washbourne on November 5, 1857, the Seminole agency remained in hands which would labor for the Southern states. Considerably older than his predecessor, Rutherford was sixty when he came to office. Born on March 31, 1797, in Goochland County, Virginia, he moved with his family to Nashville, Tennessee. At the age of seventeen, young Rutherford enlisted in the Tennessee volunteers for the war with England and saw action in the victory of New Orleans. At the close of the War of 1812, he went west to work in Arkansas, and then became a trader in the Three Forks area of what is now eastern Oklahoma. He returned to Arkansas in 1825 to be sheriff of Clark county and a year later for Pulaski county. In 1829 he also became deputy United States marshal for Little Rock. While still sheriff and marshal, he was elected to the Arkansas territorial house of representatives in 1831 and was reelected in 1833 and 1835.

His first official dealings with the Indians came in 1832 when he received an appointment as special agent for the removal and subsistence of the Choctaw Indians. Upon his return to Arkansas, he assumed the duties of the register of the United States land office in Little Rock. Resigning that position in November, 1833, he began serving as Treasurer of Arkansas Territory until October 1, 1836. In 1838 he became a director of the State Bank of Arkansas and, four years later, its president. In 1836 and 1840, he had served as a Democratic presidential elector. On the death of William Armstrong, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Rutherford became Choctaw agent and acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs until 1849. He returned to Sebastian county, Arkansas, where he served as probate and county court attorney. Finally, in 1857, he received his appointment as Seminole Indian agent, which would fulfill a lifetime of public service. During the Civil War, his Southern birth and Arkansas political background pulled him to the side of the Confederacy, which he served as the Confederate Indian agent. Following the defeat of the South, he retired from public life and died on April 1, 1867.[37]

While serving as Seminole agent, Rutherford labored to implement the Treaty of 1856. Although the funds were delayed, he located the tribe on their new lands about the agency 160 miles west of Fort Gibson. He also escorted a delegation of Seminoles to Florida for the purpose of convincing

[37] Grant Foreman, "Nathaniel Pryor," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (June, 1929), p. 153; Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (4 vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1929), Vol. IV, p. 86.

the Florida Seminoles to migrate to the new Seminole land. Under the direction of Rutherford, the construction of an agency house and a council house was completed before the Civil War. Thus Rutherford's main accomplishment was enabling the Seminoles to adjust to the West.[38]

Lacking the understanding which Washbourne had displayed toward the Seminole customs, Rutherford believed that the only way the Seminoles could become a happy and contented people was to reject the "absurdities" of their tribal custom and habits. The key to unlock the door to "civilization" for the Seminoles, he felt, was education. Rather than favoring a study of arts and letters, Rutherford believed that manual labor schools would be more beneficial. These schools would teach the Seminole boys agricultural pursuits and the girls housewifery. Although this proposal would advance the tribal agriculturally, the ultimate impact would be to confine the Seminoles to menial employment and, hence, subservience to the whites.[39]

Despite the limitation of this proposal, Rutherford had great confidence in the Indians. He felt that the membership of the Seminole tribe was intelligent and "worthy to be considered a part of our common country, and fully competent to aid in sustaining its reputation for intelligence and Christian philosophy." With this belief in Seminole intelligence, Rutherford tried to convince Washington that his charges were not a retarded race.[40]

Before the eve of the Civil War, Rutherford had been scrupulously honest with agency funds. During the last quarter of 1860, his accounts went out of balance $46,360.55. The reason for this discrepancy is uncertain. In the presidential campaign of 1860, he had become too interested in national politics to devote full time to the duties of the agency. The out-of-balance books, consequently, may have resulted from inattention. Since Rutherford believed that if Lincoln won he would no longer be agent, he may have decided to aid the secession movement with agency money or to provide himself with a retirement fund.[41]

During the time of this discrepancy, beginning around Lincoln's election

[38] Samuel Rutherford to Elias Rector, August 15, 1860, United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 36th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: George W. Bowman, 1861), pp. 350–351.

[39] Samuel Rutherford to Elias Rector, August 15, 1860, United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 351; Samuel Rutherford to Elias Rector, August 18, 1858, John Lilley to Samuel Rutherford, August 20, 1858, United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: William A. Harris, 1859), pp. 507–508.

[40] Samuel Rutherford to Elias Rector, August 15, 1860, United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 351.

[41] E. B. French to William Dole, August 24, 1861, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, pp. 84–86.

and the secessionist conventions, Rutherford used his influence with the Seminoles to gain cooperation for the south. In addition to the arguments Washbourne was giving, Rutherford pointed out that the Seminoles were slaveholders, were of Southern origin, and were inhabitants of a Southern geographic area. Thus, according to Rutherford, the Seminoles had more in common with the Confederacy than with the Union.[42] The pro-Southern influence of the United States agent and of a former agent undoubtedly encouraged the large bulk of seminoles to side with the South. When the tribe split over which side of the Civil War they should support, the Union Seminoles fled their homes and became refugees in Kansas. Rutherford stayed with the Southern Seminoles and did not bother to resign formally his appointment as United States agent.

George C. Snow

With Washington upset over a string of Southern secessions and the change of political patronage from Democrats to Republicans, the Office of Indian Affairs never actually discharged Rutherford. The matter was indirectly executed when the Republicans in Washington informed William P. Davis of New Albany, Indiana, that he was the new agent for the Seminole Indians. Davis, however, had joined the Twenty-third Indiana Volunteer Regiment stationed at St. Louis, Missouri, and thus was unable to serve as agent. Davis, apparently, had received his appointment through his father's old friend, William P. Dole, Lincoln's Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Since the war prevented Davis from serving, the Office of Indian Affairs appointed George C. Snow as Seminole agent on January 7, 1862. Because the new agent did not arrive with the Union Seminoles at Fort Roe on the Verdigris River in Kansas until February 10, 1862, the Seminoles were without a United States agent for almost a year. After Snow arrived, his first endeavor was to move the Seminoles further north to Neosho Falls, Kansas, where he established the temporary office of the Seminole Agency.[43]

As a political patronage appointee, Snow did not at first understand the Seminole character. Therefore, he left the impression among his wards

[42] Alice Hurley Mackey, "Father Murrow: Civil War Period," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (March, 1934), p. 60.

[43] William Dole to William P. Davis, July 15, 1861, Letters Sent, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; John Davis to William Dole, August 21, 1861, and March 24, 1862, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; George C. Snow to William Coffin, September 29, 1862, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1862* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), p. 286.

that he was merely another white man who wanted to make money from his duties as an Indian agent. With Snow gaining experience and the Seminoles coming to know him, this distrust rapidly dispelled. As one Seminole chief declared, "Now we are willing to trust him with any and all of our business."[44]

The Civil War disrupted any advancement that the Seminoles might have made. As displaced persons in Kansas, the tribe desired to return to their homes as soon as possible. Agent Snow supported this desire and heartily recommended it to Washington. Indeed, the agent viewed their Kansas location as highly temporary. As a result, Snow's optimism over the war prompted him not to provide the Seminoles with agricultural implements necessary for their subsistence farming.[45]

The main problem that confronted Snow was the mere survival of the Seminoles while in exile in Kansas. With no agricultural endeavors, the Seminoles had to rely on scanty rations from the government. Even minimum clothing was unavailable to them. In fact, many Union Seminoles wrote their relatives serving in the United States Army for money with which to purchase clothing. One blanket was issued for every three Indians. The tents which the government provided were of rotten material. Yet the Seminoles did not criticize their agent for this lack of adequate food, clothing, and shelter. Agent Snow had struggled to obtain the money needed to provide the necessities for the Seminoles.[46]

To his credit, Snow kept the Union Seminoles alive while they were living in refugee status. Since a large group of tribes were gathered around the Neosho Falls area, Snow became acquainted with several tribes. Thus, when the Seminoles were able to return south, Snow elected to remain in Kansas and secured an appointment to the Neosho agency on March 23, 1865.[47] The Seminoles returned to their homes with a new agent.

[44] Pascofa to William Dole, July 29, 1863, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[45] Pascofa to Abraham Lincoln, March 10, 1864, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; George Snow to William Coffin, September 4, 1863, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 1*, 38th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), pp. 303–304.

[46] Pascofa to William Dole, August 29, 1863, George Snow to William Dole, February 13, 1863, and August 8, 1864, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[47] Frank H. Harris, "Neosho Agency, 1838–1871," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, No. 1 (Spring, 1965), p. 54.

George A. Reynolds

The agent replacing Snow was George A. Reynolds, a member of a politically influential family. He had been born in New York in the early 1830's and had moved with his family to Michigan during his early childhood. In 1836, he settled in Kansas and made it his permanent home. His family connections with Republican Senator Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas undoubtedly aided him in obtaining the appointment as Seminole agent.[48]

As the Seminole agent immediately after the Civil War, Reynolds had the task of resettling the tribe once again in Indian Territory. In the five years that he served, Reynolds aided the Seminoles in rebuilding from the war's desolation and destruction. The Seminoles reestablished their tribal government, rebuilt their homes, replanted their crops, restocked their herds, and revitalized their educational system. While the burden of reconstruction lay upon the Seminoles' shoulders, their agent worked with them in the task. For example, on March 21, 1865, three days after his appointment, Reynolds requested and received $7,210.35 for farming implements and subsistence for the Seminoles.[49]

Another contribution was his journey to Washington with the Seminole peace delegation in 1866 to negotiate the Treaty of 1866. Indicative of the confidence which the Seminoles placed in their agent, they gave him total power of attorney. Part of the treaty called for the Seminole land to be located just to the east of their pre-Civil War area. Through Reynolds' assistance, the Seminoles settled upon their new land, and the government constructed an agency at Wewoka. In the spring of 1867, the Seminole chiefs protested to the office of Indian Affairs that the money promised in the Treaty of 1866 had not been paid. To remedy this situation, the Seminole chiefs sent Reynolds to Washington to explain the situation because "he has been our agent a long time and we have confidence in him and know he will do right for us."[50]

48 Vincent Victor Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), p. 144; Joseph B. Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco: Doub and Company, 1908), p. 183; Testimony of George A. Reynolds, April 22, 1878, United States Senate, *Report Number 744*, 45th Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), p. 173; Samuel Pomeroy to N. G. Taylor, May 9, 1867, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

49 George Reynolds to L. N. Robinson, July 25, 1869, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1869* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), pp. 417–418; George Reynolds to William Dole, March 21, 1865, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

50 Perry Fuller to D. N. Lovely, December 18, 1865, Seminole Chiefs to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 15, 1867, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Despite his great accomplishments, the administration of Reynolds was not totally efficient. The agency buildings constructed under his supervision were of poor quality and soon fell into disarray without adequate care. He kept inadequate records concerning the agency's activities and improperly recorded the agency's expenditures.[51] Thus, while accomplishing much, he left a poor legacy for his successor.

Reynolds continued in the belief that the basis for Indian improvement was in agricultural pursuits. Rather than emphasizing agricultural education, he maintained that the government should provide the Indians with the means to grow crops "and let them work or starve. This course I conceive to be the true missionary work of the agent and the department and is a safe and practicable code of morrals [*sic*] to teach."[52]

The emphasis upon self-reliance was manifested in other proposals Reynolds made. He opposed the payment of annuities because he believed the money made the Seminoles indolent. With the prospect of money, merchants extended the Seminoles credit which was wasted during the year. In place of the annuities, Reynolds favored the government's dividing the tribal lands into individual farms for the Seminoles and making the land inalienable. He believed the Seminoles should learn that their land was their home forever, and that Congress should protect them from the encroachment of white settlers. He disliked using either political appointees or military men as Indian agents. In fact, Reynolds recommended that the office of agent be eliminated and replaced with tribal self-government. In this manner, he said, "a determined, patient effort . . . [could] be made to save not only spiritually, but physically, the few remaining remnants of a nation that once owned all these broad prairies and fertile valleys."[53]

In the years following his administration as agent, Reynolds altered his views about the future of Indian land. Immediately after his resignation from the agency, the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad employed Reynolds as their agent in Indian Territory. From a base of operations in

[51] Theodore Baldwin to E. S. Parker, August 31, 1869, E. B. French to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 29, 1869, and May 12, 1870, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[52] George Reynolds to James Wortham, August 28, 1867, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1867* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. 328; George Reynolds to W. Byers, December 26, 1866, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[53] Testimony of George Reynolds, April 26, 1878, United States Senate, *Report Number 744*, 45th Congress, 3rd Session, p. 188; George Reynolds to L. N. Robinson, July 25, 1869, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1869*, p. 418; George Reynolds to James Wortham, August 28, 1867, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1867*, p. 328.

Parsons, Kansas, Reynolds was responsible for securing railway right-of-way through Indian land. As a result, the former agent advocated the severality of Indian land, but not the inalienability of individual farms. Reynolds argued that they should be permitted to dispose of their land in any manner they chose. The treaties which the government had concluded with the Indians should not interfere with Congress' adopting this proposal.[54]

Theodore A. Baldwin

Reynolds' belief that the army should not be involved in Indian affairs may have been prompted by the decision in 1869 to replace all Indian agents with military officers.[55] While this decision removed the political aspects of the agency appointments, it also cost Reynolds his position. As a result, Captain Theodore A. Baldwin received the assignment to the Seminole Agency at Wewoka.

Baldwin was born in New Jersey on the last day of 1839. At the age of twenty-two, he enlisted as a private in the United States Nineteenth Infantry Regiment to fight for the Union in the Civil War. As the war drew to a close, Baldwin received his officer's commission in the same regiment. After spending time in the occupation of Georgia, the regiment moved west to oversee Indian Territory. While on this assignment at Fort Smith, Arkansas, Baldwin received the appointment to the Seminole Agency on June 23, 1869.[56]

As Seminole agent, Captain Baldwin was very sympathetic toward Indian grievances. The Treaty of 1866 called for the expenditure of $15,000 for a new mill; Baldwin concurred in the Indian assessment that they had received an old mill. He also urged that something be done to provide for the bounties and pensions due the Seminoles who had served in the

[54] Edward King, "The Great South, The New Route to the Gulf," *Scribner's Monthly*, Vol. VI, No. 3 (July, 1873), p. 279; Testimony of George Reynolds, April 22, 1878, United States Senate, *Report Number 744*, 45th Congress, 3rd Session, p. 173; Testimony of George Reynolds, April 26, 1878, United States Senate, *Report Number 744*, 45th Congress, 3rd Session, pp. 194–195.

[55] Hill, *Historical Sketches for Jurisdictional and Subject Heading Used for the Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs: General*, p. 3.

[56] *New York Times*, September 3, 1925, p. 25, c. 4; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (2 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), Vol. I, p. 186; Statement of Military Service of Theodore A. Baldwin, L. F. Sheffy, ed., "Letters and Reminiscences of Gen. Theodore A. Baldwin: Scouting After Indians on the Plains of West Texas," *The Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, Vol. XI (1938), pp. 29–30; R. A. Sneed, "The Reminiscences of an Indian Trader," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (June, 1936), p. 148.

Union Army. He requested likewise that the Seminoles be given additional land to compensate for the land they had lost under the Treaty of 1866, land which would provide room for the Seminoles still remaining in Florida to move west. While none of these proposals were implemented, Baldwin's effort earned him the respect of the tribe.[57]

Baldwin, similar to his predecessors, believed that the Seminoles were an intelligent, responsible tribe. He credited their adherence, however, to their tribal customs and forms of government as retarding their development and precipitating immorality and indolence. He hoped that the Seminoles would reject their old ways and become one of the most advanced Indian tribes.[58]

After his tenure as agent, Baldwin continued to serve on the Southwest frontier and to be involved in Indian affairs until the mid-1890's. During the Spanish-American War, Baldwin led the Tenth United States Cavalry Regiment on a charge up San Juan Hill, for which he received the Silver Star. After returning to the United States in 1902, Baldwin retired at the rank of brigadier general. Years later, after his retirement in Catoosa Springs, Georgia, General Baldwin died at the age of eighty-six on September 1, 1925.[59]

Just as a change of policy regarding the appointment of Indian agents had brought Baldwin to office, a change in policy in the following year ushered him from the position.

Henry F. Breiner

In 1870, President Ulysses S. Grant decided that religious bodies should be allowed to choose the Indian agents after the military had located the Indians on their assigned lands. The Presbyterian Board for Foreign Missions received the authority to nominate individuals to the Seminole

[57] Theodore Baldwin to E. S. Parker, September 1, 1869, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1869*, pp. 420–421; Theodore Baldwin to E. S. Parker, September 1, 1870, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), p. 301.

[58] Theodore Baldwin to E. S. Parker, September 1, 1870, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1870*, p. 300.

[59] *New York Times*, September 3, 1925, p. 25, c. 4; Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, Vol. I, p. 186; Statement of the Military Service of Theodore A. Baldwin, Sheffy, ed., "Letters and Reminiscences of Gen. Theodore A. Baldwin: Scouting After Indians on the Plains of West Texas," *The Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, Vol. XI, pp. 29–30; Sneed, "The Reminiscences of an Indian Trader," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, p. 148.

Agency. Consequently, Henry F. Breiner, a Pittsburgh physician, applied to the board, which in turn recommended him for the position. On October 24, 1870, the Office of Indian Affairs concurred and appointed Breiner to the position. Three weeks later, Dr. Breiner arrived in Wewoka and relieved Captain Baldwin of the Seminole Agency.[60]

As a physician, Dr. Breiner was naturally concerned over the physical health and medical care of the Seminoles. He claimed that exposure, improper clothing, dark and cold cabins, incomplete diets, and a lack of cleanliness debilitated the health of the individual tribal members. He contended that their poor general health made the Seminoles susceptible to disease. Rather than the Indians having "the advantages and benefits . . . from the arts and sciences of civilization," Dr. Breiner emphasized, they had to rely on their medicine men with "a pot of boiled herbs . . . and . . . blowing and 'pow-wow-ing.' "[61]

To remedy this situation, Breiner located medicine and began a medical practice among the Seminoles. He also recommended that the government construct and supply a hospital near the agency to care for the Seminoles. He urged that "a white, or other experienced, intelligent and obedient nurse" assist the physician.[62]

While Breiner's statement implies an attitude favoring the whites, he admitted as much when he described the Seminoles "as poor and thriftless a class of people as I have ever seen." Paternalistically, he believed that the government and religious institutions had a moral obligation to civilize and advance the Indians because of the "duty which all enlightened nations owe to the benighted and ignorant by Divine injunction." Despite this attitude, Breiner wanted to educate in the mission schools selected Seminoles who would then be able to conduct schools for their fellow tribesmen.[63] Thus he advocated that the Seminoles bear a little of the responsibility for their own advancement.

60 W. T. Sherman, *Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman* (4th ed., 2 vols., New York: Charles L. Webster and Company, 1891), Vol. II, pp. 436–437; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Dr. and Mrs. Richard Moore Crain," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (Spring, 1957), p. 75; Henry Breiner to the Office of Indian Affairs, October 27, 1870, Henry Breiner to E. S. Parker, December 13, 1870, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

61 Henry Breiner to F. A. Walker, September 25, 1872, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1872* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 582, 586.

62 Henry Breiner to E. S. Parker, December 30, 1870, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Henry Breiner to F. A. Walker, September 25, 1872, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1872*, p. 242.

63 Henry Breiner to E. S. Parker, September 1, 1871, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1872*, pp. 241–242.

With these attitudes, Dr. Breiner remained at the agency and handled the day-to-day problems of the Seminoles. The great difficulties of Seminole settlement in the West, the Civil War, and reconstruction after the war had been largely solved by 1870 when the physician assumed control of the agency. Consequently, Breiner was fortunate in that the problems he faced were of a less serious nature than the ones faced by his predecessors. He remained in office until 1874. That year the Seminole agency was disbanded and became part of the Union Agency which consolidated the administration of the Five Civilized Tribes.[64]

From 1842, with John McKee as the first Seminole agent, to 1874 with Henry Breiner as the last, ten men had actually served the Seminoles as agents. Yet none were completely efficient nor totally corrupt. Josiah Washbourne, who succeeded in attaining separate status for the Seminoles, stole money from the tribal funds. Marcellus Duval, who neglected the Seminoles while trying to obtain the disputed Seminoles slaves for his brother and himself, outlined the basis for this separation several years earlier. By the criteria of their attitudes and their accomplishments, John McKee and Marcellus Duval were poor agents. Thomas Judge, Josiah Washbourne, Samuel Rutherford, and George Reynolds were outstanding. Bryant Smithson, George Snow, Theodore Baldwin, and Henry Breiner were mediocre. Yet each agent was an individual who had something to commend and something to condemn.

Of the Five Civilized Tribes, the Seminole Indians had the most painful and difficult time in adjusting in Indian Territory; their agents contributed to this difficulty. When the Seminoles arrived in 1842, John McKee was inefficient. Marcellus Duval was too occupied with the slave question, and Bryant Smithson was an excessive drinker. The only competent agent before 1854 who could have really aided their adjustment was Thomas Judge, but he ran afoul of his superiors, who discharged him after less than three years of service. The lack of a competent agent in the early years, consequently, hindered the adjustment of the Seminoles.

Another reason for their delay in adjusting was the governmental policy which seemed to make them a constituent part of the Creek tribe. Interestingly, all the agents before 1856, except for John McKee, advocated separation for the Seminoles as a major step toward adjustment. Thomas Judge felt that it would benefit both tribes; Marcellus Duval believed it would benefit the government; Bryant Smithson contended it would prevent trouble, and Josiah Washbourne maintained it would advance the Seminoles. While their reasons differed, each of these agents urged a step

[64] Hill, *Historical Sketches for Jurisdictional and Subject Heading Used for the Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs: General*, p. 2.

that contradicted the established governmental policy. These men were well aware of the strong tribal pride and identity of the Seminoles. Thus the refusing of a separate status to the Seminoles until 1856 does not rest with their agents but with Washington and the Office of Indian Affairs.

Most agents to the Seminoles respected their native intelligence and abilities. The lone exception was Marcellus Duval, who viewed the Seminoles with disdain. Despite the attitudes of the agents, only Josiah Washbourne had appreciation for Seminole customs and heritage. The others felt that civilization could come to the Seminoles only through ridding themselves of their traditions. To accomplish this, Judge wanted to establish religious boarding schools; Rutherford wanted manual labor schools; and Reynolds wanted self-reliance. The Seminole agents as a whole, however, saw value in the educational and agricultural pursuits of their charges.

A major commonality of the Seminole agents was their lack of prominence before appointment. The only exception was Samuel Rutherford, who had spent forty years in Arkansas and national politics, but he may have received the agency as a semi-retirement position. This general obscurity would indicate that the Seminole Agency was not one of the coveted patronage plums. Yet these relatively anonymous individuals were not puppets whose strings the Office of Indian Affairs pulled. Rather they were men with differing attitudes and abilities. As a group, they both aided and hindered the development of the Seminole Nation.

LIEUTENANT GEORGE N. BASCOM AT APACHE PASS, 1861

*By Dale T. Schoenberger**

Second Lieutenant George Nicholas Bascom, Seventh U.S. Infantry, usually merits a few pages in the annals of the Indian Wars of the Southwest. Those "few pages" are not usually complimentary to young Bascom. For more than a century the classic image of Bascom is that of a green lieutenant, fresh from West Point, who was both arrogant and imprudent. Many have attributed Bascom's lack of experience and overzealousness to duty for blundering the United States into a long and bloody war with Cochise, the hereditary chief of the Chiricahua Apaches.

This blunder of Lieutenant Bascom has been repeated often. In late January, 1861, Bascom was ordered to retrieve some stolen cattle and a half-breed Mexican boy taken by the Apaches. (These Apaches have been identified variously as Coyoteros, Pinals, and renegades belonging to no particular band.) A few days after his departure Bascom and his detail camped near the Butterfield Overland Mail stage station that was located in Apache Pass in the Chiricahua Mountains, the stronghold of Cochise. Through the station master, who was a friend of Cochise, Bascom invited the Apache chief to come to his tent under the guise of friendship. When Cochise arrived at Bascom's tent with a handful of his relatives he was accused by Bascom of having taken the boy and the cattle. Cochise protested his innocence and offered to help Bascom in recovering the boy. Bascom, portraying his inexperience, became angry and ordered Cochise's arrest. Cochise drew his knife, slashed the tent, and fled. Bascom's men fired after the chief, but he escaped. One of Cochise's male relatives attempted to escape through the opening of the tent, but was clubbed and bayonetted in the stomach in his effort. Later Cochise captured one of the mail station's employes and three teamsters from a nearby wagon train. He offered to exchange them for the captives which Bascom held, but the young lieutenant refused. Cochise then executed his four prisoners. Bascom, in retaliation, hanged his six male captives, three of them relatives of Cochise. There followed a bloody war with the Chiricahuas until Cochise made peace in 1872.

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This classic image of Bascom still is accepted by some latter-day historians. Is this image of Bascom a true portrayal? Or did Bascom assume its mantle only in the hindsight of a bloody Apache war? What was Bascom really like as an officer?

At the time of his "blunder" with Cochise Bascom was not "green" nor "fresh from West Point." He graduated from the U.S. Military Academy on July 1, 1858, commissioned Second Lieutenant, and served at Fort Columbus, New York, until 1859. He was then sent to Utah and served there until 1860. During the latter year he was assigned to Fort Buchanan, Arizona (which was then part of the Territory of New Mexico). When Bascom met Cochise in February, 1861, the lieutenant was just a few months short of his twenty-fifth birthday.

Unfortunately, few opinions of Bascom by those who knew him seemed to have survived. Charles D. Poston called him "a gentleman and an unfortunate fool."[1] A former sergeant of the Seventh Infantry named Oberly who knew Bascom doubted his courage and judgment.[2] Captain Bernard J. D. Irwin, Assistant Surgeon, who fought with Bascom against Cochise in Apache Pass and let a relief party to Bascom's aid, considered the young lieutenant a competent officer.[3] Colonel William W. Loring (later a Confederate major general and brigadier general in the army of the Khedive of Egypt), who was Bascom's Departmental commander at Santa Fe, considered the lieutenant's conduct as an officer "excellent."[4]

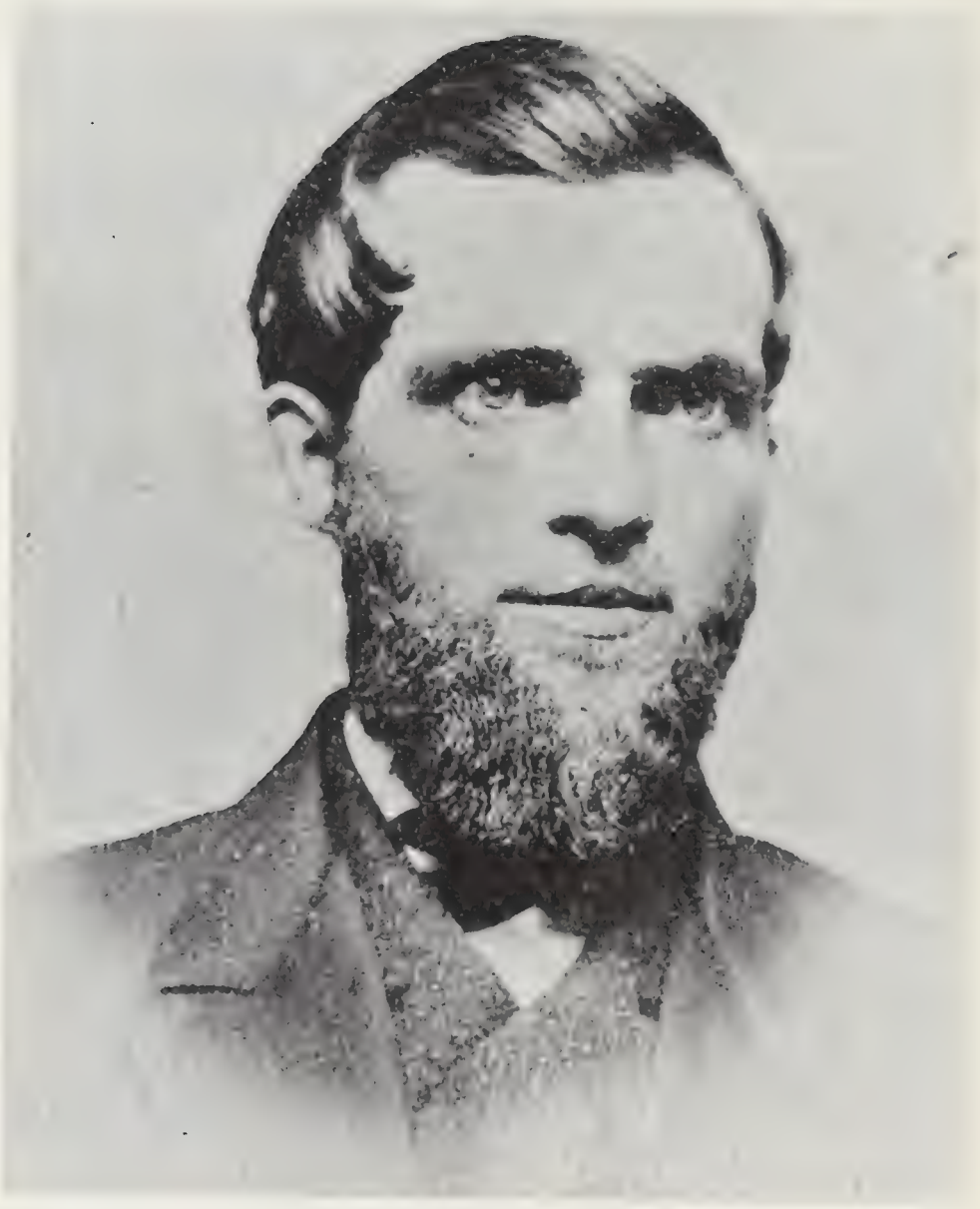
The image of Bascom we have today is, of course, based solely on his meeting with Cochise in Apache Pass and its tragic aftermath. The standard account of this encounter is not based on military records. This primarily is because most of the post records of Fort Buchanan were lost or destroyed when that post was occupied by the Confederate Army several months after the Bascom-Cochise meeting. Several of the fort's records had been forwarded to Departmental headquarters at Santa Fe, however, and some of these records pertained to the Bascom-Cochise incident in Apache Pass. What follows, then, is a reconstruction of this incident based on these surviving military records.

[1] Charles D. Poston, "Building A State in Apache Land," *Overland Monthly*, Series Number 2, Volume XXIV, September, 1894.

[2] Clipping from an unidentified New York newspaper, circa 1886 or 1887, in the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson. Oberly was a New York City policeman at the time of the interview.

[3] B. J. D. Irwin, "The Apache Pass Fight," *Infantry Journal*, Volume XXXII, Number 4, April, 1928.

[4] Letter, First Lieutenant Dabney H. Maury, Assistant Adjutant General, Department of New Mexico, to Lieutenant Colonel Pitcairn Morrison, March 17, 1861, Old Military Records Division, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Maury was later a Confederate major general.)



George Nicholas Bascom

Graduate of the U.S. Military Academy,
Second Lieutenant, Seventh Infantry, 1858.

In October, 1860, a band of Apaches raided the Sonoita River valley ranch of John Ward in his absence. The Apache raiders drove off a herd of Ward's cattle and took a small half-breed boy belonging to Ward's Mexican woman. (This boy is said to have been the famed Mickey Free who later scouted for General George Crook.) Ward reported the raid to military authorities at Fort Buchanan, but for three months the Army did nothing about it. Then on January 28, 1861, Lieutenant Colonel Pitcairn Morrison of the Seventh Infantry, the commandant at Fort Buchanan, ordered Bascom on a punitive expedition to recover the Ward boy.[5] Bascom left Fort Buchanan the next day with a detail of 54–61 enlisted men from Company C of his regiment.[6] There were no dragoons (cavalry) with Bascom's detachment as has been stated. Morrison's precise orders to Bascom were not among the records of the Department of New Mexico, so they are not known. Presumably they were lost or destroyed when the Confederates occupied Fort Buchanan. Assistant Surgeon Irwin, who was at Fort Buchanan, stated, however, that Bascom was under orders to use force against Cochise to recover the Ward boy. If Dr. Irwin is correct, then it was Colonel Morrison and *not* Lieutenant Bascom who first suspected Cochise of having the boy, and it was Morrison who *ordered* Bascom to deal cohesively with Cochise.[7] Bascom, in his official report, stated that he "felt confident" that Cochise had the boy, but unfortunately for history's sake, he did not offer any reasons for such confidence.[8]

Bascom and his detail arrived at the Butterfield stage station in Apache Pass on February 3. Bascom made camp less than a mile northeast of the station. Cochise's camp was about a half mile north of the station. Whether Cochise went to Bascom's camp on his own or was invited there by Bascom through Charles W. Culver, the station master at Apache Pass, has not been determined. Cochise and some of his followers went to Bascom's camp on February 4. Speaking through an interpreter named Antonio (who, with John Ward, had accompanied Bascom's detachment from Fort Buchanan), Bascom told Cochise that he was holding six of the chief's followers as hostages until the Ward boy and the cattle were returned.[9] Cochise denied that he had the boy, but promised if Bascom would

[5] Letters, Second Lieutenant George N. Bascom to First Lieutenant Dabney H. Maury, February 14, 1861; Bascom to Lieutenant Colonel Pitcairn Morrison, February 25, 1861, Old Military Records Division, National Archives.

[6] Post Returns, Fort Buchanan, New Mexico Territory, for January, 1861; Muster Rolls of Company C, Seventh U.S. Infantry, for January and February, 1861, Old Military Records Division, National Archives.

[7] Irwin, "The Apache Pass Fight."

[8] Bascom to Morrison, February 25, 1861.

[9] *Ibid.*; Bascom to Maury, February 14, 1861.

wait ten days he would go to the Coyotero's camp and bring the boy to Bascom.[10] Bascom agreed to Cochise's proposal.[11]

The next day, February 5, Cochise returned with several hundred Coyotero warriers under their chief, Francisco.[12] Cochise called for a parley and Bascom reluctantly agreed. The young lieutenant suspected something was amiss since Cochise had returned nine days early. Bascom, Sergeant Smith (and probably some others) went out under a white flag to parley with Cochise. About 150 yards from the stage station Bascom became very uneasy and he stopped, suspecting a trap. Culver and one of his employes, James F. Wallace, then joined Bascom's party. Culver and Wallace stated that they were going to parley with Cochise. Bascom objected and warned both Butterfield men that if captured, he would not exchange his hostages to free them.[13] (The six Chiricahuas held by Bascom were for the exchange of the Ward boy.) Culver and Wallace ignored Bascom's warning and walked towards the Apaches. Francisco lowered the white flag he was holding and pointed it in Bascom's direction, shouting in Spanish, "Here! Here!" Bascom ordered his men to open up on the Apaches. Culver and Wallace were seized by the Apaches, but Culver managed to break away. He was shot down and seriously wounded as he reached the station. Sergeant Smith was slightly wounded in the skirmish, and another station employe, a man named Walsh, was killed in the exchange of gunfire between the Apaches and the soldiers. Cochise then led the Apaches from the battlefield.

The following day—the sixth—Cochise appeared with Wallace a short distance from the station. He wanted another talk with Bascom. The lieutenant agreed and went out to talk with Cochise. (This was showing considerable courage on Bascom's part considering the near-ambush of the previous day.) Cochise offered to exchange Wallace and 16 government mules for Bascom's six hostages. When Bascom inquired as to where Cochise got the mules the Apache answered, "From a government train of course." If the Ward boy were included, Bascom said, then he would make the exchange.[14] Cochise left and took Wallace with him. That eve-

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Bascom to Morrison, February 25, 1861.

[14] *Ibid.* Sergeant Reuben F. Bernard (later a lieutenant colonel) is said to have objected so strenuously with Bascom for not exchanging the six hostages for Wallace that Bascon later had him court-martialed. This parley between Bascom and Cochise concerning Wallace took place on February 6. Bernard, at this time, was a member of Company D, First U.S. Dragoons. Company D of the First Dragoons did not leave Fort Breckinridge, New Mexico Territory, until February 10 and did not arrive at the Apache Pass station until February 14.—Muster

ning Bascom found a note from Wallace stating that Cochise also held three other white men, William Sanders, Frank Brunner, and Sam Whitfield, and that he was coming the next day to exchange them.[15] Sanders, Brunner, and Whitfield were teamsters whose wagon train was attacked by Cochise a few miles west of the stage station. Several of their fellow Mexican teamsters who were captured at the same time by Cochise were burned alive on wagon wheels by the Apaches. The mules that Cochise had wanted to exchange were probably from this particular wagon train. If they weren't, then Cochise had government property in his possession before his meeting with Bascom. This would mean that Cochise was not living in peace with *all* whites as has been generally stated.

On the late afternoon of the sixth the west-bound stage arrived at the Apache Pass station for an overnight stop. Early the next morning the east-bound stage arrived at the station. Among its passengers were William Buckley, superintendent of the Butterfield line between Tucson and El Paso, and First Lieutenant John R. Cooke of the Eighth U.S. Infantry. Lieutenant Cooke was the son of Colonel (later Brigadier General) Philip St. George Cooke and brother-in-law of the Confederate Major General J. E. B. ("Jeb") Stuart. Lieutenant Cooke, himself, later became a Confederate brigadier general. The east-bound stage had been attacked by Apaches about two miles from the station. One mule had been killed and the driver, King Lyon, had his leg broken by an Apache bullet.

Bascom realized that his situation was precarious. Sergeant Smith, Culver, and Lyon (and according to some accounts John Ward) were wounded. Medical assistance and reinforcements were needed. On the seventh, Bascom sent a courier to Fort Buchanan. Bascom also sent a detail with several mules to escort the relief column to Apache Pass. Also on the seventh, Superintendent Buckley sent one of his employes, A. B. Culver (brother of station master George Culver), who had arrived on the west-bound stage, to Fort Breckinridge for an escort for the west-bound stage.

Bascom's courier reached Fort Buchanan on the eighth. That same morning Bascom sent a detail of 15 men under Sergeant Daniel Robinson to water the 29 mules left at the station. A Butterfield employe (possibly named Jordan) accompanied Robinson's detail. At the water hole the Apaches attacked Robinson's party and drove off the mules. Sergeant Robinson led his men on foot after the Apaches, but were outdistanced. Robinson was slightly wounded and the Butterfield employe mortally wounded in the skirmish. Sergeants Robinson and Smith were the only men of Bas-

Roll, Company D, First U.S. Dragoons, for February, 1861, Old Military Records Division, National Archives; Bascom to Morrison, February 25, 1861.

[15] Bascom to Morrison, February 25, 1861.

com's detachment wounded in the Apache Pass fight.[16] None of Bascom's command was killed.

Dr. B. J. D. Irwin volunteered to lead a small detachment to Bascom's relief ahead of the main body of reinforcements. Irwin's party (which included James Graydon, a civilian) left the fort on February 9. Enroute to Bascom Irwin's party came across three Coyotero Apaches driving a herd of 13 cattle and 2 horses. Dr. Irwin and his detachment pursued the Coyoteros for several miles before apprehending them.

A. B. Culver reached Fort Breckinridge. A force of seventy men from Companies D and G of the First U.S. Dragoons under First Lieutenant Isaiah N. Moore and Second Lieutenant Richard S. C. Lord was dispatched from the fort to Bascom on February 10. Dr. Irwin's detachment reached Bascom that same day. Four days later Moore and Lord reached Apache Pass.

On February 16, Moore took his dragoons and forty of Bascom's men and made a three-day reconnaissance of the area. Lieutenants Bascom and Lord and Dr. Irwin accompanied the scout. The third day out 10 to 15 abandoned lodges that had been left several days before were found.[17] About four miles from the stage station the mutilated, charred remains of Wallace, Sanders, Brunner, and Whitfield were found.[18] The scouting party then returned to the stage station.

The detachments of Bascom and Moore (except for a sergeant and twelve men who were left to guard the stage station) left for their respective posts on February 19. At the graves of Wallace and the three teamsters it was decided to hang the six adult Apache males in Bascom's possession (including the three Coyoteros captured by Dr. Irwin) in retaliation for the murdered white men.[19] Dr. Irwin said in later years that it was he who first suggested the hanging of the six Apaches (three of them relatives of Cochise), but that Bascom protested, only to have Irwin state that he would hang the trio of Coyoteros he had captured. According to Irwin, Bascom then acquiescenced and all six Apaches were hanged to the nearest trees.[20] Bascom, in his official report, took full responsibility for the hanging of the six Apaches.[21]

Bascom's party returned to Fort Buchanan on Februaryy 23. Cochise and his Chiricahuas continued to make war until he made peace with Brig-

[16] *Ibid.*; Muster Roll, Company C, Seventh U.S. Infantry, for February, 1961.

[17] Bascom to Morrison, February 25, 1861.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Irwin, "The Apache Pass Fight."

[21] Bascom to Morrison, February 25, 1861. One of the Apaches hanged had been bayonetted in the stomach in an attempt to escape several days before.

adier General Oliver O. Howard in 1872. Unfortunately, Bascom did not live to write a more detailed account of the Apache Pass fight. He was killed as a captain in the Civil War battle of Valverde, New Mexico, on February 21, 1862. On January 24, 1894, Dr. Irwin retroactively was awarded the Medal of Honor for his conduct at Apache Pass in 1861.

It can be said here that Lieutenant Bascom cannot be held totally responsible for the incidents at Apache Pass in February, 1861. Cochise must share part of that responsibility. The latter did little to alleviate the tension between both sides.

THE QUAKER AGENTS AT DARLINGTON

*By Sandra W. LeVan**

In 1868, a new president, Ulysses S. Grant, assumed leadership of the United States. Thus began what was later known as "Grant's Indian Peace Policy." President Grant began by appointing agents for the several tribes of the Indian Territory, who were nominated and recommended by the various religious denominations. The Orthodox Friends were allotted the state of Kansas and the western part of what is now Oklahoma, constituting a division designated as the Central Superintendency, consisting of ten agencies serving some twenty or more tribes and remnants of tribes.

Rich in history and adventure, the Darlington agency for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians offers through various sources an interesting view of life among the Indians of the Great Plains in the Indian Territory. The first Indian agents after the Civil War were Quakers as were most of the first settlers in this period. Beginning in 1869, with Brinton Darlington's appointment as the first agent for the Cheyenne and Arapaho, through the years to the resignation of D. B. Dyer in 1885, the Quaker influence was both vital and impressive.

The agency was founded as a result of a treaty negotiated in 1867, with the Indians at the Council of Medicine Lodge in Kansas. It was determined that the reservation and agency were to rest between the Cimarron and Arkansas rivers in Oklahoma.

When Brinton Darlington was selected to go to the Cheyenne and Arapahos, he was also asked to select a site for their agency. He chose a place near Pond Creek (site in present Grant County) in the Cherokee Outlet. However, the Cheyenne and Arapaho, unwilling to live so near the Kansas border and the Osage and Kaw tribes, refused to settle near them.

In 1870, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs instructed Darlington to choose another site for the reservation in the vicinity of the intersection of the old Chisholm Trail and the North Canadian River. Once again a site

* This paper on the U.S. Indian agents at Darlington Agency for the Cheyenne and Arapaho was written by Sandra W. LeVan for a class in history, taught by Duane Cummins at Oklahoma City University. Mrs. LeVan and her husband, Dr. George L. LeVan, with their two children make their home in Norman, Oklahoma.

for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency was selected. This agency called Darlington existed until 1908.

It is interesting to note that the Treaty of Medicine Lodge was broken in 1887 by the General Allotment Act. This act provided that each of the members of the tribes be assigned a quarter section of land; the remaining "surplus" of four and a half million acres was paid for by the government at $1.25 an acre, and thrown open to white settlers.

Life at the Indian agency was anything but boring. When Brinton Darlington came to the Cheyenne and Arapaho, he had no previous training in the U.S. Indian service. Brinton Darlington was born in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, December 3, 1804, and died in Indian Territory on May 1, 1872. Darlington had moved to Iowa Territory sometime in 1847 and stayed there until his appointment as U. S. Indian agent in 1869.

Darlington was much loved by the Indians, in fact the Indian sign word for agent results from the impression Darlington made on the Indians. The story has it that Darlington would remove his false teeth to humor and amuse the Indians and to this day removing something from one's mouth in sign language means "agent" in English.

Agent Darlington soon won the respect and confidence of the Indians under his care. Wild and warlike chiefs yielded to his gentle sway, and followed his counsel.[1] It might have been Darlington's easy manner or his religious convictions but the Indians cared for the fragile looking Quaker who was so kind to them. Darlington brought with him many assistants, most of them Quakers as himself, who built buildings, started schools, opened trading posts and cleared land for farms.

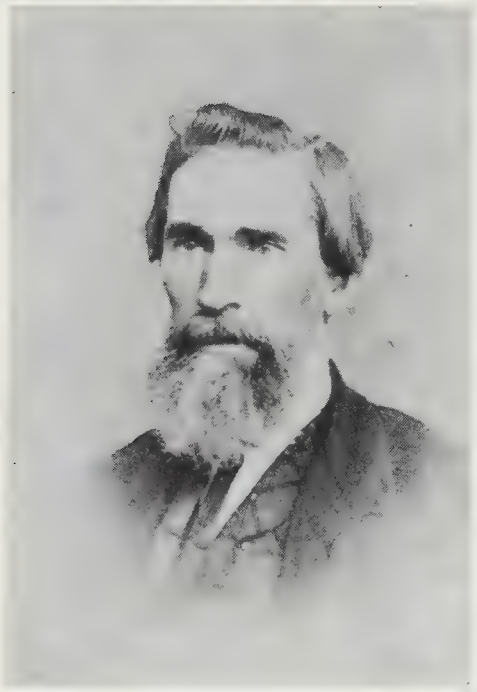
One of the Arapahos later wrote of the Darlington era:[2]

> He was patient and kind; he managed like a chief; he prayed to the man above when he was thankful and when he needed power. So although he was a white man and did not speak our language, we could understand him. He died in 1872, some years before I was born, and when he was buried in the cemetary on the hill near the road that ran between the agency and Caddo Springs, there were Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs, as well as white men, who wept over his grave. And when John D. Miles came to be our next agent, we kept to the new road that we had taken under Brinton Darlington. Even today, when Arapahos think of Darlington we think of a place where life was once happy and good.

Known by the name of "Tosimeea," (He Who Takes Out His Teeth), Darlington set out to civilize and educate the Indians. The Indians felt

[1] William Sessions, *The Indian's Friend*, Low Ousgate, York, 1873, p. 2.

[2] Althea Bass, *The Arapaho Way*, Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., New York, 1966, pp. 4–5.



Jason Holloway

A Quaker, born in Virginia in 1820, came to Darlington Indian Agency with his family in 1872.

Sophronia Holloway

Came from Indiana with her husband, Dr. Jason Holloway, physician at Darlington, in 1872.

he believed many of the same things they did. He believed in a Man-Above and an evil Man-Below, and prayed to the Man-Above. They believed he must feel deeply about Mother Earth because of his great desire to plant and harvest. Again from *The Arapaho Way*: "He had not been trained in our religious societies and did not know our ceremonies. But he did not try to wipe them all out, as some of the white men believed in doing."[3]

When Brinton Darlington died in 1872, John D. Miles came from the Kickapoo Agency in Kansas to work with the Indians as their agent. John Miles was a good agent and he had their respect but not the love they had for Darlington. Miles was industrious and inventive. It was while Miles was agent that two men were induced by Miles to join him at Darlington. The first man was a physician and a Quaker, Jason Holloway, who was born in Virginia in 1820, was married there and later settled in Indiana where he practiced medicine. Holloway came to Darlington in the fall of 1872 with his family. There is very little written about him, but several letters remain written by Dr. Holloway and his children.

In March of 1874, his daughter, Mollie Holloway wrote to her friend:

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

"Lando talked of coming out next fall and he said maybe he'd bring you with him. There isn't the least bit of danger, so your ma needn't be afraid."[4]

Frank Holloway, Dr. Holloway's son, was shot for no apparent reason on May 21, 1874. In an obituary written by John Miles, Holloway is eulogized and the Arapaho Indians praised for coming to support the agency employees in the time of crisis.[5]

A letter written three months later on June 3, by Dr. Holloway spoke about the death of his son Frank, who was shot by a Cheyenne, and assures his son and daughter in Indiana: "The Arapahoes had just moved their camp about 4 miles up the river a day or two before. They soon got word and came in to protect us. They have been guarding us day and night ever since."[6] Jason Holloway wrote in the same letter: "We have all felt that this spring was a critical time in the Territory, and we don't feel yet that there is safety here unless we get protection soon."[7]

This letter, written three months after the first reverses the light tone of Mollie's letter. It also points out to the reader how quickly a situation in Indian Territory might deteriorate. It was in 1874 that the last outbreak of the Indians of the Southern Plains took place. The Cheyenne wanted to leave the agency for their old homeland in the North, and the white men wanted to subdue them. The Arapaho Indians remained peaceful and protective toward the white people while most of the Cheyennes were implicated in the trouble.

Dr. Holloway's medical reports to the United States Indian Service remain in the archives of the Carnegie Library in El Reno, Oklahoma. One report records the amount expended on medicine from November 1, 1872 to May 1, 1875 in transient or outside practice not including employees and their families. The amount is $27.50.

A report to the United States Indian Service written in June, 1875, gives the reader the following information: The number of Indians entitled to treatment was 4,000. The number at the agency during the month was 3,400 and the number of employees entitled to treatment was 75. Dr. Holloway treated 358 people. Some of the diseases listed on his report as having been treated were epilepsy, burns, skin diseases, ulcers, acute bronchitis, gonorrhea and syphilis. The report of the whites was to be handed in separately so it is concluded that these were strictly Indians treated. The remarks on this report also state that there had been some deaths in the

[4] Mollie Holloway to Fannie (last name unknown), Darlington, Indian Territory, March 9, 1874.

[5] John Miles to *Plain Dealer* (Wabash, Indiana), Darlington, Indian Territory, May 28, 1874.

[6] Jason Holloway to his son and daughter, Darlington, Indian Territory, June 3, 1874.

[7] *Ibid.*

Cheyenne camp but Dr. Holloway was not called to treat them. This leads one to believe the animosity between the Cheyennes and the whites had not yet been resolved.

The Indian Territory swarmed with buffalo hunters whom the Indians abhorred because they were destroying the game by the thousands. Agent Miles realized something must be done so he secured the appointment of two United States deputy marshals. The marshals were to follow the Indians on their buffalo hunts and arrest the buffalo hunters that were intruding or selling whiskey. Agent Miles found many men from Kansas (some with their families) who had moved out on the buffalo range to hunt and to kill meat for their own use. A long drought had left the new settlers in Kansas almost destitute, and to kill buffalo seemed to them the only way to bridge over the winter and provide food for their families.[8]

Miles and the soldiers from Camp Supply rounded up the intruders and started them for Kansas. Agent Miles was denounced by the newspapers and even threatened. The newsmen and most settlers did not understand Miles was trying to prevent a general war with the Indians.

The liquor salesmen were arrested and taken to Topeka where they were tried, promptly convicted and sentenced to prison. The Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, who could speak little or no English, were the main witnesses. For the Indians the trip to Topeka was quite an experience. Agent Miles gave Spotted Wolf, the most prominent of the Indians ten dollars to spend any way he wished. Spotted Wolf bought for his wife a hat with enormous ostrich feathers and bright ribbons. Most of the time Indian women walked behind their men, but Spotted Wolf was so proud of his wife that he had her proceed him down the sidewalks. John Seger says: "He thought it would undoubtedly create a sensation as she passed (as it did), for Mrs. Spotted Wolf was one of the worst-looking old women I ever saw and with her Indian dress and blanket in contrast with the $10.00 hat presented a ludicrous appearance—but of this the proud and generous husband was happily unaware."[9]

Jason Holloway and his family left Indian Territory in 1876. He wrote to his son and daughter again in April, 1875: "We are getting a little anxious to get away from this place and enjoy the blessings of civilization again. I am very tired of laboring with the treacherous savage."[10] Undoubtedly the death of his son Frank was one of the main reasons for the change in Dr. Holloway's attitude toward the Indians.

[8] John H. Seger, *Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1924, pp. 26–27.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[10] Jason Holloway to his son and daughter, Darlington, Indian Territory, April 5, 1875.

John Seger was the other man John Miles brought to the Indian Territory. Seger was to become a great help to Miles and a friend to the Indians. Seger quickly learned to communicate with the Indians, first by sign language and then by learning Cheyenne and Arapaho. An estimate of Seger in the *Arapaho Way* says that he[11]

> . . . knew the Indian view point concerning every problem and every difficulty and could lend a sympathetic ear. He did not assume an arrogant superiority in the councils of his Indian friends, but was tolerant with their views, however erroneous they might seem . . . . He was not an ordained minister of the gospel and did not come among the Indians to preach but he read the scriptures and interpreted the teaching of the Man of Nazareth.

John Seger was born on February 23, 1846 on a farm in Ohio and died February 6, 1928 at Seger Colony, Washita County, Oklahoma. Seger was brought to Indian Territory in 1875 where he was employed by Miles at first to help build some houses and soon was made superintendent of the Arapaho Indian School. Here is an excerpt from a report written by Isaac W. Dwire, the superintendent of the Darlington Indian Echool, about John Seger:[12]

> In 1874 it was difficult to secure a superintendent on account of the warlike demonstrations of the Indians, when Mrs. Miles, wife of the agent, observing John Seger's (plasterer) pleasant relations with the Indians, also the excellent influence he exerted over them, said to her husband, "Why not appoint Mr. Seger superintendent?" Mr. Seger was at once appointed, and though not a teacher by profession, he knew good teaching, and very soon had competent teachers and employees in all departments.

Under Seger's supervision the Indian school grew by leaps and bounds. An excellent account of the school's management may be found in a report entitled "Report upon the conditions and management of certain Indian agencies in the Indian Territory, now under the supervision of the Orthodox Friends," by S. A. Galpin, chief clerk, Office of Indian Affairs, 1877. The entire report is too long to include here but one section enlightens the reader on Mr. Seger. "By judicious management upon the part of the agent and Mr. Seger the interest of the Indians in the school has been awakened, and the Cheyennes, who at first despised its advantages and left it wholly to the Arapahoes, whom they regard somewhat contemptuously, are now among its warmest supporters."[13]

[11] Bass, *op. cit.* p. 5.

[12] Isaac W. Dwire, "Report of Superintendent of Arapahoe Boarding School, Darlington, Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1932), pp. 360–361.

[13] S. A. Galpin, "Report upon the conditions and management of certain Indian agencies in the Indian Territory, now under the supervision of the Orthodox Friends," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1932), p. 364.

Agent Miles was largely responsible for *The Cheyenne Transporter*, the first newspaper published in Western Indian Territory. The *Transporter* was published at Darlington from 1879 to 1886. The paper was funded mainly through subscription among people interested in Indians all over the nation. The stockmen from the surrounding land were responsible for the chief revenue. The stockmen had published their cattle brands in the newspaper to enable the inhabitants of the territory recognize their cattle and return the animals that had strayed. "The paper at all times, bubbled over with the spirit of good impulses in behalf of the interest of the Indians."[14]

The purpose of the paper was summarized in an article in one of its first issues: "We shall endeavor to add civilization and advancement of the Indians, and will give our readers correct information on all things pertaining to them and their interests. These Indians are making a very commendable effort to become civilized and we ask for them fair treatment at the hands of the white man. . . ."[15]

The *Cheyenne Transporter* was filled until 1886 with all sorts of news. Even though at first glance the paper seems somewhat unsophisticated it is very much like the newspapers of today. There was a section on society, recipes and homemaking hints, much like the women's sections of our contemporary newspapers. The *Transporter* enabled many people interested in Indians to view them as they tried to assimilate into the new culture. John Seger was a frequent contributor to the paper and his articles were illuminating and interesting. Seger's articles ranged from elopement procedures to progress on his school and served the purpose of the paper to the utmost.

John Miles resigned in 1884 and was replaced by D. B. Dyer. Miles had asked in 1882 because of a shortage of beef that the Indians be allowed to lease part of their land to a few cattlemen for grazing purposes. In 1883 the Secretary of the Interior refused the request saying he did not have the needed authority. The Secretary did tell Miles the Indians might make agreements with a few cattlemen and the Interior Department would endeavor to prevent those with no agreements from infringing. When Miles resigned, the situation was rapidly deteriorating. Dyer requested the War Department to send in troops for removal of the tresspassers. The War Department refused saying there were no leases therefore nothing to be defended.

[14] M. Lafe Merritt to Merle Woods (editor of the *El Reno, American*), El Reno, Oklahoma, 1946.

[15] *Cheyenne Transporter* (Darlington, Indian Territory), August 25, 1880, p. 1, File 1, Drawer 3, Carnegie Library, El Reno, Oklahoma.

President Grover Cleveland ordered that all cattlemen leave Indian Territory within forty days and sent General Sheridan to see that this was enforced. Agent Dyer was accused of collusion and his resignation was requested and accepted.

D. B. Dyer was replaced by a U.S. Army Officer, Captain Jesse Lee. The Quaker's last agent had proved to be anything but an asset. Captain Lee was the first of a line of army agents for the agency. The problem that plagued the Quaker agents was: "Lack of power to administer justice was the main reason for the problems."[16] This was over now. The Army could and would administer justice. In a book written about the Society of Friends, John Sykes speaks of the decade in which the Quakers had the Indians under their care:[17]

> Another field entered into from 1869, for a decade by Orthodox Friends, and for rather longer by the Hicksites, was the care of American Indians under the general authority of the State, the government feeling that the bearing of Quakers, and their relatively clean record here, was that most likely to pacify the Indians. . . . The rights of Indians were in detail protected, though their overall position as a subject people was by now circumscribed.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho people prospered at Darlington and learned much about the white man's culture there. Darlington Agency was blessed with years of good leadership from its agents, exceptional men who cared for the Indians and treated them with respect. Aside from this leadership, Darlington was located on fertile land and the opportunities were there for a productive community. These circumstances reflect success at Darlington Agency shown in the records of this early settlement that became the leading center of activity and trade in Western Oklahoma.

[16] Flora Warren Seymour, *Indian Agents of the Old Frontier*, D. Appleton Century Co., Inc., New York, 1941, p. 235.

[17] John Sykes, *The Quakers*, J. B. Lippincourt Co., Philadelphia, 1959, p. 216.

THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF MAJOR RIDGE

By T. L. Ballenger

The Ridge family, along with several of their friends, became prominent in Cherokee history before their removal to their western home. When the state of Georgia pressed for the removal of the Cherokees and President Jackson approved this request, the Ridges, like the rest of the Cherokees, resisted this pressure against their right of occupancy of the territory that they had held long before the state of Georgia ever came into existence.[1] But, when the Ridges became convinced of the inevitability of maintaining their rights against political forces beyond their control, they decided that the Cherokees might do better by submitting to the inevitable and removing west of the Mississippi where they might reestablish an independent nation free from outside interference. This decision brought them in conflict with the Ross element who insisted, for one reason or another, on staying where they were, whether or no.

The Ridges and their friends signed the treaty of 1835 providing for the removal of the Cherokees to the west. The Ross party refused to sign this treaty but the Federal Government construed it to be legal, nevertheless, and forced the Cherokees to abide by it. This brought tense friction between the Ridge faction, or "treaty party," and the Ross faction, commonly known as the "anti-treaty" party. One group of Cherokees, comprising approximately one-third of the total number, had moved to western Arkansas in 1818 and then moved into the Indian Territory in 1828. They were commonly known as the "Old Settlers." This group, with their capital at Tah-lon-tee-skee near the mouth of the Illinois River, had a regular government already in operation when the immigrant group arrived in the spring of 1839.

The "Old Settler" Cherokees welcomed the new-comers and invited them to fit themselves into their government and become a part of it. But John Ross, knowing full well that his group constituted a clear majority of the entire tribe, demanded that they have a general meeting, reorganize the government, and elect a new set of officers by popular vote.

Hence, it was for this purpose that a general meeting of all the Cherokees was assembled at Double Springs (Tahkatokah), some six miles northeast of Tahlequah, in early June, 1839. They wrangled here for sev-

[1] A good account of the Ridge family can be found in Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy, the Story of the Ridge Family*, New York (Macmillan, 1970).

Site of Major Ridge's Assassination

On Greystone Creek on June 22, 1839, two miles north of Dutch Mills, Arkansas, just off Highway 39.

eral days over the formation of a new government but were unable to agree. They did, however, agree to hold another meeting, to begin July first, at the Illinois Camp Ground, a mile and a half southeast of Tahlequah, to continue their efforts toward union. On Saturday morning, June 22, 1839, Elias Boudinot, Major Ridge, and his son John Ridge were all assassinated in cold blood.

Tradition has it that the ones assigned to kill these people met at Peach Eaters Creek near Proctor the night before the murders to perfect plans for the killings. Here they decided which ones would be responsible for each massacre by the process of drawing straws. The one exception to this

procedure was that, by agreement, Doublehead should have the privilege of assisting in the killing of Major Ridge because he accused Major Ridge of killing his father back in Georgia.

It is commonly known, Elias Boudinot was killed near the Worcester Mission at Park Hill. The three men assigned to kill him went to where he was working on a new house, near the mission, and told him they wanted medicine for their sick children. Boudinot had to go to the mission for medicine. On the way, when they were in an isolated clump of timber, they stabbed and tomahawked him to death. Early that same morning, John Ridge was dragged from his home on Honey Creek, in the northeastern part of the Cherokee Nation, and brutally stabbed to death.[2] Major Ridge had hired one of his negro slaves to John Latta at "The Lord's Vineyard" near Evansville, Arkansas for temporary work. This negro slave was ill and Major Ridge was on his way down there to see about him.

John Latta originally was from South Carolina. On his way to the west he stopped for a year or two in Tennessee, then came to this isolated region in western Arkansas, arriving here in 1834. Here he established a general plantation and industrial plant. Being of a religious nature, he called his establishment "The Lord's Vineyard." A post office was established here later under the name of Vineyard. Some of Latta's slaves were skilled in furniture, cabinet, and wagon making. He had his own blacksmith and furniture shop where the negro slaves shod the horses and made plows and other farm and household implements. He built a two-story hewn log residence and a commodious log barn. It was a self-supporting unit far out on the frontier. From this pioneer family have sprung a number of prominent social and economic leaders of western Arkansas and eastern Oklahoma. Descendants of the family still live in this region. It was to this plantation that Major Ridge was headed on that June morning of 1839 when he met his untimely death at the hands of his assassins.

On the day before his death the Major rode down from his home on Honey Creek and stayed all night with his friend, Ambrose Harnage, at Cincinnati, Arkansas.[3] His assassins of course kept close track of his every movement. On the morning of his assassination he was riding down the Old Line Road and, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, stopped at Graystone Creek for his horse to drink. This was just a few feet off present Highway #59, two miles north of Dutch Mills, Arkansas. The assassins,

[2] A more detailed account of this whole period of factionalism among the Cherokees can be found in Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1938, pp. 15–43; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 291–310; Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, pp. 106–119.

[3] Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 293.

Map showing boundary line of Oklahoma and Arkansas, 1839

The spot where Major Ridge was assassinated north of Dutch Mills in Arkansas is indicated on this map.

who had kept in close contact with him, were concealed in the woods along a sloping hillside overlooking this creek crossing. Evidently they knew about what time he would reach this point and that he would likely pause here for his horse to drink. His body was pierced by five bullets though his horse was not touched.

He was buried in the Piney Cemetery, about five miles from the place of his death, which was the closest burial place in the Cherokee Nation. Here his remains rested until after the Civil War. About 1868, they were taken up and re-interred in the Polson Cemetery, two and a half miles west of Southwest City, Missouri, in the Cherokee Nation. Major Ridge's son, John, who was killed at his home less than a half mile from this cemetery, was buried here. The Polsons, the Ridges, the Washburns, and some of the Waties were buried here. These families were all related.

The Ridge, as he was called in government documents, did service in the United States Army against the Creek Indians, fighting under Andrew Jackson. He did valiant service here and this is where he obtained the rank of Major. About 1935, largely through the influence of Miss Eula E. Fullerton, who was then Professor of Oklahoma History in Northeastern State College at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, the United States Secretary of War sent to the College a marker to be placed at the grave of Major Ridge. So far as is known, no marker was placed at his grave where he was originally buried nor was his grave marked when his remains were moved to the Polson Cemetery. There was perhaps a reason for this. John Ridge's grave was not marked; no inscription was placed on the stone at Boudinot's grave. The hatred among the Cherokees of the two factions was so tense at this time that possibly these families thought it best to leave the burial places as inconspicuous as possible.

The instructions of the War Department were to place the marker at Major Ridge's grave if the exact site was known. If not, then to place it at the most likely site attainable.

Hence diligent search was begun to find Ridge's burial place. Miss Fullerton and I searched thoroughly over a good part of eastern Oklahoma and western Arkansas until we were satisfied as to the approximate location of his burial place. First we found his original burial site. Then we found an elderly woman who remembered seeing people come to the Piney Cemetery, dig up Ridge's remains, and take them north in about 1868. She could not tell us where the remains were taken. Some of the Adairs and other old-timers of the Piney community verified this report of the removal of Ridge's remains. According to the curator of the Piney Cemetery the grave site remained open until about 1935, then was filled up and the ground leveled off.

Taking into consideration the known facts about the assassination, the original burial, the exhumation, the burial site of other members of the family, and an abundance of related evidence, it was our judgment that Major Ridge's final resting place is in the Polson Cemetery, and that is where the Government marker was placed. A more elaborate marker has later been erected at his grave by members of the family, though the marker that we put there has also been retained.

☆ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

WEBBERS FALLS: NOTED HISTORIC SITE IN MUSKOGEE COUNTY

Webbers Falls is noted on very early maps with the French name "La Cascade" on the Arkansas River in what is now Muskogee County, Oklahoma. Lieutenant James B. Wilkinson, Second Infantry, U.S.A., on a government expedition descended the Arkansas River in 1806, and noted "the Falls of the Arkansas" as a waterfall 7 feet high at the place once known as "La Cascade." These falls on the Arkansas were nearly covered with silt and sand during twenty years of floods on the river but were still a hazard for the first steamboats upstream to Fort Gibson. When the Western Cherokees moved to this northeastern part of Oklahoma by the Treaty of 1828, Walter Webber was the first settler at the falls in the river and began a settlement that became well-known as Webber Falls. Another Cherokee settler here by the name of Thornton was hired with his oxen to walk along the bank of the river and tow the steamboats through the channel of the stream at the falls on their way up to Fort Gibson. A Civil War battle was fought at Webbers Falls on April 24, 1863, during which Stand Watie and his Confederate Cherokee forces managed to slip away in face of the Federal attack and stopped the fighting. Thus, Webbers Falls has been a well-known place with a name on the Arkansas for more than 200 years, a settlement that has continued for 147 years.

Some notes about a railroad built through Webbers Falls told by Marguerite McFadden follow here, the farm lands in the vicinity having principally planted to potato crops in 1911:

THE RAILROAD DREAM AT WEBBERS FALLS

The new railroad between Webbers Falls and Wārner, so long planned, had finally become a reality. The Webbers Falls, Shawnee and Western Railroad was completed, and the first run was made on October 1, 1911.[1]

The officers were F. E. Turner, President, and Oscar L. Hayes, Vice President, both of Muskogee; C. C. Goodman, General Manager, of Webbers Falls; C. R. Palmer, Auditor, of Muskogee; and James E. Goodwin, Division Freight and Passenger Agent, of Webbers Falls.[2]

[1] From unpublished manuscript "The Devil's Race Track," by Marguerite McFadden.

[2] Brochure of the opening of the railroad, in the possession of Mrs. Leonard Crank, Tulsa, Okla.

Celebration at Webbers Falls in 1911

Crowd at Webbers Falls gathered to celebrate the first run of the Webbers Falls, Shawnee and Western Railroad train to Warner on October 1, 1911.

The whole town of Webbers Falls turned out for the celebration. The farmers for miles around came into town. Speeches were made, and the buildings, barely completed after the disastrous fire the previous March, were draped with bunting. Bands played, children ran here and there and excitement was everywhere.

People lined up to make the first excursion ride to Warner and back. Boys wore their clothing pulled all awry and jumped on and off the train. The train puffed and blew its whistle. The bell clanged, and amid a loud cheer from the crowd, started backing down the track.

One little girl, a child of five at the time, Sue Howard, now Mrs. Everett Mullen, of Tulsa, remembers that she had never taken a train trip before and wanted to go, but the noise of the engine and the excitement of the

crowd frightened her so much that she started to cry. The train was stopped to let her get off!

The little depot had been built at the end of the main street on the west side of the town, on a line with the present cotton gins. The gins were built so that they could take advantage of the newly laid railroad line.

The land for the "turn-around" was donated by Mr. Frank Vore.[3] Rights-of-way for the track had been obtained from the farmers between Webbers Falls and Warner. Much of the track was elevated above the low-lying fields as a protection from the flooding of Dirty Creek (or Darden Creek).

The train backed down the track onto the "turn-around" and headed out toward Warner. Such excitement! It was a wonderful experience for all that rode that first train to Warner. None who were on board ever forgot that wonderful day. It was a dream come true! Everyone could remember the long lines of wagons loaded with potatoes waiting on the slow ferry to take the potatoes to the railroad for shipment from Gore. Now, for the first time, there was an easier way to travel. The brave little engine, wheels churning and smoke stack belching great clouds of pungent smoke, pulled the train on its first journey to better things.

Usually the train consisted of the engine, one combination coach and freight car and a caboose. The train became known affectionately as "The Dinky," not in derision, but with a great deal of pride. On its initial journey, Mr. Sam Threkeld, the Engineer, rang the bell and tooted the whistle all the way, increasing the pleasure of all on board.

In the brochure published on the day of the first run, the hopes of all its backers and the town boosters were high. Of the promoter, it was said:

"The promoter and one who has carried this work to a successful termination is Col. C. C. Goodman, 'The Arkansas Railroad Builder,' the man who does things and makes his every promise good. He has in the past built four railroads in Arkansas and two in Oklahoma, all a success and a power for the good that will stand long after the "Colonel" has gone to his reward.—

"Associated with Colonel Goodman are Mr. Fred E. Turner of Muskogee and Mr. O. L. Hayes, President and Vice-President, both of whom it can truly be said, 'Behold a man,' and success always crowns their every effort. This enterprise means much to Fort Smith and Muskogee, giving a direct connection with the Midland Valley Railroad at Warner, which is also a prosperous town with a bright future and with the State School of Agriculture it must, ere long become a lovely residence place, as well as to her business future.

"There will be four passenger trains daily, two in each direction, besides ample freight service, connecting with the Midland Valley trains at Warner."

[3] Frank Vore, son of Israel Vore, and grandson of the noted Cherokee "Rich Joe" Vann.

Mr. Oscar Hayes had made a deal with the Midland Valley Railroad to haul gravel from the river, which was to be the main source of income for the little railroad. A track was built down to the river. However, it became impossible to supply the five carloads daily, the agreed amount, due to the primitive loading facilities. This fact resulted in the failure of the line. Operations were abandoned in 1914.

During the year or more that the train was not in use, Steve Maples, son of Marion J. Maples, owner of the Central Hotel, and a hack line, got a small motor car and removed the wheels, replacing them with flanged wheels, and ran it on the tracks without permission. The railroad owners felt that they would not be liable if they just ignored him for he did give service that was needed. After he had operated the car about a month, Nick King, first agent for the railroad also put a motor car on the track and they fought for business. The two cars actually had a collision in which one of the passengers got a broken leg. As neither operator had any insurance or money, he got nothing for his injury.[4]

The railroad was re-organized and incorporated in Oklahoma, June 8, 1916, to acquire the property of the Webbers Falls, Shawnee and Western Railroad Company:[5]

"Dr. J. H. Stolper, Muskogee, President; Victor H. Smith, Tulsa, Treasurer, Sam R. Threlkeld, Oklahoma City, General Manager. The latter was an automobile dealer and a good mechanic so he was the right man to start the operation of the motor car which he found right in Muskogee, for use on the railroad line. It was an old car, built by Thomas A. Edison, for C. N. Haskell's Muskogee to Fort Gibson run. Edison was one of the first to use battery power. He thought it would be good to do away with the overhead trolly wire. This venture went bad too, as the car used up batteries so fast that three trips a day could not be made without re-charging the batteries, which took all night. It made the car impractical. Sam tore out the batteries and installed a Thomas Flyer motor, a six-cylinder, 90 horse giant. It was as if it had been made for the car since it had a chain drive instead of differential."

This too however was unsuccessful. It could not haul enough of a load to be practical. Potatoes loaded on it had to be unloaded as it could not pull them. The potatoes had to be reloaded again into the wagons and the slow route across the ferry to the railroad was resumed.[6]

For some time after service was completely stopped, the tracks lay unused. One spring, however, after heavy rains with Dirty Creek backed up and

[4] Information from James Goodwin, Muskogee. Also, personal interview with Mrs. Mary (Maples) Haley, Muskogee, sister of Steve Maples.

[5] Interview with James Goodwin.

[6] Data from Mr. Connie Vann, Webbers Falls, as told to Mr. Clarence Turner, Muskogee.

spread over the roads to Warner, some of the young men of the town took pieces of lumber and laid them over the ties. By driving their automobile up onto the track, they drove over the lowlands to the higher ground on the other side.

During the time that the train and car were in operation, hot summer evenings would find a family or two at the depot to take a ride to Warner and back to enjoy the cool evening breeze stirred up by the car. During the time it took the car to make the "turn-around" in Warner, the passengers got out and picked the water lillies from the pond that lay along the side of the track, and were ready to get aboard again when the car came by on its way home.[7]

Some of the backers of the little railroad lost practically all their money. This fact together with the results of the fire the preceding spring, practically finished their business investments. Thinking that the little railroad would bring prosperity to Webbers Falls, they had invested too heavily. They lost both money and dreams for the town.[8]

—Marguerite McFadden

[7] About 1940, the writer was driving across the overpass at Oklahoma City on the way to Capitol Hill. In the river bed below was the combination passenger and freight car lying on its side plainly marked with the lettering "Webbers Falls, Shawnee & Western." The car lay there with other junk and metal. How it got there or where it had been in the intervening years is not known.

[8] Corporate history of the railroad was taken from *Bulletin No. 60,* by Preston George, Engineer, Oklahoma State Highway Commission and Sylvan R. Wood, Assoc. Prof., Oklahoma A. & M. College, issued by the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, Inc., Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Boston, Mass., January, 1943.—Copyright, 1943, Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, Ind. (Courtesy Tulsa Public Library.)

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The Bosses. By Alfred Steinberg. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1972. Biblio. Pp. 377. $8.95).

When the founding fathers laid forth their scheme for the operation of the United States government they instilled a system of checks and balances to protect that government from being dominated by one man. Yet on the state and municipal levels of government some of these checks have not been employed and in certain instances one man tyranny resulted in the form of political bosses. In this book Steinberg discusses six of the more notorious political bosses during the first half of the twentieth century. The study follows the careers of bosses Frank Hague of Jersey City, Ed Crump of Memphis, James Michael Curley of Boston, Huey Long from Louisiana, Gene Talmadge from Georgia, and Tom J. Pendergast of Kansas City. Within these municipal and state settings Steinberg shows the methods, practices, and results of these mini-dictatorships. Steinberg clearly shows that although the rise of political bosses can be linked to poorly fashioned municipal and state laws that were prepared without the genius that inspired the basis for federal laws, political bosses often times had the support from the majority of people in their district.

With promises of reform and local bully-boys to persuade the unbelieving, the potential boss could be elected to his first office. Once in office he relied on a mixture of political patronage, stolen funds, and vote frauds to stay in power. The trick, of course, was to appear honest and public-minded while still controlling the local political machine and becoming rich in the meantime. In many cases this was done my manipulating public works contracts and by owning local construction firms that would receive most if not all of the city or state contracts. Bosses such as Pendergast could then show material benefits to the city in the form of new roads and buildings while at the same time they were able to skim profits off inflated prices and political kick-backs. Such practices were common, especially in the early New Deal years when federal money was being funnelled to the states for public works on a large scale. Although packing the city and state government with machine henchmen was helpful a better source of power could derive from stumping the state or district in the Huey Long or Gene Talmadge tradition of "jus one po' dirt farmer to anotha." Many people loved these bosses—irregardless of the racism, corruptness, and strong-arm tactics. Indeed, Frank Hague and James Michael Curley were returned to office after being indicted and convicted by Grand Juries for fraud and price fixing.

At times the reader feels a schizophrenic attitude from Steinberg who on one hand denounces the bosses for their corruptness and bigoted dealings with their constituents yet on the other hand provided wage increases and public improvements by way of new roads and better utilities. This double vision serves to illustrate that with many bosses the line between demagogue and benefactor at times could be nebulous—depending on one's status as a "have" or "have not" within the Boss' organization. These accounts by Steinberg are not footnoted and come mainly from secondary sources which are listed in a bibliography at the end of the book. Although such a format might encourage the readability of the book it does not substantiate the many generalizations and quotes used by the author. All in all the book is well written, fast moving and worth reading if for no other reason than to demonstrate the tragic results of a free people who do not have the spirit or desire to exercise their freedom.

—Charles R. McClure

University of Oklahoma Library
Norman, Oklahoma

The Invention of the American Political Parties. By Roy F. Nichols. (The Free Press, New York, 1972. Biblio. Pp. xii + 416. $3.95 paper).

A most formidable task was completed in 1967 when Roy F. Nichols wrote this study of the origins of American political parties. Originally published by Macmillan in 1967, this new paperbound edition is intended to meet the needs of university courses in American political history. Although the volume deals specifically with the invention and development of American political parties it is also a survey of American political history prior to 1848. Nichols traces the development of American politics by first noting the European antecedents and then by analyzing political developments in America from Jamestown to the election of 1848. Throughout each period the author argues that the chief elements of political development were not planned or designed. In fact, the most effective instruments of American political operation have come through improvisations, adaptations, and even blunders.

Americans became ingenious, resourceful, and contriving in order to obtain desired political results because of the new environment and the difficult circumstances surrounding the development of the early settlements. Nichols amasses endless examples of this thesis—from John Smith's "usurpation" of power at Jamestown to John C. Calhoun's drastic philosophical switch of nationalist to states righter. Thus, expediency and op-

portunism have exerted much influence to produce the flexible nature of American political leaders whose ideology changed as the need arose. For many of the nation's leaders the development of the political party within an ideological framework took place simply because political entrepreneurs wanted to ignore the old rules and traditions of political warfare to either increase their own power or to destroy that of their opponents. Such actions eventually led to the use of political conventions whereby politicians could institutionalize *politics*. Thus, signifying that the nation could no longer afford to rely upon chance or personalities for its political direction.

With the current emphasis on social and economic history this new edition may not receive the attention it deserves. Robert V. Remini reviewed this book in 1967 for *Journal of American History* and noted that readers will not discover new or unusual interpretations in the book. Yet, the author does a remarkable job by making the contents both readable and informative through a light style that does not employ footnotes but carries an unmistakable authority that comes only from years of study and research —further evidenced by the author's bibliography. Although Nichols tends to fit his thesis of political improvization into a pre-conceived mold at the expense of America's true political theorists such as Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John C. Calhoun, the book is an excellent synthesis of American political development to 1848 and should serve well as a clear and accurate account of both the origins of American political parties and American political history.

Where Have All the Robots Gone? By Harold L. Sheppard and Neal Q. Herrich. (New York: The Free Press, 1972. Pp. xxxiv, 222. $7.95.)

This work explores worker dissatisfaction in the 1970's. While probably not meaning to do so, the authors imply that this is a new phenomena on the American scene; which is certainly not correct. American worker dissatisfaction is as old as Captain John Smith's edict to the colonists at Jamestown that those who did not work did not eat. This has been one continuing problem throughout our history.

Sheppard and Herrick find that the dissatisfied worker, alternately called the alienated or the worker with the "blues," is usually less than thirty, makes less than $10,000, is a woman, a black man, single, and with some college. Most blue and white collar workers felt that the main causes of their discontent were that the job failed to achieve their preconceived expectations, was dehumanizing and that the employer failed to take advantage of the employee's special talents and abilities. Amazingly, the authors

apparently failed to ask their 1,462 interviewees what talents or abilities they might possess, or at least they did not report these in their study.

After establishing that workers are unhappy, the writers then sought to find means to alleviate what they considered a potentially dangerous situation. Several methods such as job enrichment, job rotation, training, and taking part in decision making were suggested. The writers hinted that increased wages, fringe benefits, etc. the traditional means to satisfy workers, were no longer a totally valid approach. They also thought that in some instances union officials, older workers, supervisors and management may well have prevented solutions to some of the urgent problems.

This was not an easy book to read. While divided into five main parts, the sections seem to be repetitious. Perhaps it was caused by methodology or organization, but the essence of the book is in the preface and introduction. The chapters detail what had already been said clearly and concisely. Some questions can be raised about methodology. The writers sampled 1,462 workers, but there are over 22 million workers less than 30 years of age by the authors' own estimate. Probably doubling or tripling the size of the sample would give a fairly accurate estimate as to the feelings of the workers in this country. Also, only workers in Michigan and Pennsylvania were sampled, and on that basis we are asked to accept their findings. Finally, while naming valid reasons for dissatisfaction, they are only surface reasons and the fundamental reasons were not found.

In spite of the adverse criticisms, this is a book that should be read. The possibility for worker unrest to spill over into society and political life is more than possible. It has happened in the past and may happen in the future.

—Donald E. Houston

Stillwater, Oklahoma

Sand In A Whirlwind: The Paiute Indian War of 1860. By Ferol Egan (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1972. Pp. xv + 316. Illustrations. Index. Bibliography. $8.95).

The Indian wars of the American West were a tragic clash of cultures in which both Indians and whites appealed to the final arbitrator—force. The high point of the conflict was the Sioux uprising of the 1870s; however, sixteen years before the Battle of the Little Big Horn the Paiute Indians rose against the whites, and spread panic through the gold fields of California and Nevada. The Paiutes did not have the fearful reputation of the wild Plains tribes, or the daring war chiefs, which made the Sioux and

Cheyenne famous, but they fought, and in the height of their victories, forced the whites to cower for safety.

The Paiute homeland was centered around Pyramid Lake in northwest Nevada. In the arid wasteland of the Great Basin the Lake provided a welcome relief and a retreat from the surrounding desert. There was little warfare among the Indians of the Great Basin. The harsh climate made the various tribes more concerned with survival than war. Thus, the first whites were peacefully received.

There were very few of the early whites: "they were no more worry than a single cricket." Soon, however, they became a swarm of locusts overrunning the countryside and pushing the Paiutes off their land. The whites attempted to force the Indians to submit to their onslaught, and the result was a bloody war. This book examined the causes of the war, and the price paid by both sides during the conflict.

The rush of miners into the Washoe district disrupted the friendly relations of the Paiutes and the whites. The winter of 1859–1860 was more severe than anyone could remember. In their search for firewood, the whites destroyed the piñon forest on which the Paiutes depended for food. Feelings ran high, and only a spark was needed to set off the violence. The winter seemed endless, and both races suffered. Nevertheless, miners continued to flood into the area. Chief Truckee, the Paiute chief who had done much to prevent the outbreak of hostilities, died during the cold winter months. His death was the final blow to the Paiute way of life. No longer would the Indian leaders listen to pleas for peace between Indians and whites. The will for arbitration on both sides rapidly disappeared. The white treatment of the Paiutes produced bloody retaliation by these Indians.

During the spring of 1860, the Indians gathered at Pyramid Lake to consider their plight. The new chief, Numaga, attempted to maintain peace, but to no avail. The kidnapping of some Indian women by a few whites set off the hostilities. In retaliation, the Paiutes destroyed Williams Station and killed its inhabitants. Quickly an army was gathered from the settlers of Virginia City, Silver City, Carson City, and Genoa. However, the troops were more an undisciplined, drunken, and leaderless mob than a fighting force. With vengeance in their minds, the white army marched toward the Paiute village at Pyramid Lake, their objective. But the whites were ambushed and massacred on the Truckee River, a battle which ended the first phase of the Paiute war.

The news of the Indian victory spread throughout the mining camps of Nevada and California. The California militia was mobilized, and arms and ammunition were gathered for transportation to Nevada. The militia was joined by a small number of regular United States army troops and

some artillery. In the Washoe district the miners barracaded themselves in their settlements and awaited the expected Indian attack.

The relief from California was greeted with a sigh of relief by the Nevada miners, and plans were soon formulated to punish the Paiutes. Another volunteer army was gathered under the command of Colonel John C. Hays, who molded the men into a formidable fighting force. They joined with the California militia and the regular troops, and began a march toward Pyramid Lake. A brief skirmish occurred at Big Meadows, and on June 2, 1860, the forces clashed in the Battle of Pinnacle Mount. The power of the Paiutes was broken, and the Indians fled to the southern part of the Black Rock Desert. The volunteers returned home victoriously, and the regular troops constructed a fort to insure that the Paiutes would not return. Soon the Indians grew tired of their exile and accepted the inevitable: they submitted to white superiority and were placed on a reservation.

The Paiute Indian war ended as all other clashes between the races in the American West. Indian strength and courage was no match for the overwhelming power of the whites. This book offers insight into the tragic clash of cultures in the conflict between the races. The volume is well illustrated, contains a useful bibliography, and should be of interest to the general public as well as scholars.

—Kenny A. Franks

Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: January 25, 1973

The Board of Directors met at 10:00 a.m., January 25, 1973 for the regular quarterly meeting. President George H. Shirk called the meeting to order and voiced the gratitude of every member of the Board for the cease-fire in Vietnam. The two new members of the Board were introduced by Mr. Shirk: E. Moses Frye of Stillwater and Jordan B. Reaves of Oklahoma City.

Dr. V. R. Easterling called the roll. Present were Mrs. Edna Bowman, Q. R. Boydstun, O. B. Campbell, Harry L. Deupree, M.D., W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Mrs. Mildred Frizzell, E. Moses Frye, Nolen J. Fuqua, Denzil D. Garrison, Dr. A. M. Gibson, John E. Kirkpatrick, Dr. James Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Jordan B. Reaves, Miss Genevieve Seger, and H. Merle Woods.

Dr. Odie B. Faulk, History Department Director, Oklahoma State University, was a guest of the Board. Those Directors who had asked to be excused were Lou S. Allard, Henry B. Bass, Joe Curtis, W. E. McIntosh, and Earl Boyd Pierce. Miss Seger moved that those who had asked, be so excused. Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion, which passed.

Dr. Easterling requested the minutes of the October 26, 1972 quarterly meeting stand approved as circulated. This was done.

The gifts received by the Society were noted by Dr. Easterling and also the requests for membership in the Society. Mr. Reaves moved that the gifts be accepted and the sixty-five applicants be elected to membership. Mr. Frye seconded the motion and it carried.

The financial records of the Society are currently being audited by two members of the Examiners and Inspectors Office. This review takes place approximately every two years, according to Mrs. Bowman. In her Treasurer's report, she explained procedures followed by the Society in its financial operations according to state laws. As the Society grows, these procedures become increasingly complex. Dr. Fischer moved that Mrs. Bowman's report be accepted, Dr. Deupree seconded the motion, and it was passed.

Mr. Phillips gave the Microfilm Committee report. He spoke of the new arrangement with microfilm processors whereby the Society's newspaper film is being developed at a considerable savings to the Society. Heretofore this work had been done by a commercial processor. Mr. Phillips estimated

that by 1978 the Newspaper Library's collection of weekly newspapers on film would be current, and the dailies by 1979.

The Historic Sites Committee report was given by Dr. Easterling in Mr. McIntosh's absence. He advised that an inventory has been prepared of all markers throughout the state erected by the Historical Society. He also announced the donation of a farm site which will be developed to depict the rural life of the 1920's and 30's.

Dr. Morrison informed the Board that the restoration work on the South Barracks at Fort Washita is basically completed. All Oklahomans are urged to visit this lovely site.

Two items of interest in the Publications Committee report were presented by Mr. Shirk: The Society is negotiating with a reprint house on reprinting *Historia*, forerunner of *The Chronicles*; and, a supplement to the Cumulative Index of *The Chronicles* is being planned. This supplement will begin with Volume XXXVIII.

A new Historic Sites folder in full color has also been printed. One side gives an artist's map of Oklahoma showing the location of the Society's various sites, and pictures and brief descriptions of each on the reverse side.

In his Museum Committee report, Dr. Fischer told of the American Association of Museums Accreditation Team, sent to study the Historical Society Museum for possible accreditation by the A.A.M. The team members were Mr. J. J. Brody, Director of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, and Mr. W. E. Marshall, Executive Director of the Colorado Historical Society. The Museum Committee met with these gentlemen to evaluate the overall organizations and services of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The results of this review will be announced in February by the A.A.M.

Dr. Fisher also referred to a recent full-page article in the *Tulsa World* concerning the archaeological dig at Honey Springs Battlefield. Major developments will take place at this site in the near future.

Mr. Foresman told of the increasing numbers of Heritage Clubs in Oklahoma's schools—seventy-five in all. Of particular interest is the project of the club at the Oklahoma School for the Deaf in Sulphur. They have compiled an old-time recipe book, copies of which may be obtained through Mr. Foresman or by writing to the school. The Cushing club is another very enthusiastic group.

Manuals depicting particular topics about Oklahoma history and a Museum guide have been prepared by the Education Division of the Society with the assistance of a very dedicated group of volunteers. In addition, Mr. Foresman again expressed gratitude to the Junior League of Oklahoma City for its contribution of $3,000 to the Society for education pur-

poses. The Junior League hopes to assist in the development of a multimedia room for the benefit of all who come to the Museum.

Mr. Campbell stated that the Hilderbrand Mill might be for sale. He and Dr. Easterling will visit both the mill and the Dwight Mission site soon. Mr. Campbell also stated that there was interest in restoring the Flint Courthouse.

President Shirk appointed the two new Board members to standing committees as follows: Mr. Reaves, Chairman of the House and Grounds Committee, replacing Mr. Bass who had requested to be relieved of this assignment, and Mr. Frye, member of the Tour Committee.

Dr. Easterling informed the Board of the progress of the Society's appropriation bill in the current session of the legislature, and answered various questions about some of the line items of the bill.

Dr. Odie B. Faulk was introduced to the Board by Mr. Shirk and gave an information report of the Will Rogers Papers, which are being compiled and edited by Dr. Joseph A. Stout, Associate Professor of History, Oklahoma State University, in conjunction with the Will Rogers Commission. Dr. Faulk announced that Volume I of this series will be released sometime in April and will be available to the public. Other volumes will follow at six-month intervals.

The dedication and reception at the Lindsay-Murray Mansion which had been planned for the autumn of 1972, was postponed because of the illness of Miss Tess Lindsay. Dr. Easterling announced that this event is now scheduled for the spring of 1973, and all of the members of the Society will be notified of the date. This impressive three-story home was donated to the Society by Miss Lindsay and has been restored to its appearance as it was in 1907.

Discussion followed on the Membership Committee report presented by Mrs. Frizzell. It was moved that the report be referred back to the committee, who would meet with Mr. Shirk, Rep. Allard and Sen. Garrison to discuss the problems further. This motion was made by Dr. Gibson, seconded by Sen. Garrison, and passed.

Mrs. Frizzell reviewed the Seal Committee report. This committee was formed to select a more appropriate seal for the Oklahoma Historical Society. President Shirk gave a brief history of the present seal. Mr. Phillips moved that the Seal Committee be given authority to select an appropriate seal design, and that such final selection be herewith approved. This motion was seconded by Boydstun and Mr. Campbell, and passed unanimously.

Mr. Reaves reported on the status of the Confederate Room in the Historical Building presently closed for renovation. Six or seven years ago Mr. Reaves was appointed curator of this room. He outlined some of the

plans for this part of the Museum and told of the support of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sons of Confederate Veterans. It is hoped that the room will be reopened this summer.

Through the generosity of Mr. George E. Woodward, Jr., the Historical Society has in its collection a rare Rigdon-Ansley revolver. Mr. Reaves told of the research he had done on this particular model and recommended that the Society have it restored.

Another donor to the Society is Mr. Luther T. Dulaney, who contributed a color television set for fund raising use as a benefit for the Confederate Room.

It was resolved by the Board that Mr. Woodward and Mr. Dulaney each be given the Society's Certificate of Commendation.

The Smithsonian Institute recently contacted Mr. S. N. Goldman regarding the acquisition of the original grocery cart invented by Mr. Goldman, Oklahoma City businessman, and now used in retail markets throughout the world. Dr. Fischer advised Mr. Goldman that the Historical Society would also be very interested in acquiring one of these original carts. Mr. Goldman graciously complied with this request and formal donation will be made at the April Annual Meeting.

Under the original agreement between the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma Heritage Association, the bust of Lew Wentz, Oklahoma philanthropist, will be moved on a permanent loan basis to the Heritage House. The Heritage Association was granted permission to make replicas of additional busts owned by the Historical Society at no expense to the Society.

Oklahoma City's Baum Building was featured in Volume II of *Lost America*, University of Princeton Press. This building, recently demolished in the Urban Renewal plan, was designed by Solomon Andrew Layton and modeled after the Doge's Place in Venice. Mr. Layton was also the architect for the Oklahoma State Capitol and the Historical Society Building. One of the cupolas from this building has been placed on the west lawn of the Society grounds. It was agreed that a spring reception honoring the Layton family be co-sponsored by the Oklahoma Heritage Association and the Oklahoma Historical Society, demonstrating that heritage and growth can go hand-in-hand in enriching a community. This plan was announced to the Board by Mr. Shirk.

Mr. Shirk asked the Board members to send nominations to the Executive Director for awards to be presented at the Annual Meeting to significant people across the state actively engaged in the preservation and use of Oklahoma history. The Executive Committee will select the persons to be honored at the Annual Meeting.

The terms of five Board members expired January, 1973. Those members were Mr. Boydstun, Mr. Finney, Mr. Kirkpatrick, Dr. Morrison, and Mr. Reaves. As there were no other nominations, President Shirk directed Dr. Easterling to cast one vote as provided by the Constitution for the re-election of the five members for a new term. Sen. Garrison placed this request in the form of a motion, Mr. Muldrow seconded, and it was carried unanimously.

Discussion then followed concerning the possibility of conducting a Spring Tour. The Tour Committee will formulate plans for this event.

Mr. Milton May, a benefactor of the Society, with Mr. Gene Allen of the First National Bank & Trust Company, arranged for an in-depth review of the Society by a firm in Dallas. Further studies will be made by the Board to determine how the recommendations of the report may be implemented by the Society.

Mrs. Bowman read announcements of honors received by two Board members: Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer and Dr. Arrel M. Gibson. Dr. Fischer was appointed Oppenheim Regents Professor of History at Oklahoma State University. Dr. Fischer, who holds a Doctor of Philosophy degree in history from the University of Illinois, is on the faculty at Oklahoma State University. Dr. Fischer is a specialist on the Civil War and Reconstruction, and has been deeply involved in the field of history, both in teaching at the university level and in writing and promoting an interest in history throughout the state.

Dr. Gibson, a recent Pulitzer Prize nominee for his book, "The Chickasaws," was honored at an open house at Stovall Museum, University of Oklahoma, on October 29, 1972, for his latest book, "Wilderness Bonanza," a chronicle of lead and zinc mining in Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma prior to 1945. The Society is honored to have these distinguished educators serving on its Board of Directors.

President Shirk told of Gen. Frye's appointment to the Advisory Board of the National Trust of Historic Preservation.

Three copies of a booklet, "Dialect of the Western Cowboy," were donated to the Society Library by Mr. Reaves in behalf of the Indian Territory Posse of Oklahoma Westerners.

President Shirk is serving as Chairman of the Regional Selection Committee for the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Sen. Garrison suggested that as the longest war in the history of the nation has ended, the Oklahoma Historical Society should express its appreciation to all Oklahoma fighting men who gave their lives in the Vietnam War and in the Korean War. He asked that a list of these participants be printed in *The Chronicles.*

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 12:10 p.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

V. R. EASTERLING,
Executive Director

Gift List for Fourth Quarter, 1972–1973

LIBRARY:

Cassette tape: "Black Hearts of Gold" composed and narrated by Mrs. Eva Lou Dunn.
Donor: Composer, Oklahoma City.
Accelerated Indexing Systems Computer Index to Pennsylvania 1800 Census—Butler, Crawford and Mercer Counties, compiled by Ronald V. Jackson, Richard A. Moore, Wylma W. Jackson and G. Donald Teeples, 1971.
Donor: Accelerated Indexing Systems, Salt Lake City.

"Lincoln County, Tennessee Pioneers," Jane Warren Waller, ed., Vol. 1, No. 8, June 1972.
Donor: Clark Hibbard, Oklahoma City.

Soviet Life, Nov. & Dec. 1972, Jan. 1973
Midland Bank Review, Feb. 1972
Report of Budget Committee, June 1972, United Appeal Oklahoma City Area.
Oklahoma State University 1972 Annual Research Report.
Our 75th Anniversary—Tabernacle Baptist Church of Oklahoma City.
O. U. Law Alumni News, Dec. 1972.
Oklahoma—1973 Goals for Central Oklahoma, November 16, 1972.
Pulse of Oklahoma Business, Nov. 1972 and Dec. 1972.
Oklahoma County Bar Association—Yearbook and Directory of Attorneys, 1972–1973.
Military Collector and Historian Vol. XXIV, Nos. 3 & 4, Fall and Winter, 1972.
Muster Roll—The Company of Military Historians, May 1972.
Names—Journal of the American Name Society, Vol. 20, No. 3, Sept. 1972.
Arrowsmith Fenn Galleries of New Mexico.
The Old Post Office, St. Louis, Missouri.
History News, Vol. 28, No. 1, Jan. 1973.
Financial Report—Oklahoma City University, June 30, 1972.
Following are Newcomen Society of North America publications:
The University and the City by Joseph F. Volker, 1971.
"There Is a Time and a Place . . . ."—The History of the American National Cattlemen's Association by Lysle Liggett, 1972.
The Story of Indiana Gas Company, Inc., by J. W. Heiney, 1972.
Total Commitment To a Better Environment—Story of Certain-teed Products Corporation by Malcom Meyer, 1972.
Higher Education In the Seventies—The Challenge of Growth by Albert H. Bowker, 1971.
The Growing Story of the Mercantile National Bank by J. D. Francis, 1971.

The Johns-Manville Story by W. Richard Goodwin, 1971.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Memorial Addresses on the Life and Character of James Laird, compiled and edited by W. H. Michael, 1891.
Donor: Loy Williams, Bethany through Mrs. E. C. Sheriff, Oklahoma City.

The Hatfield-McCoy Feud Reader—Stories About the Famous Feud by Shirley Donnelly.
Donor: Gary Patterson, Oklahoma City.

Collection of United States Road Maps.
Donor: John Cheek, Oklahoma City.

Boyd Family Journal, No. 1, March 1925, Willis M. Boyd, ed., Cartersville, Ga., xeroxed copy.
Donor: Mrs. Ray Lutz, Oklahoma City.

Atlas of Oklahoma Political Maps, 1907–1970 by Stephen Jones, Attny., 1972.
Donor: Author, Enid, Oklahoma.

Sampson Stewart—His Royal Ancestors and Some of His Descendants by Sidney Wright Bount, 1972.
Donor: Mrs. Clifton B. Vanderford, Jr. of Garland, Texas in Memory of Clifton B. Vanderford, Jr., thru' Oklahoma State Library.

Supplementary Booklet—"Scrogin, Scroggin, Scroggins," 1972.
Donor: A. E. Scroggins, Dodge City, Kansas.

Scrapbook: *The Girl Graduate—Her Own Book*, property of Agnes Mae Smika of Shawnee, Oklahoma.
"A History of Caddo County" compiled by Mildred Cole, Flossie Taylor, Mildred Reese and Emma Whitener, 1955–56.
Sin Street by Bob Bristow.
Summary in Pictures . . . . Blackwell Tornado, compiled and published by the Journal Color Press of Blackwell, Oklahoma.
Higher Geography by Alexis Everett Frye, 1895.
Donor: E. B. Dean in Memory of Michael Dean.

The Government of Poland by Jean-Jacques Rousseau; Translated by Willmoore Kendall, 1972.
The Conservative Affirmative by Willmoore Kendall, 1963.
The Basic Symbols of the American Political Tradition by Willmoore Kendall and George W. Carey, 1970.
Donor: Vona Kendall Mason, Oklahoma City.

A History of Anderson County Kansas by Harry Johnson, 1936.
A New Universal Gazetteer or Geographical Dictionary by William Darby, 1826.
History of Jewell County, Kansas by M. Winsor and James A. Scarbrough, 1878.
Douglas County (South Dakota) *History*, 1961 by Dakota Territory Centennial Observance Committee.
Manual of the Civil War and Key to the Grand Army of the Republic by J. Worth Carnahan, 1899.

Collier's World Atlas and Gazetteer, 1943.
Rand McNally and Company's Universal Atlas of the World, 1893.
Donor: Harriet Rosenstahl, Oklahoma City.

The Ancestors of John Hall Boydstun and His Descendants by Q. B. Boydstun, 1972.
Donor: Author of Fort Gibson.

Personnel Directory 1968–1969, Raymond Harvey, Supt. of Oklahoma County Schools.
Here's How—A Handbook—Midwest City-Del City Public Schools, 1970–71–72.
Donor: Mrs. Faye Kelley, Oklahoma City.

The Throop Tree by Walter Fay Throop and Beryl Estelle Burch Throop, 1971.
Donor: Authors & Publishers, La Mirada, California.

"This is my sign—Garden of Eden" by O. D. Hoopes.
Donor: Wayne E. Naegle, Lucas, Kansas.

Notes regarding Susanna Dickerson, Survivor of the Alamo.
Soul-Soule Families of England and New England, compiled by Lucille Israel.
Donor: Lucille Israel, Oklahoma City.

Federal Land Series, Vol. I, 1788–1810 by Clifford Neal Smith.
The Templin Directory—United States Family Members, 1972 by Ronald Templin.
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City.

PHOTOGRAPH SECTION:

Two large, partially-identified photographs of groups of men, possibly Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce groups ca 1910–1912.
Copy of oil portrait of Edward King Gaylord painted by Fritz Werner of New York and Arizona which was unveiled January 14, 1973 at Heritage House.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION:

Reprint from *The Journal of the Oklahoma Medical Association*, Dec. 1972, "Health Care in the Cherokee Seminaries Asylums and Prisons 1851–1906" by Stephen T. Autry and R. Palmer Howard.
Donor: R. Palmer Howard, M. D.

Report of meeting of Internal-Tribal Council of Five Civilized Tribes, Oct. 12–13, 1972.
Donor: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Okla.

Allotment Patent, Ida Self, Choctaw, Dec. 1, 1905; Warranty deed, John L. Self, Choctaw, to W. A. Bowlin, Oct. 22, 1906; Warranty deed, Ida Self, Choctaw, to W. A. Bowlin, Nov. 6, 1906; Segregated Coal Land Patent Choctaw & Chickasaw Nations to James W. and Henry Kidd, Sept. 13, 1920; Photostat Choctaw Census Card 2265, Noel Folsom and family, Choctaws; Photostat Allotment Patent, Moses Folsom, Choctaw, Feb. 27, 1907; Order for removal of Restrictions of Moses Folsom, Choctaw, June 29, 1920.
Donor: Mrs. Marcelle Lowrey, 425 NW 39th St., Oklahoma City.

San Carlos Apache Tribe v. U. S. Dockett No. 22–D: Order allowing Attorney fees.

Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Okla. v. U. S., Docket No. 182: Opinion: Order.
Northern Tonto Apache Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 22–J: Order allowing Attorney fees.

Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians v. U. S., Docket Nos. 282–A to L: Order allowing Attorney fees.

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe v. U. S., Docket Nos. 19, 188, 189–A, 189–C: Opinion.

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe v. U. S., Docket Nos. 19 & 189–A: Order.

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe v. U. S., Docket Nos. 188 & 189–C: Order

Red Lake Band, Chippewa Indians v U. S., Docket No. 189–B: Opinion; Order granting Partial Dismissall.

Chippewa Indians, Turtle Mountain, Pembina and Little Shell Bands, and 3 affiliated tribes of Fort Berthhold v. U. S., Docket Nos. 113, 246, 191, 221, 350–B and C: Order denying request for modification of the record.

Creek Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 275: Order allowing Attorney fee.

Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community v. U. S., Docket No. 236: Opinion; Interlocutory Order.

Nez Perce Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 175–B: Opinion; Order amending Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law; Final award.

Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma v. U. S., Docket Nos. 341–A and B: Opinion; Interlocutory Order.

Seneca Indians v. U. S., Docket Nos. 342 & 368–A: Final Award.

Western Shoshone Band v. U. S., Docket No. 326–K: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Lower Sioux Community v. U. S., Docket No. 363; Yankton Sioux Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 332–C: Opinion; Order denying Motion to consolidate.

Yankton Sioux Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 332–B: Order granting Motion to Severa Claims and file an Amended petition; Order allowing attorney fee.

Sioux Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 74–B: Opinion; Order.

Squaxion Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 206: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Tuscarora Indians v. U. S., Docket No. 321: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Yakima Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 47–B: Order dismissing claim.

Indian Claims Commission General Rules of Procedure.

Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C.

Accessions in the Fourth Quarter, January 22, 1973

MUSEUMS AND HISTORIC SITES:

Recordings of historical speeches.

Donor: T. T. Johnson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Large collection of artifacts from donor's family, including the following: household items; personal items; articles of clothing; furniture; teacher's pointer used by donor's father when he taught school during the 1880's; radio/record player; photographic equipment; other items.

Donor: Jesse D. Biggers, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Large collection of artifacts from donor's family, including the following: household items; linens; rugs; window coverings; artworks; school bell used by donor's father

when he taught school during the 1880's; child's wagon; medicines and medicinal containers; documents; photographs; other items.
Donor: Miss Helen Biggers, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Eating fork, *ca* late 19th century.
Donor: C. E. Metcalf, Aline, Oklahoma.

Wash wringer; tea kettle; boiler; lantern; iron; lamp; churn.
Seller: C. R. Towler, Yukon, Oklahoma.

"Candlestick" telephone; Navajo rug.
Seller: Mrs. Charlotte Brorsen, Perry, Oklahoma.

Black Historical calendars.
Donor: Seagram's Distillery, New York, New York.

Document, "Room at the Top," by Alexander L. Posey.
Donor: Dr. V. R. Easterling, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Collection of Nixon-Agnew political campaign material; early jars and bottles.
Donor: Joe L. Todd, Norman, Oklahoma.

Program and brochure from opening of Myriad Convention Center, Oklahoma City.
Donor: Mrs. W. T. Covalt, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Commemorative medallions with accompanying brochures.
Donor: Wyandotte Savings Bank, Wyandotte, Michigan, by Ms. Nancy Wesser.

Booklets; postcards; photographs which belonged to William "Bill" Maker, brother of donor.
Donor: Linden Maker, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Set of dominoes, handcarved by donor's grandfather, David Rouse; $5 certificate from Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad Bank, dated 1853, owned by donor's maternal grandfather, George Davis; photocopies of George Davis's service records.
Donor: M. C. Rouse, Coyle, Oklahoma.

Wooden shopping cart, used in Guthrie; coffee grinder; metal bowl.
Donor: W. R. Fry, Jr., Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Articles of clothing which belonged to donor's mother, Mrs. Jessie Sampsell Loveless.
Donor: Miss Dorothy Loveless, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Waffle iron, early 20th century; used by donor's grandmother, Mrs. Andrew Elston, who made the Run in 1889.
Donor: Mrs. Faye L. Wallar, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Book, "Barnes's Complete Geography," Oklahoma edition, 1896, which belonged to donor's mother, Mrs. Bessie Ropp Freeman Haws.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Bill Gerhards, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Collection of annuals, booklets and report cards which belonged to Walter Kincaid and Mrs. Walter (Mabel Diehl) Kincaid.
Donor: Mrs. Robert E. Kincaid, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Shawls; gloves; collection of postcards.
Donor: Mrs. James Petty, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Collection of early tools, several of which belonged to donor's father and were brought to Guthrie when the family moved there from Iowa in 1904.
Donor: Lester Allen, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Articles of clothing; personal items; metal tub; from donor's family.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Bill Lehmann, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Side saddle, won by donor's mother, Minnie Olson, in a race held near Guthrie in 1895.
Donor: Mrs. Ina Mealy, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Zither with tuning key, brought to Oklahoma in 1889, and used by donor's aunt, Pearl Olson Ham.
Donor: Mrs. Ina Mealy, Guthrie, Oklahoma. (In memory of Pearl Olson Ham)

Gasoline lamp, early 20th century; photograph of Indian children, owned by Henry Braun, donor's father in law; photograph of Henry Braun.
Donor: Mrs. Heinz Braun, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Advertisement, "The Oklahoma State Capitol, Guthrie, Oklahoma, . . . 1903."
Donor: Mrs. T. S. Wood, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Quilt, made 1896–1900 to raise money for the First Methodist Church, Guthrie and later presented to donor's mother, Olive Craig Mercer, who had done work on the quilt.
Donor: Mrs. Lois M. Hayes, Gainesville, Georgia.

Farm machinery; scraper, fresno, and lister.
Donor: Frank Karner, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

Bank deposit book in account with William M. McCoy, Postmaster, 1902.
Donor: Lorraine Fogarty, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Plumber's pot, early 20th century.
Donor: Ed Lester, Coyle, Oklahoma.

Record player in cabinet; Hoosier kitchen cabinet; books; drawing.
Donor: Robert A. Bish, Yale, Oklahoma.

Shotgun, *ca.* 1900, owned by donor's grandfather, Mr. Ott Creps; rifle, owned by donor's maternal grandfather, Elmer Hammond, patent date 1892; can, pliers, hatchet head found by donor near Ames, Oklahoma.
Donor: Raymond Creps, Ames, Oklahoma.

Program of study society, Yale, Oklahoma, 1920–21, lists Mrs. James Thorpe as Secretary; program, 1921–1922, lists talk given by Mrs. Thorpe.
Donor: Mrs. Ben Monnett, Yale, Oklahoma.

Wicker table, *ca.* 1920's.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd T. Burris, Yale, Oklahoma.

Cook stove; heating stoves; chair; ironing board.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Rex Burnell, Yale, Oklahoma.

Navajo rug; washstand,, 1887.
Donor: Rick Trant, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Feather mattress.
Donor: Mrs. Carl Pennington, Aline, Oklahoma.

Photographs, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, taken in and near Thomas-Foreman Home, 1960's.
Donor: Mrs. Olivia Cole, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Collection of books written by Grant and Carolyn Foreman, some autographed and presented to donor, who was employed by Mr. Foreman as a secretary when he practiced law.
Donor: Miss Clara Spitzmiller, Takoma Park, Maryland.

Mustache cup which belonged to Peter Conser.
Donor: Mrs. Julia Kelley, Heavener, Oklahoma.

Blacksmith's tongs, found by donor in house being torn down.
Donor: Cecil Harrison, Poteau, Oklahoma.

Plow blade, used by the late Gabriel Underwood, a Chickasaw; picture of Bina Underwood Owens, daughter of Gabriel Underwood, and donor's mother.
Donor: Virgil Owens, Tupelo, Oklahoma.

Picture of Rev. and Mrs. W. T. Muncrief, donor's grandparents.
Donor: Mrs. Asa S. Turner, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Reproductions of photographs of W. P. Brown, Chickasaw Governor, Winchester Colbert, Chickasaw Governor, and General John Coffee, Commissioner of the U.S. who negotiated the Treaty of the Pontotoc with the Chickasaws.
Donor: Bernie B. Wyatt, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Reproductions of original photographs.
Donor: Gene McKinney, Marietta, Oklahoma.

Artifacts owned and used by donor's parents, John A. and Theresa Freudenberger in Antelope Township in the early 20th century, including razor strap; honing stone; washboard; butter mold; baking pan; shoe lasts; and clinometer; also toy gun.
Donor: Mrs. Helen Holmes, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Copy of letter dated 1894; copies of original photographs.
Donor: Mrs. J. M. Bloxham, Jr., Lewisville, Texas.

Hallicraft receiver, with attachments; photographs and brochures concerning Thomas A. Edison and his work.
Donor: E. A. Mitchell, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Articles of clothing which belonged to donor's mother, Mrs. Katherine Adams Walling; dress belonging to her grandmother, Mrs. Thomas Marvin Adams; and personal items belonging to her father, Dr. Henry R. Walling; dress worn by donor as a child; photographs and documents from donor's family.
Donor: Mrs. Katherine Walling Hardy, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Collection of aviation artifacts associated with Wiley Post and Cliff Giblet, given to donor by the widow of Cliff Giblet.
Donor: John F. Kempf, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Hammond typewriter, 1925, with interchangeable typing elements; accompanying instructions, advertisement, and history.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. George W. Hickman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Hay baler, *ca.* 1920's.
Donor: Ernest D. Irvine, Harrah, Oklahoma.

Double barrel shotgun, which belonged to Butler Stonestreet Smiser.
Donor: Mrs. Ira Smiser, Houston, Texas.

Articles of clothing from donor's family.
Donor: Mrs. Arch F. Campbell, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Collarette, which belonged to donor's mother, Lora Belle Richmond Field.
Donor: Vernon C. Field, Lawton, Oklahoma.

Personal items from donor's family, including souvenirs from travels.
Donor: Mrs. Alice Bridwell Brooks, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Leather collar box; 48 star U.S. flag with staff.
Donor: Moses Bloom, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Replacement medals for medals awarded to Lt. (j.g.) Alfred Naifeh, posthumously.
Donor: Robert N. Naifeh, Norman, Oklahoma.

Apron worn by donor's mother; dress and cap worn by donor as a child in the late 19th century.
Donor: Mrs. James R. Weldon, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Hand forged lever which belonged to donor's great grandfather.
Donor: Mrs. Marjorie Tilton Mitchell, McAlester, Oklahoma.

Baby's button-type shoe.
Donor: Noble's Shoe Store, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, by Mrs. Charley Nation.

Homestead patent to Dewey Leftwich, dated August 16, 1904.
Donor: D. O. Leftwich, Duncan, Oklahoma.

Household items and personal items from donor's family.
Donor: Mrs. Garland Keeling, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Harrow tooth.
Donor: The Reverend Frank W. Sprague, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

Iron bit used by a Chickasaw and given to donor as a boy nearly 80 years ago; tub handles; stirrup, over 150 years old, matching stirrup donated earlier.
Donor: Albert Browning, Mill Creek, Oklahoma.

Oil painting, "The Trail Boss."
Seller: Fred Olds, Weatherford, Oklahoma.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

October 27, 1972 to January 25, 1973

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Blackwell, Larry D.	Norman
Blackwell, Mrs. Roy A., Jr.	Arlington Texas
Brandt, Mrs. Leo	Alva
Brunsteter, Alta	Alva
Burgess, Don	Norman
Burris, Mrs. Lowell	Broken Arrow
Caldwell, Walter L.	Oklahoma City
Clemons, Carl B.	Del City
Cole, William J.	Gore
Conrad, Kenneth	Oklahoma City
Davis, Russell W.	Bartlesville
Denton, James	Sallisaw
Dunnington, Clarke	Cherokee
Eason, Jack Richard	Elk City
Elson, Mrs. C. H.	Nash
Epley, J. E.	Tulsa
Fielding, Joanne H.	Tulsa
Fine, Barbara S.	Sallisaw
Floyd, Alice Fountain	Ponca City
Fullbright, Janelle	Sallisaw
Gilmer, Thos. P.	Okmulgee
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Hasskarl, Mrs. Robert	Ada
Heiberger, Mrs. H. B.	Silver Spring, Maryland
HISTORIOGRAPHER	Oklahoma City
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Holloway, Mrs. Irene	Chevy Chase, Maryland
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Howard, Margaret A.	Wewoka
Hyden, Bill R.	Broken Arrow
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Johnson, Mrs. Bill	Hobart
Joseph, Mrs. Pauline	Waukomis
Lattimore, Juanita G.	Sallisaw
Lattimore, S. Gary	Sallisaw
Martin, W. A.	Elk City
Mayo, Wheeler	Sallisaw
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Moore, Robert R., Sr.	Dallas, Texas
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* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

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The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

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GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

VOLUME LI NUMBER 2 SUMMER 1973

the chronicles OF OKLAHOMA

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

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The Chronicles of Oklahoma is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office in the Historical Building at 2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City.

The subscription rate is $6.00 a year. Single numbers of *The Chronicles* are available at $1.50. All members of the Oklahoma Historical Society receive *The Chronicles* free. Annual membership is $5.00; Life membership $100.00. Subscriptions, change of address, membership applications, orders for current issues of *The Chronicles*, and non-current back issues should be sent to the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

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the chronicles OF OKLAHOMA

Volume LI | *Summer 1973* | Number 2

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Cover: The scene on the front cover shows supply wagons of the Dawes Commission (U.S. Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes) surveying party making camp in the Creek Nation southwest of Muskogee in the late spring of 1897. Photo is from the Alice M. Robertson collection of photographs recently developed from old glass-plate negatives in the Editorial Office of the Historical Society. (See Notes and Documents in this issue of *The Chronicles*.)

THE ELUSIVE MERIDIAN

*By Mary Ann Parker**

Longitude 103° West is joined with New Mexico along a 34 mile border. At Longitude 100° West, a 133 mile common boundary line exists between Oklahoma and Texas. These two boundaries at the meridians form the western limits of Oklahoma, and while the length of the two lines together is no more than 167 miles, each boundary possesses a unique history. The history of the 100th Meridian, however, was a particularly eventful story. Beginning with the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 and stretching across 111 years to culminate in a United States Supreme Court decision rendered March 17, 1930, the story was one of error, omission, confusion and dispute. Its history involved the United States, Spain, Mexico, The Republic of Texas, the State of Texas, Oklahoma Territory and the State of Oklahoma.

The Adams-Onis Treaty between the United States and Spain established the boundary between the two nations in North America. That part of the agreement which would later form the southern border and a large part of the western boundary of Oklahoma was described as "following the course of the Rio-Roxo [Red River] westward to the degree Longitude, 100 West from London and 23 from Washington, then crossing the said Red River, and running thence by a Line due North to the River Arkansas, . . ."[1] In addition, Article IV of the treaty called for the actual marking on the ground of the entire treaty boundary.[2] This marking would occasion the establishment of that segment of the boundary along the 100th Meridian, or the main western boundary of present day Oklahoma.

The boundary of demarcation was to be accomplished by February 22, 1822. However, in the turmoil which accompanied Mexico's declaration of independence from Spain in 1821, no survey was ever called jointly by the United States and Spain.[3] Nevertheless, in April, 1832, Mexico and the United States provided for a survey of their common boundary—a survey which would exactly duplicate the provisions of the Adams-Onis Treaty.[4] The date for

* The author, Mary Ann Parker, is a student at the University of Tulsa. The article is an adaptation of a paper prepared under the direction of Dr. William A. Settle, Jr., 1973.

[1] Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America* (8 vols.; Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931–1948), Vol. III, p. 5.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 419.

this survey was extended to April 20, 1836, but by that time Texas had declared its independence from Mexico, thereby changing the status of the United States-Mexico boundary which was to have been surveyed.[5] The problem of locating the Adams-Onis Treaty boundary passed from the concern of Mexican officials into the hands of the authorities of the Republic of Texas. In 1838, a convention was signed between American and Texas officials establishing their common boundary as that defined in the Adams-Onis Treaty, and reaffirmed in the Mexican-American Agreement of 1832. This convention also called for a survey of the boundary, but due to the danger of Indian attack, that portion of the boundary along the 100th Meridian was not marked.[6]

It was not until 1853, when a military expedition commanded by Captain Randolph B. Marcy set out to explore the upper regions of the Red River, that a real attempt to locate the 100th Meridian was made. Accompanying this expedition was Lieutenant George B. McClellan, who attempted to locate the elusive 100th Meridian through astronomical observations.[7] His observations, however, were in error, and as a result McClellan's maps located the 100th Meridian a full degree east of its true location. He placed the meridian on the Red River at approximately the point where the North Fork of the Red River joins the main channel.[8] As a result of this error, authorities of the State of Texas claimed a large area known as Greer County, which was west of the erroneously marked meridian. Thus, Texas officials found themselves in dispute with United States authorities over the land claim as well as over the location of the true meridian.

The dispute over the true 100th Meridian first arose in 1855, when the United States government negotiated a treaty agreeing to lease that portion of the Choctaw lands between the 98th and 100th meridians.[9] To define the area's boundaries, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1857, sent two surveyors to mark the two meridians involved. The surveyors, A. H. Jones and H. M. C. Brown, were instructed to survey and mark the 100th Meridian from the north bank of the Red River to the northern boundary of the Creek and Seminole lands above the Canadian River, and to survey and mark the

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 420.

[6] James Richard Glenn, "The Controversies at the Red River" (unpublished Master of Arts thesis, The University of Tulsa, 1962), p. 12.

[7] Grant Foreman, ed., *Adventure on the Red River: U.S. War Department Report on the Exploration of the Headwaters of the Red River by Captain Randolph B. Marcy and Captain G. B. McClellan* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), p. xxix.

[8] Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood*, (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1957), Vol. I, p. 407.

[9] "Treaty of 1855," Article IX, in *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation: Together with the Treaties of 1837, 1855, 1865 and 1866.* Published by Authority of the General Council by A. R. Durant. Dallas, Texas: John F. Worley, Printer and Publisher, 1894.

98th Meridian from the Red River to the Canadian River.[10] Jones and Brown completed their survey by 1859, and for the first time the 100th Meridian was established on the ground. Beginning at a rock monument on the bank of the South Fork of the Red River, at what they had determined to be the true intersection of the 100th Meridian and the Red River, Jones and Brown established a line north from this monument a distance of 109 miles, marking the course with mileposts along the way.[11] This they declared was the true 100th Meridian.

The Jones-Brown survey, which uncovered George McClellan's 1852 error in locating the meridian, was never accepted by the United States Congress,[12] and a later survey in the 20th Century would show that the Jones-Brown line was itself in error, being somewhat west of the true meridian's location: a discrepancy of 4,040 feet at the line's southern end, and an error of 880 feet at its northern end.[13] Texas authorities nevertheless accepted a portion of the Jones-Brown line north of the North Fork of the Red River as the eastern boundary of five counties closing on the 100th Meridian. However, Texas officials did not recognize this line as a state boundary.[14] Acceptance of the southern part of the line would have destroyed their claim to the land area between the north and south forks of the Red River which was also claimed by the United States as part of Indian Territory.[15]

The Jones-Brown survey was not the only survey of the 100th Meridian conducted in the latter nineteenth century. In 1859, Daniel Major, while locating the boundaries of the Panhandle of Texas, surveyed the meridian from the Red River to the 36° 30′ north latitude.[16] Also, in 1860, John H. Clark, the remaining member of a joint commission appointed by the United States Congress and approved by the Legislature of Texas to mark the United States-Texas boundary, surveyed the 100th Meridian. Clark chose to adopt as accurate the newly completed Jones-Brown survey, and thus only retraced the Jones-Brown line failing to detect the faults in its location.[17] From 1872 to 1875, four United States contract surveys retraced

[10] "Restoration of the Monument at the Initial Point of the Public Land Surveys of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III (April, 1925), p. 81.

[11] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 272, p. 21, Supreme Court Report 47, p. 9, L. Ed. 71, p. 145 (1928).

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[13] *Tulsa Daily World*, March 18, 1930, col. 2, p. 2.

[14] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 272, p. 155.

[15] Glenn, "The Controversies at the Red River," p. 19; for a detailed account of the Greer County controversy, see chapter one of the Glenn thesis.

[16] "Restoration of the Monument at the Initial Point of the Public Land Surveys of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, p. 81.

[17] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 272, pp. 147–148.

different parts of the Jones-Brown line and re-established the line by rebuilding the mileposts set up by Jones and Brown.[18]

Between 1859 and 1882, none of the surveys conducted determined the boundary between Texas and the United States.[19] Therefore, the physical location of the 100th Meridian was never wholly accepted by either the government of the United States or the government of Texas, and no surveyed location of the Texas boundary or the 100th Meridian was considered legally binding. However, as Texas authorities pressed their claims to Greer County in the late nineteenth century, the need for locating the intersection of the true meridian and the Red River became more urgent.

In May, 1882, the Legislature of Texas authorized appointment of a commission to work with a United States commission to determine whether the north or south fork of the Red River was the true Red River described in the Adams-Onis Treaty. It was also to establish the true location of the 100th Meridian, thereby determining the eastern boundary of the Panhandle of Texas. Action on the creation of this commission came in 1885 when the United States Congress declared that the intersection of the 100th Meridian and the Red River had never been legally fixed. The President of the United States was authorized to create a commission to work with the Texas officials in finding this point.[20] This meant that the commissioners would locate the true 100th Meridian and the actual course of the Red River west of the 98th Meridian. The commissioners met, but their attentions centered on the course of the Red River. The Texas officials became deadlocked with the United States Commissioners, and on July 16, 1886, unable to reach agreement, the two parties permanently adjourned their deliberations. Thus the location of Red River and the 100th Meridian was still undetermined, and was still a problem.[21]

In 1892, the Texas officials, still pressing its Greer County claims, employed H. S. Pritchett, Director of the Astronomical Observatory of Washington University at St. Louis, to "establish scientifically and accurately" the intersection of the 100th Meridian and the Red River.[22] Pritchett made his survey on the South Fork of the Red River where he located the 100th Meridian 3,797.3 feet east of the Initial Monument placed by Jones and Brown to mark the meridian in 1859 (and accepted by John Clark's Texas survey in 1860.)[23] Thus, Pritchett's line which was only 242.7 feet east of

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

[19] Litton, *History of Oklahoma*, I, 407; Oklahoma v. Texas, 272, United States Statutes, p. 149.

[20] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 272, p. 149.

[21] Litton, *History of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, p. 409.

[22] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 272, p. 150.

[23] "Notes on the Boundary Dispute Between the State of Texas and the State of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI (Winter, 1958–59), p. 485.

what would later be determined to be the meridian's actual location, was the most accurate made to its date. Nevertheless, the Pritchett survey was not recognized by the United States government, and joined ranks with the previous surveys which had failed to reconcile the problem of the meridian's location.

Until 1902, there were no other attempts to survey the elusive meridian. However, in 1902, a survey, at the request of the United States Secretary of the Interior, was conducted by Arthur D. Kidder, United States Examiner of Surveys. Kidder, as those before him, was assigned to locate the intersection of the true meridian and the Red River. When he completed his work, through "observations and calculations [made] according to scientific methods then in use," Kidder determined that the true meridian intersected the South Fork of the Red River 3,699.7 feet east of the Jones and Brown monument, and 97.6 feet west of Pritchett's location. His findings, although later proved to be 339.7 feet in error to the west, were reported to the Secretary of the Interior, and were subsequently adopted by Congress as marking the accurate intersection of the Red River and the 100th Meridian.[24]

Kidder's point of intersection on the South Fork of the Red River was accepted by Texas officials in 1903, but this did not mean they accepted any surveyed designation of the entire 100th Meridian along the Texas Panhandle's eastern border. Indeed, Texas officials sent their own commission in April, 1903, to survey the boundary. At the same time, the United States Secretary of the Interior once again appointed Arthur Kidder to locate the 100th Meridian—this time at its point of intersection with the 36° 30′ North parallel at the northeastern corner of the Panhandle of Texas.[25]

Kidder's report was sent to the Secretary of the Interior in April, 1904. In it, Kidder stated that in retracing the Jones-Brown and Clark line north to 36° 30′, he found that it gradually "deflected to the east," and that the line intersected the parallel 743.16 feet west of the true 100th Meridian. Kidder erected a concrete and iron monument at what he considered to be the true intersection of the 100th Meridian and the parallel. In so doing, he marked two points on the elusive Meridian—both later invalidated—nevertheless Kidder had not marked any portion of the Meridian line between the two points,[26] nor had anyone since Jones, Brown and Clark made such a marking.

The problem at the 100th Meridian now turned from finding points where it intersected other lines, to determining the exact location of the meridian along the common border between Oklahoma Territory and the

[24] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 272, p. 150.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Panhandle of Texas. A request in 1904, by the United States Commissioner of the General Land Office, seeking another survey of the Texas-Oklahoma Territory and Texas-New Mexico Territory boundaries, died in a congressional committee. In 1905, and 1906, the Texas official asked Congress for surveys of the Texas-United States boundaries, but these requests also died in committee. In October, 1907, prior to the granting of statehood to Oklahoma, the United States Secretary of the Interior asked for the establishment of the boundary between the United States and Texas, providing that the Kidder point of intersection be accepted as correct. However, no congressional action was taken on this request.[27] Thus Oklahoma was granted statehood with a western boundary defined only as the eastern border of the Panhandle of Texas. A border still undefined and unmarked to the legal satisfaction of the parties involved.

The final location of the 100th Meridian, and thus the Texas-Oklahoma border, was on March 17, 1930, and resulted from a suit and a countersuit filed in the United States Supreme Court by the officials of Oklahoma and Texas, respectively. In 1919, when Texas and Oklahoma authorities were involved in a dispute over the Red River boundary, the Legislature of Texas declared that a controversy also existed over the boundary between the two states at the 100th Meridian. Oklahoma officials claimed the Jones-Brown and Clark line as the boundary, while Texas authorities recognized the Kidder line.[28] The Legislature of Texas directed that a suit be brought in the United States Supreme Court for the purpose of determining and settling the boundaries disputed by two states.[29] Before Texas officials could act in this suit, however, Oklahoma authorities brought suit concerning the Red River boundary.[30] In retaliation, Texas officials filed a counterclaim declaring that Oklahoma authorities were illegally exercising jurisdiction over a narrow strip of land west of the true Meridian as located by Kidder after the 1896 Greer County decision of the United States Supreme Court.[31] Texas authorities claimed that Kidder had correctly determined the intersection of the 100th Meridian and the Red River, and that the only thing left to do now was to establish a line north from Kidder's intersection point to determine the true meridian.[32] Oklahoma officials, Texas authorities declared, were ignoring the existence of such a line.

When the counterclaim of the Texas officials was finally argued before the United States Supreme Court on November 25, 1925, the Oklahoma authori-

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 272, p. 156.

[29] *Tulsa Daily World*, March 18, 1930, col. 3, p. 2.

[30] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 256, p. 70, Supreme Court Report 41, p. 420. 65 L. Ed. 831 (1920).

[31] Glenn, "The controversies at the Red River," p. 57.

[32] *Tulsa Daily World*, November 26, 1925, col. 3, p. 7.

ties contended that in the 1896 Greer County case the court had determined the Jones-Brown and Clark line to be the true 100th Meridian and the boundary between Texas and Oklahoma. Oklahoma's lawyers further argued that the Jones-Brown and Clark line was "established as the boundary line by acquiesence and by long continued exercise of jurisdiction over the strip in dispute."[33] It was too late to challenge the accuracy of the line, Oklahoma officials contended,[34] but Texas authorities still held to the argument that "a line running north from the Kidder monument"[35] established the boundary at the 100th Meridian. On October 11, 1926, Justice Edward T. Sanford delivered the United States Supreme Court decision concerning the disputed boundary between the Panhandle of Texas and Oklahoma.[36] The court stated that neither the Jones-Brown and Clark line nor a Kidder line had ever been accepted by the Federal government as a legal boundary, and that the Greer County decision had not established the location of the 100th Meridian.[37] The true boundary between the Panhandle of Texas and Oklahoma was indeed the 100th Meridian, the court ruled, and it was now the duty of the court to appoint a commission to survey and mark the true boundary,[38] as the application of the principle of prescription did not apply in this case because there was "neither a continuous assertion of a claim of right on one side nor acquiesence therein on the other."[39]

On January 3, 1927, the United States Supreme Court formally decreed that a survey of the true 100th Meridian would be made. The decree declared that geodetic and astronomic engineer Samuel S. Gannett was to locate and mark the 100th Meridian, using "the most accurate scientific methods available,"[40] and Gannett, like the 1926 U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, used triangulation.[41] He was to mark the meridian boundary with permanent monuments, and report the descriptions and locations of these monuments. His field notes, a record of his work, a map showing the boundary as he located it, and ten copies of his findings were to be filed with the United States Supreme Court when the survey was completed. A copy of Gannett's report and map was then to be made available to the governors of Oklahoma and Texas and to the Secretary of the Interior. Any exceptions or objections to the report had to be registered with the court within forty

[33] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 272, p. 147.
[34] *Tulsa Daily World*, November 26, 1925, col. 3, p. 7.
[35] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 272, p. 147.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 146.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[40] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 273, p. 93, Supreme Court Report 47, p. 307. L. Ed. 71, p. 555 (1928).
[41] Litton, *History of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, p. 410.

days after the report had been filed. Gannett was required to take an oath that he would perform his duties faithfully and impartially, doing the job "quickly and with diligence." All expenses regarding the cost of the survey were to be shared equally by Oklahoma, Texas, and the United States.[42] In this financial obligation, however, the Legislature of Oklahoma balked, and in 1927, refused to appropriate the needed money. Texas authorities then assumed two-thirds of the entire debt, but in 1929, the Oklahoma legislature appropriated $12,000 to repay Texas authorities and sent State Attorney General Edwin Dabney to settle the account.[43]

Before Gannett's survey results were reported, Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma achieved passage of a congressional act to permit the officials of Oklahoma and Texas to make an agreement covering the situation of the meridian in order to protect titles to the disputed lands held by homesteaders who had purchased the land in good faith.[44] These titles covered approximately 23,000 acres of land, most of which had been originally sold by the United States,[45] and the sale of which would not be recognized under Texas law since the United States had never owned any land in Texas. Oklahoma officials were particularly concerned over disturbance of these land titles because of liens, mortgages, and bonded indebtedness existing in the area.[46] Under Thomas' congressional act, committees appointed by the Legislatures of Oklahoma and Texas met in their state capitols to work out a settlement concerning the disputed area.[47]

As time grew near for the completion of Gannett's survey, the Oklahoma officials decided to try to buy the disputed strip of land. Evidently, many Oklahomans felt that the United States Supreme Court would eventually rule that the 100th Meridian was east of the location Oklahoma authorities claimed. The offer presented by Oklahoma officials to a special session of the Legislature of Texas was $150,000, and it was rejected.[48] Thus, both states awaited the United States Supreme Court's decision.

On July 15, 1929, Samuel Gannet filed his survey report and map. The report was submitted to the United States Supreme Court on October 14, 1929, and a decree entered concerning it on March 17, 1930.[49] Gannett's

[42] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 273, p. 555.

[43] *Tulsa Daily World*, May 11, 1929, sec. 11, col. 7, p. 1.

[44] United States *Statutes at Large*, Vol. LXX, pt. 1 (Dec. 1928–March 1929), "Compact, Oklahoma and Texas, Boundary Decree," March 1, 1929, ch. 448, p. 1444.

[45] Victor E. Harlow, *Harlow's History of Oklahoma*, revisions and additions by James D. Morrison, Gene Aldrich, and Harry A. Hanson (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1961), p. 474.

[46] *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), May 3, 1929, Col. 3, p. 1.

[47] Harlow, *History of Oklahoma*, p. 474.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 281, p. 109, Supreme Court Report 50, p. 247, L. Ed. 74, p. 731 (1930).

report revealed that Oklahoma authorities were claiming an area of 28,500 acres, or 44.6 square miles, which should belong to Texas,[50] for Gannett's survey had located the 100th Meridian at its southern end, 4,040 feet east of where Oklahoma officials claimed it to be, and at its northern end, 800 feet east of the line Oklahoma authorities located the boundary with Texas.[51]

No objections or exceptions to Gannett's report were submitted within the forty day limit for such actions, so on March 17, 1930, Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes issued a decree confirming Gannett's report. The boundary established by Gannett was declared to be the true Oklahoma-Texas boundary along the 100th Meridian; the clerk of the United States Supreme Court was ordered to send the decree to the governors of the states involved and to the United States Secretary of the Interior, together with a copy each of Gannett's report and maps;[52] thus the 28,500 acre tract of land involved was to be awarded to Texas.[53]

The major newspapers in Oklahoma made little mention of the final decree in the long disputed problem of the boundary at the 100th Meridian, perhaps because it came as no surprise to most of the people concerned. There were no cities in the wedge-shaped area which was awarded to Texas in 1930, but about 500 residents were suddenly no longer Oklahomans,[54] and an investigating committee reported in 1929, that most residents preferred to remain within the jurisdiction of Oklahoma.[55] The transfer of these people to Texas citizenship seemed to be accomplished with a minimum of inconvenience for the persons involved. The most serious difficulty for any of the residents were the titles to their land. Problems arose because Texas authorities, after accepting Kidder's designation of the 100th Meridian's intersection with the Red River in 1903, sold some of the disputed land under suspended patents to a Texan named John Wortham. In 1930, Wortham's heirs were in a position to claim the land covered in the patents.[56] Some Texans later asserted patents concerning the disputed lands,[57] but information concerning these claims is scarce. In 1930, the dispute over the 100th Meridian came to a close, and the elusive Meridian which had escaped surveyors for over a century was accurately located.

50 Litton, *History of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, p. 410.
51 *Blackwell Morning Tribune* (Blackwell, Oklahoma), July 16, 1929, col. 6, p. 5.
52 Oklahoma v. Texas, United States Statutes 281, p. 731.
53 Litton, History of Oklahoma, Vol. I, p. 410.
54 *Ibid.*
55 *Tulsa Daily World*, May 11, 1929, col. 6, p. 1.
56 *Tulsa Daily World*, March 18, 1930, col. 3, p. 2.
57 Victor E. Harlow, *Oklahoma: Its Origins and Development* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1935), p. 366.

THE CARR-PENROSE EXPEDITION: GENERAL SHERIDAN'S WINTER CAMPAIGN, 1868–1869

*By Morris F. Taylor**

Major General Philip H. Sheridan assumed command of the Department of the Missouri in 1868. One of his most engrossing problems was that of dealing with the Plains Indians, who were dissatisfied with the Medicine Lodge Treaties of the previous year and who refused to stay on their reservations in Indian Territory. Relations with the tribes became so tense that Sheridan started military operations against the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in August of 1868, and hostilities with the Kiowas and Comanches were underway by September. Reinforcements arrived, enabling Sheridan to plan a winter campaign on the concept that, by striking the Indians wherever they camped during the winter months, harrassment would be great enough to force them onto the reservations.

Sheridan's strategy was based on three forts: (1) Fort Dodge, Kansas; (2) Fort Lyon, Colorado; and (3) Fort Bascom, New Mexico; from each of these posts a military force set out toward Indian Territory. The smaller forces from Forts Lyon and Bascom were ancillary to the main one from Fort Dodge.[1] A semi-official record rather unfairly said later that "these columns were really beaters and not expected to accomplish much,"[2] yet it was planned that the brunt of whatever fighting might result would be handled by Major General Sheridan and Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer from their base at Camp Supply, Indian Territory. That anticipated development was thought to depend to a great extent on the success achieved by field commanders operating from Colorado and New Mexico.

The Fort Lyon cavalry column—two forces in the early stages—carried

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[1] *Personal Memoirs of P. H. Sheridan, General, United States Army* (New York: Charles L. Webster and Co., 1888), Vol. II, pp. 308–309; George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 298–300; William H. Leckie, *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 88–132, and *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp. 40–43; James T. King, *War Eagle: A Life of General Eugene A. Carr* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), pp. 86–91 (hereafter cited as Carr Report).

[2] *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri, from 1868 to 1882, Lieutenant-General P. H. Sheridan, Commanding* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), p. 15.

out orders under very trying conditions. The story of the expedition is worth relating, although its ultimate importance to the general campaign is open to question.

In 1867, the second Fort Lyon was established on the north bank of the Arkansas River in southeastern Colorado, two and a half miles below the confluence of that stream with the Purgatoire River; the first post of that name (originally called Fort Wise)[3] had been largely destroyed on its site twenty miles downstream by the flooding Arkansas in 1866. Captain and Brevet Brigadier General William H. Penrose, Third Infantry, was in command, and in the late summer and early fall of 1868, he was hampered in coping with the Plains Indians because he did not have enough troopers to take the initiative.[4] The fort was in a sensitive location on the Mountain Branch of the Santa Fe Trail, and it was a station on the stage line (Barlow, Sanderson and Company's Southern Overland Mail and Express) from Sheridan, Kansas, to Santa Fe, New Mexico. Penrose was expected to provide protection for wagon trains and the U.S. Mail.[5] Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Kiowas raided on the plains around the fort, while Penrose importuned General Sheridan to send help from Fort Dodge and Fort Wallace so that he, Penrose, might deal with the Indians on his own terms.[6]

Although Penrose did not know it for some time, Sheridan, in planning the three-part action, decided to send four companies of the Tenth (Colored) Cavalry to Fort Lyon, from which base they would move southward towards the Antelope Hills along the Texas Panhandle-Indian Territory boundary. On October 17, Sheridan sent a telegram from Fort Hays, Kansas, to Penrose stating that the Tenth Cavalry companies would soon arrive.[7]

Captain Edward Byrne commanded Companies B, F, G, and K, Tenth Cavalry[8] when they reached Fort Lyon at 1 P.M., October 20, after having put out a fire apparently set by Indians in the vestigial buildings of old Fort

[3] Established in 1860 and named for Virginia's Governor Henry M. Wise, the post was renamed in honor of Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon, who died August 10, 1861, in the battle of Wilson's Creek, Missouri.

[4] Letter from Penrose to Sheridan, October 8, 1868, Selected Letters Sent by Captain and Brevet Brigadier General Penrose, September 10, 1868–March 31, 1869, Records of United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, National Archives. Cited hereafter as Selected Letters.

[5] Letter from Penrose to the Assistant Adjutant General, District of the Upper Arkansas, October 11, 1868, Selected Letters.

[6] Letter from Sheridan to Major General W. T. Sherman, September 23, 1868, Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1861–1870, Microcopy 619, Roll 242, National Archives Microfilm Publications.

[7] Telegram from Sheridan to Penrose, October 17, 1868, Selected Letters.

[8] Post Return from Fort Lyon, November, 1868, Microcopy 617, Roll 659, National Archives Microfilm Publications.

Lyon (Wise) the previous day.[9] Those troops had been in the field all summer, and there was evidence of scurvy among them.[10] The officers were informed, however, that they must be ready to march in four days time.[11]

As a matter of fact, more than twenty days passed before the expedition left the unfinished Fort Lyon on November 11, under General Penrose's command. The four companies of the Tenth Cavalry—about 250 men—comprised the bulk of the force, augmented by fifty-one men of Company L, Seventh Cavalry, a part of the regular garrison commanded by First Lieutenant Henry H. Abell. Also there was a detachment of thirteen men under First Lieutenant Charles Porter, Company A. Fifth Infantry, who were drawn from the three infantry companies of the post garrison.[12]

About eighteen civilian scouts were attached to the command, and among them were some well-known characters. Indian fighter and trader Charley Autobees was one of them, and with him were his sons, Mariano and Jose. Jesse Nelson, husband of Kit Carson's niece, and Tom Boggs, Carson's close friend and founder of Boggsville (1866) a few miles southwest of the fort, were hired, along with Nick Tafoya and Charles Le Feve [*sic*]. Also employed in the same capacity were Robert Bent (William Bent's son),[13] Hugh Evans, and a Captain Mann. And best known to posterity, of course, was "Wild Bill" Hickok.[14]

[9] Colonel George A. Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer* (Washington, D.C., 1900), p. 278. Company commanders were: Captain John B. Vande Wiele (B), Captain George A. Armes (F), Second Lieutenant Samuel R. Colladay (G), and Captain Charles G. Cox (K). *Daily Rocky Mountain News* (Denver, Colorado), March 6, 1869, p. 1. The particular source is an article by correspondent W. R. Thomas, which is, together with a second article in the same paper for March 9, 1869 (p. 1), the chief contemporary account of General Penrose's part in the campaign. Penrose's report apparently is not extant. The account in *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, by George A. Armes, covers less than a month, or about the first third, of the Penrose expedition. The three company captains held the brevet rank of major; Second Lieutenant Colladay commanded Company G because its captain and first lieutenant were ill. Organizational Return of the Tenth Cavalry, November, 1868, Record Group 94, National Archives.

[10] Record of Medical History of the Post of Fort Lyon, Colorado, October and November, 1868, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives. Cited hereafter as *Record of Medical History*.

[11] Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, p. 278.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 280, 295; Post Returns from Fort Lyon, October and November, 1868; Organizational Return, Tenth Cavalry, November, 1868; Letter from Penrose to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel J. Schuyler Cosby, Selected Letters; Record of Medical History, November, 1868; *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1; Luke Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," p. 29, MSS 13–5a, State Historical Society of Colorado Library, Denver.

[13] Thomas in the *Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1 said it was George Bent, Robert's brother, but George later denied it. See George E. Hyde, *Life of George Bent, Written from His Letters*, ed. Savoie Lottinville (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 291.

[14] The names are taken from Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, pp. 282–84; *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1; Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," p. 29.

A pack train of 220 mules carried thirty days rations and ammunition.[15] The only vehicles in the command were two ambulances for the sick and wounded and a wagon loaded with picks, shovels, axes, and other implements. Apparently there was some criticism of the fact that the column took along no wagons with forage, together with fear that the mules and horses could not withstand the rigors of winter on the plains, that medical supplies were inadequate, and that the lack of extra clothing was a dangerous risk.[16]

From Fort Lyon the command moved into the brown landscape up the east bank of the Purgatoire past Boggville (on the other side); after seven miles the column struck eastward to Rule Creek and then south towards Bear Creek. In the early stages of the march towards the first objective—a base camp on the North Fork of the Canadian River in Indian Territory—Penrose moved cautiously into Indian country, keeping cavalry detachments on each flank and posting an entire company on guard at night to prevent surprise.[17]

Indian signs were slight, but on the fifth day out the relatively mild weather changed with a freezing rain that began about noon, turning by evening to a heavy snow that fell all night. After about twelve miles the day's march was halted, but there was neither water nor fuel where they stopped. Not even the officers had tents. Men and animals suffered severely; twenty-five horses had broken down, and they were shot to prevent their being picked up by Indians. Next day the column marched twenty-four miles over the snow-covered terrain, and on the following morning, November 17, fourteen more horses were shot. The scouts found good grass and water for the night, but that good fortune was tempered by fresh Indian signs in the vicinity.[18]

Rolling plains with dry stream courses and occasional water holes were traversed during the first few days, and then a high mesa or table-land deflected the expedition into a S.S.E. course to the west branch of Two Butte Creek. Going S.S.W. up the creek, Penrose's force passed through Snow Canyon to the crest of the divide which sloped away to the Dry Cimarron

[15] Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, pp. 282–84; *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1. The Organizational Return, Tenth Cavalry, for November, 1868, says that thirty-four days rations were taken. The Report of Brevet Major General E. A. Carr, Commanding Expedition from Fort Lyon, dated April 9, 1969, says (p. 245) Penrose had rations for forty three days, an apparent error. The Report is in the Sherman-Sheridan Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman. Hereafter it will be cited as the Carr Report.

[16] Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, pp. 279, 295. As a source of valid complaint, Armes is open to serious question because of his evident personal dislike for Penrose.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 280; *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1; Carr Report, p. 245.

[18] Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, p. 280; *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1.

River. From the high point they could see to the west and southwest the Grand Mesa de Maya, the Raton Peak, the Rabbit Ear, and Sierra Grande. A sixteen-mile march through intense cold across the Malpais, a desolate, black iron-stone formation, brought them to Willow [Carrizo] Creek, where they enjoyed a camp with plenty of water, grass, and wood, but again they could not really relax because of signs of Indians and buffalo.[19]

Moving south along Willow Creek, the column passed the abandoned hideout of the Coe gang[20] of rustlers across from the Black Mesa (in the extreme northwest corner of the Oklahoma Panhandle) and reached the Dry Cimarron, which they followed eastward through frigid drabness to the Aubry Trail, a little-used alternate route of part of the Santa Fe Trail's Cimarron Cut-off. Lack of grass at the campsite there forced horses and mules to nibble on cottonwood bark for nourishment. Some soldiers managed to kill a few rabbits, but they had to be eaten raw because there was no wood for cooking. During the night a hard snowstorm drove men to seek shelter among the scattered rocks and outcroppings. And amid the discomforts of that camp, latent frictions among some of the officers became active. Central figures in whatever caused the trouble were Captain Byrne, second in command, and Captain Armes, Company F, Tenth Cavalry. Details are lacking, but Armes described Byrne as "very arbitrary."[21]

After that unpleasant bivouac, Penrose, probably on the advice of his guides, ordered that Aubry's route be followed south to Cold Spring, where it joined the Cimarron Cut-off and the latter left the drainage of the Dry Cimarron on its way to Santa Fe, about 240 miles to the southwest. Continuing on the Santa Fe road, Penrose and his men and animals were hit by another massive storm on Cedar Creek. It was the eleventh day out, and the snow fell steadily for two and a half days to the depth of ten inches. More horses and mules perished, and quite a few men were badly frozen.[22]

From the miseries of Cedar Creek the column struggled through snow and cold to McNees Creek—today known as the Corrumpa.[23] Farther on at Cottonwood Creek the force made a sharp turn to the east onto the level

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Members of the gang had been captured that spring, and General Penrose had taken them under guard from Fort Lyon to appear before a grand jury in Pueblo, Colorado. *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, April 14, 1868, p. 1; March 6, 1869, p. 1.

[21] Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, pp. 280–81.

[22] *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1; March 9, 1869, p. 1; Carr *Report*, p. 247; Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. Max L. Moorhead (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), p. 217 n4.

[23] The earlier name recalled an incident on the Cimarron Cut-off in 1828, when Indians killed a Santa Fe trader named McNees beside that stream. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, pp. 18, 62; Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1963), Vol. II, p. 127.

plain along a trace known as the Johnston Trail, which was named for Lieutenant Colonel Joseph E. Johnston, who directed a survey of the southern boundary of Kansas in 1857.[24] On November 22, they followed the trail all day in severe snow and cold, in which thirty-eight of their animals died. A night camp was made near the Red River—a local name for the North Fork of the Canadian.[25] Moving on, Penrose and his command crossed the North Fork about forty miles from its source, still following the route of the Johnston survey party.[26] Wagon tracks were found headed in the same direction, but whether they were made by a trading or a hunting party could not be determined. Indian signs were discovered the next day, and the North Fork was recrossed about twenty-two miles along. Scouts pushed ahead, while General Penrose and the main body continued at regular pace to a point where the wagon tracks turned off the Johnston Trail; there he ordered a halt until the scouts reported. One came in soon, reporting a good campsite with water six miles ahead. The march was resumed, and another scout brought in the rather strange information that he and his companions had heard Indians either crying or singing. General Penrose rode ahead with two companies. No Indians, or signs of them, were found, but the scouts stuck to their story.

Camp was not made until 11 p.m. on Bear Creek, Indian Territory, after a thirty-six mile march. Extreme cold gripped the plains, and that day fifteen horses and mules were shot. Several days of half rations caused tightening of belts, but when scouts reported that the wagons of Mexican buffalo hunters were not far away, hopes of having buffalo rather than mule meat rose sharply. Horses and mules were picketed inside a double line of sentries, and the chief packer was ordered to keep watch on them all night. In the morning it was discovered that forty-eight animals were missing.

A soldier, with an arrow through his body, was brought into camp. He said he had fallen behind, lost the trail, and stumbled upon a camp where a

[24] Johnston, of course, later served with distinction in the Confederate Army. See Nyle H. Miller, "Surveying the Southern Boundary of Kansas: From the Private Journal of Colonel Joseph E. Johnston," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, I (1931–1932), pp. 104–39. Contemporary sources were not sure of Johnston's identity. W. R. Thomas (*Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1) spoke of Captain Jo. Johnson and put the year as 1858. Captain Armes (*Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, p. 281) reported that some thought the trail was made by General Joseph E. Johnston and his Confederate army in 1865.

[25] Carr *Report*, p. 247; Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, p. 281; David Lavender, *Bent's Fort* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1954), pp. 123, 163. It was also known as Little Red River in the early nineteenth century. Albert Pike, *Prose Sketches and Poems Written in the Western Country*, ed. by David J. Weber (Albuquerque: Calvin Horn, Publisher, 1967), pp. 36–38.

[26] *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1. The calculation evidently was based on the old consideration of McNees (Corrumpa) Creek as the source of the North Fork of the Canadian. See Pike, *Prose Sketches and Poems*, p. 6 n7.

few men sat around a fire. He thought they were buffalo hunters and made a direct approach, only to find that they were Indians. One of them missed him with a pistol shot but another made the hit with an arrow. The soldier shouted loudly in pain and fright, and the Indians left in haste. Crawling through the snow, he made it to within a few hundred yards of the cavalry camp. The Indians' trail soon was evident, showing they had come up the creek, circled the camp, and when upstream headed northward. In transit around the military camp the Indians, estimated at twenty, picked up the mules. The animals were said to have strayed, which says something about the quality of picketing and guard duty.

Troopers under General Penrose and Lieutenant Abell were starting in pursuit when the chief packer reported Indians in another direction. Following that advice, the cavalrymen galloped out of camp to find that the chief packer really had seen a herd of buffalo. The Indian camp was discovered about three miles away, and the amount of guns, pistols, ammunition, robes, and other items showed that they had left in a great hurry. Further chase was not successful.[27]

Penrose's force crossed the North Fork again on the morning of November 29. About nine o'clock they met the buffalo hunters' wagons, and the General took charge of them at once. Buffalo hunters, or *ciboleros*, were a common feature of autumn and winter life on the plains of northeastern New Mexico.[28] The wagon train commandeered by Penrose was a big one; many of the cavalry mule packs and the frost-bitten soldiers were put in the wagons, and a detachment from Captain Armes's company was put in charge. So heavily loaded were the wagons, the oxen had great difficulty pulling through the sand without help from the new passengers.[29]

It appears that General Penrose's force was on San Francisco Creek, Indian Territory, at the end of November. If so, then the San Francisco was the same stream as the Middle Fork of Beaver Creek, where they camped on November 30, according to Captain Armes.[30] Great hardships and heavy

[27] *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1; Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, pp. 281–82; Carr Report, p. 251.

[28] Charles L. Kenner, *A History of New Mexican-Plains Indian Relations* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), pp. 112–13.

[29] Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, pp. 281–82.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 282. Beaver Creek (River) was a common designation for the upper reaches of the North Fork of the Canadian. George Bent described the North Fork as being formed by the juncture of Beaver and Wolf Creeks (Hyde, *Life of George Bent*, p. 313). Brevet Major General Carr later identified San Francisco Creek as the same as Dry or Union Creek, according to his map (Carr *Report*, p. 249). Since San Francisco and Coldwater Creeks come together before joining the Beaver (North Fork), this probably accounts for the double appellation—Dry or Union Creek—on Carr's map, assuming the accuracy of it and his interpretation. In other words, the San Francisco and the Dry are the same, as are the Coldwater and the Union. A later atlas shows Dry and Union Creeks as southern tributaries of Beaver

losses had been sustained during a march of close to 300 miles. Company G, Tenth Cavalry reported a loss of twenty-six horses from starvation, and Company K tallied the deaths of thirty-four horses from the same cause. The other companies submitted no figures, but their losses probably were similar. Nor were the heavy casualties among the mules precisely reported. Among the men the only death was that of Private Brown, the fellow whose body had been pierced by an arrow. He was given a military funeral and buried on the cold and desolate plain.[31]

Camp was broken at 8 a.m. on December 1, 1868. A fresh Indian trail was found, and General Penrose with Company F, Tenth Cavalry, followed it at a gallop. Pursuit was not successful, probably because of the weak condition of the cavalry horses. They had to destroy seventeen horses that day, but the night camp on Hackberry Creek afforded plenty of grass, wood, and water. The command was allowed to rest the next day. Buffalo were discovered nearby, and Penrose and his scouts killed four of the big beasts. An almost providential addition to the men's diet, still the relatively small quantity of buffalo meat could bring only temporary relief. Other rations were extremely short, the men being allowed only three hardtack a day.[32]

In the Hackberry camp, disaffections among some of the officers came to a climax. Captain Byrne ordered the arrest of Captain Armes, who then preferred charges against Byrne, and General Penrose stepped in by placing Byrne under arrest. The triple incident is not important to the story of the campaign. Therefore no attempt has been made to further inquire into it here. The arrests, however, occurred just as Lieutenant Henry H. Abell, with Company L, Seventh Cavalry and others, was about to leave for Fort

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Creek. See *Business Atlas and Shippers Guide* (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., 1886), pp. 412–13. *The National Atlas*, Philadelphia: Stedman and Brown, (1887), pp. 94–95, shows San Francisco Creek in about the same location as Union Creek in the other Atlas. Carr's opinion was supported by W. R. Thomas, who wrote in the *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1, that Penrose's force, moving eastward, crossed "in turn, Francisco, Cold Water, and Little Hackberry Creeks."

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ibid.*, p. 282. Camp locations are problematical. Assuming that the camp on Hackberry Creek, mentioned by Armes, was the same as the one on Little Hackberry Creek referred to by Thomas in the *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1, there are other discrepancies in the data that suggest imperfect knowledge and inaccurate maps at that time. Armes said that Hackberry Camp was in Texas, but Lieutenant Colonel Richard G. Lay, commandant at Fort Lyon during Penrose's detached service, said that the Little Hackberry camp was in Indian Territory. Present day maps show Lay to have been right. Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, p. 282; Letters from Lieutenant Colonel Lay to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, December 12 and 19, 1868, Selected Letters. In the published version of Armes's journal, cited here, the site of the December 2 camp was referred to as Huckleberry Creek, undoubtedly an erroneous listing of Hackberry Creek.

Lyon on the urgent business of rations and forage, there being on that date, December 3, only eight days rations left. Penrose sent both arrested officers with that party.[33]

Lieutenant Abell's force probably took the best horses and the sturdiest mules (relatively speaking) in the Hackberry camp. The men were well armed to fend off an Indian attack, but there was some feeling that their food supply was inadequate. The first halt was near Beaver Creek after a twenty-five mile ride. Thirty-eight miles the next day brought them to McNees Creek; they had found no water during the day, and the camp was a dry one. Buffalo were seen the next morning, and it was proposed that a few should be killed, their meat to be packed on the mules. Abell demurred, concerned that shots might attract Indians. Evidently ignoring the objection, Mariano Autobees killed three buffalo with three shots. But three winter-range buffalo did not for long assuage the hunger of sixty men. Late in the day it began to snow, and a shelterless bivouac was prepared beside the Dry Cimarron. Snow fell all night, and the temperature dropped sharply. Then came thirty-five arduous miles, the animals leaving a trail of blood as they broke through crusted snow.

By December 8, rations were gone. Abell's force found wood and water at Two Butte Creek about 10 a.m., and he ordered fires to be built and the fattest pack-mule killed. The men enjoyed the sweet and juicy meat, while one enterprising fellow made a stew of the ears. Then they marched another twelve miles before camping at an estimated fifty-eight miles from Fort Lyon. The following day Lieutenants Abell and Beck, with the two arrested captains and three of the scouts, left the column and made a non-stop march of more than sixty miles to the fort, the bulk of the force arriving the day after in charge of Lieutenant Shellabarger.[34]

Lieutenant Abell did not simply retrace Penrose's outward march. The return route, in part, was east of the outbound line, perhaps to avoid the hazards of the Malpais country. At the post on the Arkansas, Abell was in-

[33] *Ibid. Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1; Letter from Lay to the Assistant Adjutant General, December 12, 1868, Selected Letters. With Abell and his troopers were his Second Lieutenant Jacob H. Shellabarger and First Lieutenant William H. Beck, regimental quartermaster for the Tenth Cavalry. Five scouts also returned to Fort Lyon: Robert Bent, Tom Boggs, Mariano Autobees, Hugh Evans, and Captain Mann. And six mule packers rounded out the roster of nearly sixty men. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, From Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), Vol. 1, pp. 204, 880; Organizational Return of the Tenth Cavalry, November, 1868; Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, pp. 282–83.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 282–284; *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1; Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Lay to the Assistant Adjutant General, December 12, 1868, Selected Letters. A discrepancy may be noted. Armes said the advance party came in on December 10, and Lay said on December 9.

formed that a relief and supporting expedition, commanded by Major and Brevet Brigadier General Eugene A. Carr, had departed in search of Penrose on December 2. A few days at the fort restored all but the frostbite cases in Abell's force; everyone was talking about the recent news of the destruction of Black Kettle and his Cheyenne village by Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer and the Seventh Cavalry in a sharp engagement on the Washita River, Indian Territory, November 27.[35]

Brevet Major General Carr had been ordered by Major General Sheridan to proceed from Fort Wallace to Fort Lyon. He left the Kansas post on November 25, and arrived at the Colorado on November 29, his six companies of the Fifth Cavalry having traversed 140 miles in cold and snow. Carr took command of the troops at Fort Lyon and those in the field, his regular and brevet commissions outranking Penrose's. A detachment of sixty-seven men from the three infantry companies of the garrison was added, under the command of First Lieutenant Samuel W. Bonsall, Third Infantry. One hundred pack mules and 130 mule-drawn wagons made up the supply train. Apparently someone expected ideal foraging conditions, because a mowing machine was transported in one of the wagons.[36]

Carr's troops and train were hoping to reach Penrose's camp in ten days, and the entire command would then have on hand half-forage for sixteen days and rations for thirty days. Granting the report that Penrose had taken thirty-four days rations,[37] then Carr could have made it to Penrose's camp before the latter's supplies were exhausted, provided everything went on schedule.

General Carr's column left Fort Lyon on December 2. The first day's march was fifteen miles to Rule Creek in very mild weather. He remarked that he had no guides and his maps were unreliable, so he could only follow Penrose's trail. Apparently he meant that among his scouts (W. F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody was one of them) no one was familiar with the country between the Arkansas and the North Fork of the Canadian. That is difficult to accept when it is realized that one of the scouts was Edmond Guerrier, whose mother was a Cheyenne and who had married Julia Bent, William Bent's

[35] Carr *Report*, p. 244; *Colorado Chieftain* (Pueblo), December 31, 1868, p. 3; Record of Medical History, December 1868; Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, p. 284; Hyde, *Life of George Bent*, pp. 313–24.

[36] Carr *Report*, pp. 244, 254. Although Carr made no mention of it, Luke Cahill (a sergeant with Carr's force) in his "Recollections of a Plainsman," p. 29, said that 200–300 beef cattle were taken along.

[37] *Organizational Return of the Tenth Cavalry*, November 1868. Thomas, in the *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 6, 1869, p. 1, in one place said thirty days, but elsewhere he said that Penrose had fifteen days rations left when Carr departed from Fort Lyon. The latter figures out to thirty-four days. In Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, p. 295, the figure given is thirty.

daughter and sister of George and Robert. Carr also said he expected messengers from Penrose. This was possible, but it has been noted that Lieutenant Abel took a partially different route back to Fort Lyon. And there is no evidence that couriers were sent to Penrose to apprise him of recent developments at the Fort.[38]

Company B, Fifth Cavalry, commanded by Captain Robert Sweatman, had stayed at Fort Wallace to wait for some articles that were delayed on the railroad. The unit arrived at Fort Lyon later in the day of Carr's departure, and Sweatman sent a courier to overtake Carr and report a party of Indians having crossed the Arkansas going southeast at Sand Creek stage station east of Fort Lyon. Carr sent riders back for more information; their return without any indicated that the story was a weak one. As a precaution, however, Captain Leicester Walker was sent with Company H., Fifth Cavalry, and two scouts to reconnoiter thirty or forty miles to the east. Within ten days Walker returned, probably reaching Carr's dry camp on December 4, the same day that Sweatman's company left the fort to catch up.[39]

Narration of the next incident has to reckon with divergences between two primary sources—General Carr's Report submitted April 7, 1869, and the version written many years later by former Sergeant Luke Cahill, Company A, Fifth Infantry. Carr told of a great snowstorm that hit his force on December 5, in Sheridan Canyon at the head of Two Butte Creek. There was little shelter for tents in the precipitous canyon. Next morning they found that one mule had frozen to death and the other animals were badly chilled, requiring much rubbing and exercise to stimulate circulation. Because harness and other equipment were frozen in the snow, Carr decided to lay over that day and send scouts ahead. Luke Cahill said that camp had already been pitched when the storm struck. Heavy snow and a very strong wind blew over some tents and wagons; some of the men nearly smothered in their collapsed tents. Four pickets died at their posts and their horses disappeared [casualties that were not mentioned by Carr]. Men in charge of the beef herd [not mentioned by Carr] came in for shelter. The cattle drifted ahead of the storm and were not recovered. Commissary wagons were dug out, fires built, and hot coffee issued. Badly frozen men were sent to Fort Lyon. In all, thirty-six horses and mules perished.[40]

[38] Carr *Report*, pp. 245, 247; Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," p. 29; Hyde, *Life of George Bent*, pp. 83, 142.

[39] *Record of Medical History*, December 1868; Carr Report, p. 246.

[40] Carr *Report*, pp. 246–47; Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," pp. 29–30. Cahill said the place was named "Freeze Out Canyon" by Lieutenant Edward W. Ward, Carr's adjutant; that name is used today. W. R. Thomas, writing in the *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 9, 1869, p. 1, called it "Snow Canyon."

Events immediately following resumption of the march are also difficult to relate because of discrepancies between two sources—Carr's *Report* and Buffalo Bill's *Autobiography*, published in 1879. Scouts found Willow [Carrizo] Creek eighteen miles to the south, and the column moved to that stream course on December 7. Snow had obliterated Penrose's trail, which was lucky, Carr observed, because on the west side of Willow Creek Penrose had taken his horses and mules down a steep decline, which Carr's wagons could not have managed without a delay of several days. Fortunately, Carr stayed on the other side of the Creek. It is notable that in his report Carr only briefly mentioned Buffalo Bill Cody as one of his scouts, yet many years later (*Denver Post*, August 30, 1908, p. 9) he pointed to Cody as the one who found Penrose's trail, thus saving five days and Penrose's command. But Cody related that Carr's force came to the edge of a steep table land, down which Cody, who was in charge of the wagons, managed to slide them, rough-locked, down the grade, while the troopers dismounted and led their horses.[41]

Penrose's trail was picked up along the Dry Cimarron and followed to the crossing of the Santa Fe road, taking it past Cedar Springs and McNees Creek to Lieutenant Colonel Johnston's 1857 survey trail. During December 10, Carr and his men saw thirty-eight carcasses of horses and mules destroyed by Penrose's hard-pressed force.

Camp was made on December 11, at Buffalo Springs near the head of Coldwater Creek (Agua Frio), which General Carr said was "on the waters of the North Fork," probably meaning the drainage. That night they saw a glowing light to the south, and Carr sent two scouts to investigate. Then another big snowstorm set in, and the camp was very unpleasant because the only fuel was willow twigs. When the scouts failed to return, Lieutenant Charles B. Brady was ordered next morning to take Company L, Fifth Cavalry, to search for them and try to solve the mystery of the light. Buffalo Bill Cody, Ed Guerrier, and a man named Cogswell (regarded as his best scouts) were sent with Brady. They returned after a twenty-four hour, thirty-five mile ride; neither objective had been accomplished, and all except Guerrier had been more or less frost-bitten. Four horses gave out on the grueling trip.

On December 13, Carr's column moved out from the Buffalo Springs camp. Because the water gave out a short distance below, Carr ordered a return to the cold camp. A fresh start was made in the morning when the snow had melted enough for scouts to find Johnston's survey trail. It ob-

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 246–47; Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," pp. 29–30; *The Life of the Hon. William F. Cody Known as Buffalo Bill, the Famous Hunter, Scout, and Guide; An Autobiography* (Hartford, Conn.: Frank E. Bliss, 1879), pp. 219–22.

viously was Penrose's route as well, judging from carcasses of animals and from live, broken-down ones along the way. Carr could more and more appreciate what Penrose had gone through; his own force lost five animals to the rigors of that day's march.

At Cave Springs, an unlikely spot with bad and scanty water, poor grass, and no fuel except damp sage weeds and buffalo chips, the main force lay over on December 15, while Brevet Major William H. Brown with Company F, Fifth Cavalry, went ahead to make a guess as to when and where they might find Penrose. Thirty-six dry miles farther on they found where Penrose had crossed the North Fork the third time and had had his mules stolen by Indians. Brown returned the following day. Mariano Autobees and probably two other scouts, who had gone to Fort Lyon with Lieutenant Abell, came in, and so did the two sent south from Buffalo Springs. The latter had been five days without food or fuel. They reported that the unexplained light was a prairie fire set by Indians. They thought they had reached the main Canadian River (the Red River in New Mexico).

More hopeful of finding Penrose under the guidance of Mariano Autobees and his associates, Carr hastened on to a dry camp on December 16, crossed the North Fork on the 17th, and that night pitched camp on San Francisco Creek (Dry or Union Creek on his map). Autobees said that Penrose, or news of him, would be found at the mouth of the creek, and Carr sent Brevet Major Gustavus Urban, Company I, and some wagons with provisions and forage to relieve Penrose's force. Carr, meanwhile, settled down on the fairly grassy bottoms of the creek, where infantry tents were about a mile from a scanty supply of wood.[42]

Urban did not find Penrose on the San Francisco but met some of his hunters and followed them to his camp, which was twenty miles south on Palo Duro Creek and about the same distance from its juncture with the North Fork; on Carr's map the Palo Duro (also spelled Paloduro occasionally) appeared to be the same as Skull Creek.[43]

Thinking in terms of establishing a base camp and depot, Carr sent wagons back to Fort Lyon for supplies. Brevet Brigadier General Penrose, apprised of his superior's presence on the San Francisco, rode into Carr's

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 247–49; *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 9, 1869, p. 1; Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, p. 284. Cody, in his *Autobiography*, p. 224, said that he was out in advance of the command one day and came across three Negro deserters from the Tenth Cavalry in Penrose's command. That was quite possible; we know that Penrose lost fourteen men by desertion in December. Organizational Return of the Tenth Cavalry, December 1868. Cody claimed that information obtained from them caused Carr to conclude that Penrose's camp was on the Palo Duro. Why then did Carr not send Major Urban directly to the Palo Duro instead of first to the mouth of the San Francisco?

[43] That Palo Duro (Tough Pole) Creek should not be confused with the other, and probably better known, Palo Duro to the south, a tributary of the main Canadian River.

camp on December 21, which may have been the first time the two distinguished Civil War veterans met.[44] Persuaded that the Palo Duro campsite was a better one, Carr moved with his troopers at once, leaving Major and Brevet Colonel Eugene W. Crittenden, his second in command, to bring the stores in the remaining wagons. Carr was shocked at what he saw:

> Upon reaching Penrose's Camp, on the 23d, I inspected his Command, and found it in a most deplorable condition. Dead animals lying about camp, animals tied to picket lines eating their own dung, and many of those turned out for inspection tottering under the weight of their riders. The men were very badly off for clothing; many had their feet wrapped up in rags of Buffalo hide and there were a good many frost bitten.

He was also disappointed about the grass which, though nutritious, was sparse. He ordered Crittenden to locate their base camp at a rather better place downstream, but even there the ravenous animals were not satisfied. Forage soon was consumed, and the animals had to rely principally on cottonwood, by no means a nourishing food.[45]

Penrose's predicament resulted from over-extended lines and weak means of supply in country which, even in summer, could hardly be considered hospitable. The Carr-Penrose expedition was supposed to drive the Indians out of winter camps (accumulations of food)—assuming there were villages in the region during the winter—onto their reservations. Penrose found himself in a somewhat analogous situation when his food supply was consumed. If he could not replenish it in the field (not from the field, because it was not a matter of living off the land) he would have to go to the source—in his case, Fort Lyon. Carr was only marginally better off in having wagons instead of pack mules. His men and animals were never free from hunger and attendant weaknesses for any significant length of time in the field. In view of the daunting logistical problems, it is remarkable that Carr and Penrose managed to penetrate so deep into the Texas Panhandle, and failure to solve the problems dictated the slow and painful return to the fort.

[44] Penrose was commissioned second lieutenant in the Third Infantry in 1861 and attained his captaincy in 1863. He fought well in several battles including Gettysburg and The Wilderness. He was given the rank of brigadier general in 1865 for gallant and meritorious service during the war. Also he was given the rank of brigadier general of volunteers, from which service he was mustered out in 1866. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary*, Vol. 1, p. 783.

Carr was a West Point graduate in the class of 1846. Among the battles in which he participated was that of Wilson's Creek, Missouri, in which Major General Nathaniel Lyon, for whom Fort Lyon was named, was killed. Carr achieved the rank of major general in both the regular and volunteer services, being mustered out from the latter in 1866. *Ibid.*, p. 285. As was the case with so many Civil War officers who stayed in military service, their highest ranks became brevetcies.

[45] Carr *Report*, pp. 250–51; *Record of Medical History*, p. 103.

The circumstances should be kept in mind in examining the final phases of the expedition.

The time had come to carry out orders in accord with General Sheridan's three-part campaign. Carr was certain that Sheridan's main base (Camp Supply) was about 100 miles to the east. Nearly half that distance had been scouted and no Indian villages found. That information and the apparent fact that the Indians who had stolen some of Penrose's mules (the only Indians encountered) had fled south prompted Carr's decision to push south with his combined force instead of moving eastward towards the Antelope Hills. It appears that this was the judgment of a field commander after he assessed the options open to him.

At any rate, seven companies of the Fifth Cavalry and two of the Tenth left the Palo Duro camp on Christmas Day, 1868, crossing the low divide to Mule Creek and reaching the Canadian after a three-day march. Carr and Penrose intersected the river, and, of course, Major and Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Andrew W. Evans's eastward route of march from Fort Bascom, at a point about twenty miles above the supply camp which Evans had left in charge of Captain Arthur B. Carpenter, Thirty-seventh Infantry. Carr had some communication with Carpenter, who evidently had had no word of Evans's destruction of a Comanche village near the Wichita Mountains on Christmas Day.[46]

A violent storm of snow, sleet, and hail pinned down Carr's force to campsites along the Canadian, where there was grass and wood. A loss of twelve animals since they left the Palo Duro base camp and provisions for only a five-day scout forced Carr to abandon plans to advance as far as the Red River. Scouts led by Wild Bill Hickok, from Penrose's command, were sent with a report to General Sherman at Camp Supply, and on January 8, 1869, the Carr-Penrose force started back from the Canadian to Major Crittenden's base camp on the Palo Duro. Storms and cold weather continued to take a heavy toll of animals, and there were no signs of Indians.

Reaching the Palo Duro on January 11, Carr found that a supply train had come in on the 9th in charge of First Lieutenant Samuel B. Bonsall, Third Infantry, and accompanied by Second Lieutenant Shellabarger with Company L, Seventh Cavalry, and fourteen men of the Tenth, who had

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 252; *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 9, 1869, p. 1; Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary*, Vol. 1, p. 409. For a discussion of that part of the campaign led by Lieutenant Colonel Evans see Dale F. Giese, "The Canadian River Expedition, 1868–1869," *The 1963 Brand Book of the Denver Westerners*, ed. Robert B. Cormack (Morrison, Colo.: The Buffalo Bill Press, 1964). Giese (p. 126 n15) locates Carpenter's camp as about twenty miles west of the present Canadian, Texas. Carr made no mention of an incident recorded by Cody. A bull train loaded with beer, made near Fort Union, was met by Carr's force before it reached Carpenter's camp. The beer never reached that destination, but was sold in pint cups to the men of Carr's and Penrose's units. Cody, *Autobiography*, p. 226.

been left on the sick list at Fort Lyon. The train of 110 wagons had left the post on December 31. Some of the wagons were then used to move the camp back to San Francisco Creek, where the grass was more plentiful. Carr was playing for time until he should receive advice from Sheridan's headquarters. On January 12, Hickok and party returned from Camp Supply, but Wild Bill had only a verbal report, having *lost* [italics mine] a dispatch from Major Page and thirty private letters.[47]

Evidently Hickok brought no information about the rest of the campaign to cause any abrupt change of tactics. Empty wagons headed north again to Fort Lyon, leaving in a terrific snowstorm, which stranded them for two days within fifteen miles of the camp. The column stayed in that camp until the wood supply was exhausted, whereupon Carr divided the command, ordering part of it (under Penrose?) to move up the creek to another location, and taking the balance in his charge to a point on the North Fork. Still hoping for official information and orders, Carr sent a party led by the scout named Cogswell into Camp Supply and another group under Mariano Autobees to Fort Dodge in mid-January. His provisions train commanded by First Lieutenant J. W. Hannay, Third Infantry, came in on February 7, having lost a number of animals in severe weather, including nine mules frozen to death in one night. Losses of cavalry horses increased. There were no Indian signs. His scouts failed to return after nearly three weeks, and what information he had (probably from Fort Lyon) indicated that the other parts of the campaign had ended. Under the circumstances, Carr decided to go into Fort Lyon as his instructions from General Sheridan, dated November 13, 1868, seemed to intend. He left the North Fork of the Canadian on February 11.[48]

All the units of the Carr-Penrose expedition had returned by February 20.[49] General Carr did not consider the losses of horses and mules as excessive, all things considered. Of the 401 horses taken into the field by the Fifth

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 253–54; *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 9, 1869, p. 1; Record of Medical History, December 1868; Post Return from Fort Lyon, December 1868. It is interesting to note that Carr in his report made no mention of the buffalo hunt led by Buffalo Bill Cody for the purpose of supplementing the meager diet of the men, among whom scurvy was beginning to appear. Luke Cahill gave extended attention to it, to say nothing of his adulation for Buffalo Bill, in "Recollections of a Plainsman," pp. 32–34, and in "An Indian Campaign and Buffalo Hunting with 'Buffalo Bill,'" *Colorado Magazine*, IV (August 1927), pp. 125–135. The Major Page referred to probably was Brevet Major John H. Page, Third Infantry, who helped establish Camp Supply. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary*, Vol. 1, p. 765; LeRoy R. Hafen and Carl Coke Rister, *Western America: The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region beyond the Mississippi* (2nd ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 483.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 254–55; Organizational Return of the Tenth Cavalry, January 1869; Post Return from Fort Lyon, January 1869.

[49] In his *Report*, p. 255, Carr said that he and his command arrived at Fort Lyon on Feb-

Cavalry detachment, 71 (about 17%) succumbed to the rigors of the march, while 57 of the Tenth Cavalry's 120 horses (after the merger of the two detachments) died—a loss rate of nearly 50%. The much greater loss by the Tenth may be accounted for by the fact that most of those horses of Penrose's command had been in the field longer than the others with probably less forage available. Concerning mules, the figure of 87 lost is inadequate because no total is given for comparison, and the Tenth Cavalry pack train is not included. It was Carr's opinion that if he had stayed out much longer he would have lost three-fourths of his animals, and he stressed the difficulties in the field by noting that 30 to 40 teamsters quit, forfeiting their pay, rather than try to endure the execrable conditions.[50]

In a perhaps intentionally critical observation, General Carr said of the inhospitable country that it was an area "which the Indians have too much sense to frequent,"[51] to which he should have added "in the winter." One historian succinctly and probably correctly commented: "Winter had administered a lesson and a defeat."[52] No Indians had been seen (except the small number by ill-fated Private Brown); death took two other men, who perished from exposure and poor diet, the same combination that killed so many animals.[53]

The Penrose-Carr-Evans failure to find any Indian camps in the Oklahoma and Texas Panhandles makes it reasonable to suggest that the planning of those aspects of the campaign was based at least on poor judgment. A concentration of Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche winter villages along the Washita River in Indian Territory arouses suspicion that talk about those columns being simply beaters, not expected to accomplish much, may have been a convenient afterthought. Almost a month elapsed between the Battle of the Washita (November 28) and Carr's first meeting with Penrose on the San Francisco (December 21), and after the fight with Custer most of the Indians logically fled south, followed by the military, whose permanent presence was embodied in the new Camp Wichita (Fort Sill) established in early January 1869.[54]

ruary 19. Captain Armes in *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, p. 286, however, stated that General Penrose and a couple of lieutenants came into Fort Lyon on the morning of February 18; Carr and Crittenden arrived with the Fifth Cavalry in the afternoon; and units of the Tenth Cavalry reached the fort the next afternoon. Post Return from Fort Lyon, February, 1869, indicates that Penrose returned from detached service on the 20th of the month.

[50] Carr *Report*, 255–56. No statistics were given for Company L, Seventh Cavalry.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[52] Leckie, *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains*, p. 119.

[53] Carr *Report*, p. 254.

[54] Donald J. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 329–38; Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 124.

In his Report of April 7, 1869, General Carr merely expressed his "hope [that] we have done something towards the success of the general plan of campaign."[55] His restrained doubt was a better assessment than the claims made by General Penrose in a farewell letter to the white officers and black troopers of the Tenth Cavalry: "You were instrumental in compelling a large force of the enemy to make a retrograde movement, and there appears to be no doubt that this was the identical force which Bvt. Major General Custer was thus enabled to encounter and destroy. Your efforts were therefore of material service in the winter campaign."[56]

Penrose's conclusion may have been a part of Sheridan's plan but was not really a part of Penrose's experience, nor does the available data support his contention. Perhaps Sheridan's overall strategy was not ill-conceived, but the tactics of the Carr-Penrose expedition were based on questionable assumptions and, allowing for the obstacles of the winter season, suffered from some maladroitness in the field.

[55] Carr *Report*, p. 256.
[56] Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer*, pp. 287–88.

THE REAL ANABASIS OF CAPTAIN ROBSON: PIONEER EDITOR AND TOWN BUILDER

*By Ernestine P. Sewell**

George W. Robson, the Echo Man, proprietor, editor and printer of the *Frontier Echo*, Jacksboro, Texas, 1875–78, of the *Fort Griffin Echo*, 1879–82, and of the *Albany Echo*, 1883–84, has been proclaimed one of the most influential men in Northwest Texas by Don W. Whisenhunt.[1] Likewise, W. C. Holden's articles, "Frontier Journalism in West Texas" and "Law and Lawlessness on the Texas Frontier, 1875–1890,"[2] Vernon Lynch's "1879 in the *Echo*: A Year at Ft. Griffin on the Texas Frontier,"[3] and Eddie Weems's "Notes on Frontier Editors and Newspapers,"[4] all praising Robson, have revealed little of the man himself. J. W. Williams' article, "Robson's Journey Through West Texas,"[5] is in error, as it reprints a series of accounts of an 800 mile, 37 day "anabasis" to points made in the Panhandle not, unfortunately, by Robson but by Judge Moses Wiley, Charles Meyer, and George Guinn, residents of Fort Griffin.

Whisenhunt paid his tributes to Robson in both "Outpost of the Texas Frontier,"[6] mainly about Ft. Richardson, and in "The Frontier Newspaper: Guide to Society and Culture."[7] I have designated Robson as public watch-

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[1] Don W. Whisenhunt, "The Frontier Newspaper: Guide to Society and Culture," *Journalism Quarterly* (Winter 1968), pp. 726–28.

[2] W. C. Holden, "Frontier Journalism in West Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 32 (January 1929), 206–21. Also, "Law and Lawlessness on the Texas Frontier, 1875–1890," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 44 (1940–41), pp. 188–203.

[3] Vernon Lynch, "1879 in the *Echo*: A Year at Ft. Griffin on the Texas Frontier," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, 41 (October 1965), pp. 51–80.

[4] Eddie Weems, "Notes on Frontier Editors and Newspapers," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 60 (October 1956), pp. 282–88.

[5] J. W. Williams, "Robson's Journey Through West Texas in 1879," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, Vol. 20 (October 1944), pp. 109–14.

[6] Whisenhunt, "Outpost of the Texas Frontier," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, 39 (October 1963), pp. 19–30.

[7] Whisenhunt, "Frontier Newspaper."

dog of manners and morals in "The Courtesy Book on the Texas Frontier."[8] To date, however, the most thorough study of Captain Robson is found in "The Wandering Echo: History of a Frontier Newspaper," by Sherwyn L. McNair, an unpublished master's thesis.[9] Again, as in the other writings, the interest lies in the newspaper, not the man.

Holden wrote: "The only way to know Robson is to read the columns of the *Echo*. In that way one establishes an intimacy which cannot be had any other way."[10] This statement is true; however, as the years pass, the files of the *Echo*, subject to marking, cutting, tearing, and general abuse, housed in the tiny newspaper office in Albany, crumble away, and, with their deterioration, the little captain's claim to lasting reputation wanes. Moreover, since Robson was extremely reticent, the few facts he revealed in his columns have given rise to many fictions, most of which discredit him. Some truths to set the story straight can be found in *Edgar Rye, North Central Texas Journalist and Cartoonist*, by Charles E. Linck, Jr.[11] This paper will further reveal truth, as the writer here has followed Robson from Texas back to Kansas, then to Oklahoma, and finally to his lonely grave at Wadsworth Veterans' Home, Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. No one has previously recovered such history.

When Robson arrived in Texas (in 1875, according to his own columns),[12] he carried the title of Captain. Whisenhunt speculates that he was a sailor; Williams believes him a railroad engineer; rumor supposes him a river boat pilot from New Orleans. The fact is that he had an earned captaincy in Companies A and B, 17th Illinois Infantry.

Records from the National Archives give his birth as July 30, 1837. Census reports add Farmington, Ontario County, New York, as the birthplace. Evidently the family had moved to Indianapolis, Indiana, for he refers to that city nostalgically as the idyllic place where "we were a barefooted boy playing hookey and swimming at the tumbles."[13] On December 8, 1863, he wrote Lieut. Colonel James Oakes for a five-day leave of absence to go to "my home" in Indianapolis on business connected with a brother's estate. And, after establishing himself in Texas, he would refer to his "little brother Will" who weighed 200 pounds (Robson was only 5 feet 3 inches in

[8] Ernestine P. Sewell, "The Courtesy Book on the Texas Frontier," *Arlington Quarterly*, to be published.

[9] Sherwyn L. McNair, "The Wandering *Echo*: History of a Frontier Newspaper," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Missouri, January 1970.

[10] Holden, "Frontier Journalism," p. 210.

[11] Charles E. Linck, Jr., *Edgar Rye, North Central Texas Journalist and Cartoonist*, Commerce, Texas, 1972.

[12] *Frontier Echo*, June 30, 1876.

[13] *Frontier Echo*, June 7, 1878.

height, a veritable Tom Thumb, he said of himself) and regularly sent his brother bundles of newspapers from the Hoosier capital.[14]

His military records give the mustering-in date May 25, 1861, at Peoria, Illinois, for a period of three years. He wintered at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, 1861–62, and in March of 1862 he was on a march from Savannah, Georgia. With headquarters at Vicksburg, he saw duty at Lake Providence, Louisiana, February or March, 1863. Along the war years, he contracted typhoid fever which resulted in derangement of the nervous system and chronic rheumatism, chronic diarrhea, "cataarh" in the head, and diseases of the throat and vocal organs that left him totally deaf in his left ear and partially deaf in his right. The mustering-out date was June 16, 1864.

On June 1, 1864, he had returned to Peoria, Illinois, where he was married to Julia M. Stone. This was a first marriage for both. On June 26, 1865, a son, Charles H., was born, and on March 1, 1869, a daughter, Marie M. Of this, his only marriage, the lone word remains: "devorsed." Never does he refer to his wife. However, an item from his "Local Echoes," December 13, 1879, tells that Charley, "a verdant youth from the rural district of Hoosierdom," had come to spend Christmas. Bored one day, he set out hunting and returned with a neighbor's pet ducks.[15] A second reference to Charley is made in the *Albany News* in February, 1886, when the youth, now in his teens, came from Illinois for a short visit with his father, who was gravely ill. The legend in Texas is that, after the probable death of the mother, Charley was farmed out to relatives while the father "went west" to overcome his grief and make his fortune.

Data establishes truth. The Caldwell, Kansas, *News* reveals that George W. Robson was a member of C. H. Stone's party that established the town of Caldwell in 1871, working as storekeeper for the company. But the call of the open road was too strong and, despite his being a property-owner, he wandered south, no doubt over the Butterfield Routes, for later he was to recommend that the Indians about Albany be retained under the conditions which he had observed in Fort Smith. By 1875 he was established in Jacksboro, where he purchased the *Frontier Echo* from his Yankee friend, C. H. McConnell. Robson denied in print that he had ever had newspaper experience and declared that he had been in Texas only two months when he undertook journalism as a career.[16] Be that as it may, the Echo Man, as he tagged himself, was extremely capable; so capable, in fact, that the *New York Tribune* wrote: "We are glad Greeley died before the *Echo* was established. It would have hurt the old man to know so formidable a rival had

[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Fort Griffin Echo*, December 13, 1879.
[16] *Frontier Echo*, June 30, 1876.

arisen in the West."[17] A literate man, Robson demonstrated surprising familiarity with literature, both past and present. He never feared to express his opinions, playing the iconoclast in the best newspaper fashion; moreover, he never rescinded a statement, and earned a reputation for being a man of integrity. He was ambitious for himself and for the town he newspapered in; he saw the foibles of human nature and blasted man for his shortcomings; yet all is tempered with the sense of humor that made life viable for the settlers.

Still, the Echo Man was doomed to failure. Though praised today as the chronicler of the last frontier in Texas, his neighbors of yesteryear showed no such kindliness. He was, after all, a Yankee. And, though he had good and loyal friends among the townspeople, he evidently did not enjoy wide support for his paper. His columns are filled with "duns," begging for cabbages, onions, watermelons, wood, anything that would aid him to maintain his paper. On June 23, 1876, he wrote: "We are consoled that the money they [the subscribers] steal from the printer is not deposited in the savings bank in heaven." Added to his problems was bad health. Fiction has it that he was a "drunk" and true it is that he ridiculed the Temperance Society, just as it is true that on September 28, 1879, there was no paper because the editor was "dead drunk." But truth as revealed in his military record protects the Echo Man from such pejorative denomination and begs sympathy for a very sick man.

Perhaps one of the most disillusioning experiences of his sojourn in Texas came about through the treachery of a "friend," J. C. Loving. Robson had designed woodcuts of cows and horses on which he imposed the brand of the cattleman who wished to advertise strays. The method was very popular and when other newspapermen asked permission to adopt his method, he advised them that he had written for a patent and would be glad to sell his cuts when it came through.[18] Unfortunately for Robson, J. C. Loving immediately began to use the unique method of advertising in his livestock journal. He went so far as to insist that all advertising of estrays be placed in his journal, to the exclusion of the *Echo*.[19] My research supports Robson as the originator of this ingenious design. The use of the woodcuts spread throughout the West, but none is antecedent to the appearance of the advertisements in the *Echo*.

The *Echo* was sold to the *Albany News* in early 1884, and Robson took a job in Graham as hardware clerk for Conrad's (and Rath), old-time traders, until 1886, when he left Texas. He returned to Caldwell, Kansas, which was

[17] *Frontier Echo*, July 14, 1875.
[18] *Frontier Echo*, September 28, 1877.
[19] *Fort Griffin Echo*, January 29, 1881.

about to enjoy a railroad boom, arriving there February 19, 1887, to assume care of his property. He had been away fourteen years. The *Caldwell News* reported that "Capt. Robson, an old Newspaper man and at present located in the real estate exchange gave us a fraternal call last Wednesday. He has been down the past few days with an attack of pleurisy but is able to be out again." A few weeks later he called at the newspaper office to purchase ten copies of the *News* to send to his friends (one being remarked in the *Albany News*): "The Captain spends his money freely for Caldwell." And, on June 15, 1887, he merited this acknowledgement:

Capt. Robson is one of the busiest of Caldwell's busy men. No man in this city has labored harder or more faithfully for the interests of this city. He has had charge of the newspaper advertising, and has sent out thousands upon thousands of papers and letters to all parts of the U.S. Last week he addressed over 1000 copies of the *Daily and Weekly News.*

Meantime, he had become very active in community organizations:

There was an old settlers' meeting in the office of the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Assoc., last Sat. and that too, accidentally. There were present: Mrs. Jesse Donaldson Bennett, Mrs. Alice Seiber Walton, Mrs. Alma Dixon Vawter, John A. Blair, M. W. Bennett, Capt. Chas. W. Stone and Geo. W. Robson. They were all in Caldwell in 1871 and then this city scarcely had a beginning.

Robson was definitely one of the more respected citizens of his town. Every move he made from this time on is newsworthy: Capt. Robson is in Indianapolis "seeking needed rest and recreation" (August 17, 1887);" . . . our genial friend returned home this morning after an absence of about two months . . . . We are glad to see his familiar face among our citizens again" (October 5, 1887); ". . . Capt. George W. Robson is now advertising notices for the Oddfellows" (December 7, 1887). A column dated December 21, 1887, and headed "Early Days in Caldwell (1871)" carried this note, which also announced that Robson was the town's first notary public:

The first goods sold in Caldwell were on the 4th day of May by Capt. Stone and his clerk Capt. G. W. Robson when the Sixth U.S. Cavalry, Col. Jas. Oakes [Robson's wartime superior] commanding, camped here 24 hours when enroute from Ft. Richardson and Ft. Griffin, Texas, and Ft. Sill, Indian Territory, to Ft. Riley. . . .

On January 25, 1888, he attended a "possum banquet," and on June 27, "Capt. Robson is up and around again after his recent illness." The illness was unabated, for on September 5, he "made his way to our office but he looks pale and weak." The record continues, regularly reporting his bouts with illness and his journeyings to Wellington, Kansas, to Kansas City, to

Chicago, etc. On December 25, 1889, he was "surprised and gratified at receiving an unexpected visit from an old time army friend," and February 27, 1890, marked the visit of several days' duration of another old-time army friend. On April 17, 1890, he had been sick the past few days, an illness that extended to May 8, 1890, when it was reported that after a tussle of several weeks, he seemed to be improving slowly. And, by the end of the year, he was back in harness, this time as judge of city court, in which capacity, "his remarks to the prisoner were full of good advice."

Recounting of the running commentary on these recovered small town affairs of the former Echo Man demonstrates that he was indeed "first citizen" in Caldwell, and, more than this, he was genuinely loved. Note this entry of August 13, 1891: "Capt. Robson has been quite sick the past week, but we hope to see his familiar form on our streets ere long. It will be a great disappointment to him not to be able to greet his old comrades on the Chikaskia at their reunion now being held."

Then, on October 29, 1891, there is the entry: "Thanks, Captain, that red fish which Capt. R. sent to the editorial table was a delicious treat." The little ex-newspaperman was now selling fish in a new meat market belonging to his friend Pete Falkenburg.

On March 24, 1892, he was designated judge of local elections and was lending his support to "red-headed and level-headed Murdock" for governor of Kansas, civic-minded as always. The *News* of April 21, 1892, identified him as secretary of the Caldwell Commercial Club, which "is doing good work and a great deal of it in a very quiet way in the interest of Caldwell and surrounding country." On May 5, 1892, he was appointed weighmaster and "has taken up his office in the city building. A better appointment could not have been made, and all patrons of the city scales will find him to be prompt, faithful, and careful in attending to his duties."

On August 18, 1892, Capt. Robson "has been hunting up the old boys at Wichita the past week. No one enjoys a reunion better than he does." And on October 6, 1892, "Our friend Capt. Robson has opened an office over H. C. Unsell and Bros. Clothing House, and intends to carry on a Real Estate, Insurance, Loan and Pension Business. He has one of the best equipped offices we have seen and is fixed up in first class style. He has a wide acquaintance and will do a nice business. We wish him unbounded success in his undertaking." On October 13, 1892, he advertised his own property: "For sale by George W. Robson. Two lots and four room dwelling house, well finished, fruit and ornamental trees, good well, and etc. Location desirable."

The paper fails to report the final disposition of the property. On January 5, 1893, the paper reported:

The elegant rooms of Capt. Robson were the scene of a very pleasant social surprise party last Monday evening. The party consisted of Mrs. S. C. Woodson, Mrs. M. H. Bennett, Miss B. O'Connor and Miss Betty Drye, Pap Woodson, Jay Willis, Betty Quinlan, Robert Clark and Roadmaster Campbell. An elegant lunch of oysters, red fish, coffee and cakes was served. The evening was devoted to card playing and social amusement.

The Echo Man was no recluse! On January 19, 1893, he was "under the weather the past week but is able to be at his office a part of the time." And a week later he added the *Encyclopedia Britannica* to his office: "He is fixing up in good shape for business." He was voted unanimously to the position of police judge, but a month later he was very ill again: "Capt. Robson has been very sick the past week. His continuing illness has made him quite weak and unless a change for the better soon sets in, he may not recover from this prolonged attack. We hope however that he may survive and be up and around again before long."

In August he was back in his office: "Pensioners, do not forget to bring your papers to Capt. Robson Friday, 4th inst., he will put them in good shape for you." Then, even more surprisingly, his affairs took an adventurous turn. The Cherokee Strip Run was made on September 16, 1893, and the little Captain, poor health notwithstanding, made the run. The Medford, Oklahoma, items in the October 5, 1893, *News* report: "Many Caldwellites have staked their all and claims here and in this immediate vicinity. Henry Keeling has a claim two miles NW from here. Tracey joins him to the south; . . . Capt. Robson is south of Tracey, etc., etc. Capt. Robson has a fine claim and plans to improve it thoroughly."

Nothing is forthcoming about the improvements on the claim, for on April 12, 1894, "Capt. G. W. Robson has succeeded J. E. Turner at the Hardware store of Robertson and Robinson . . . ," and every time he reappeared in Caldwell the *News* reported him "looking as natural as ever." He opened his real estate office in Medford sometime around October 20, 1893, when his advertisement appeared in the Medford *Monitor* with this tag: "We believe our readers will find him a pleasant man with whom to deal."

For some time Robson was in Caldwell up from Medford or in Medford down from Caldwell as the two towns engaged in rivalry over their favorite son. At last the Medford *Patriot* wrote: "George Robson has opened a real estate office here . . . . He is a notary public and makes a specialty of pensions, and is also an insurance agent."

From this time on, his record is carried by the *Patriot*: He is recovering from a stiff neck; he has been in Caldwell; he is back from Caldwell; he has

been "on the shelf"; he has gone to Enid with friends; and, later, as justice of the peace, he has been performing marriages and dispensing justice. He was still engaged in Civil War Veterans' meetings and encampments.

Then, there is silence until August 15, 1901, when this notice brings the story to a close:

Capt. James A. Vaughan may have his faults, as who have not? But one of them is not the neglect of an old comrade in time of need. Since the opening of the strip a familiar figure upon the streets of Medford has been the person of Capt. G. W. Robson. Until his mind became too enfeebled to transact the business, he was kept in the office of justice of the peace, where a conscientious discharge of his duties was one of the characteristics of his court. For some time Capt. Robson has been but a walking automaton, a remembrance of his former manhood; his enfeebled mind leaves him irresponsible and commands the sympathy of his many friends. In this dilemma Capt. Vaughan came to the rescue of his old comrade, as he would have done during the days they tried their fraternity on the battlefield, and has taken the necessary steps to secure Capt. Robson a home in the soldiers home at Leavenworth. While the writer with others will miss the familiar form and salute of 'The Little Captain,' we hope he will find in his new home the care and treatment for which these homes were established by a grateful country, and to Capt. Vaughan will be ascribed the credit of securing his admittance.

On December 23, 1918, Captain Robson died. He had outlived all his family, all his friends. Unwept, unsung, unheralded, the "feisty little man" who whistled merrily at life through his handle-bar mustache,[20] the honored veteran of his country's Civil War, the historian of the last frontier of Texas, the builder of towns in Kansas and Oklahoma, found repose on the gentle slopes of the burying grounds at Leavenworth, one white marker among acres of white markers his forlorn bid for remembrance.

[20] Carl Coke Rister, *Ft. Griffin on the Texas Frontier* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1956), pp. 160, 162.

THE ARDMORE TRAGEDY: LOCAL HISTORY ON AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

By Abraham Hoffman

Late in the evening on Sunday, June 7, 1931, a shooting incident occurred on the outskirts of the city of Ardmore, in Carter County, Oklahoma. Two deputy sheriffs had confronted three students returning home from college. One of the students had been standing in front of his car with the obvious intention of urinating by the side of the highway, and it was this action that caused the deputies to stop their car. One of the deputies delivered a reprimand to the student and then went to speak to the driver. The officers wore plain clothes rather than uniforms, and in the dark of the night the students may not have accepted the deputy's identification as valid. At any rate, the first deputy spotted an automatic pistol on the lap of the driver and, suspecting the students to be other than what they claimed to be, reached in and grabbed the gun. There was a struggle; the third youth got out of his car; so did the other deputy. The second deputy, coming up to the right side of the student's car, saw the student who had gotten out of the car raise an automatic. The deputy fired twice in rapid succession, killing the student almost instantly.

In the meantime, the first deputy had disarmed the driver and advanced toward the first student who was still standing in front of the car, prevented by the headlights from clearly seeing what was happening. The second deputy then noticed that the driver was in the act of producing another gun. The deputy fired his pistol for the third time.

Witnesses to this confrontation were absent from the scene, but people began to appear within seconds after the shooting occurred. Two city policemen had driven past the cars just before the gunfire erupted. They now ran back to assist the officers. Several motorists stopped their cars and formed an increasingly large group of spectators. One man who lived nearby heard the shots, left his house, and came over to the scene. One of the deputies lived just a block away from where the incident had taken place, and he went to his home to call the county attorney, an ambulance, and the sheriff. Within minutes the county attorney arrived and almost immediately realized this was no ordinary shooting incident. Two of the students, who had been returning home at the end of the semester, had been attending St. Benedict's College in Kansas; a third, who had joined the other two, was a student at

the Rolla School of Mines in Missouri. All three were Mexicans, and two of them, including one of the slain students, were related to Pascual Ortiz Rubio, President of the Republic of Mexico.[1]

The purposes behind the presentation of this paper are modest. One incident does not make a generalization. The manner in which this incident was investigated and publicized, however, is instructive for those students and scholars who would seek to understand the conduct of nations in their diplomatic affairs and how the difference between the actual details of an event and the way the event was treated by the nations involved can distort history.

The focal point for much of the activity surrounding the incident at Ardmore could be found at the governor's mansion in Oklahoma City. Governor William H. Murray acted as an intermediary between the local officials in Carter County and the United States Department of State. Murray's intensely personal and, to many of his critics, peculiar style of politicking resulted in a one-sided view of the Ardmore tragedy which was accepted uncritically by the State Department. Newly returned from a visit to California, Murray learned of the shooting around noon on June 8. The first reports were somewhat unclear as to exact details, but from the initial news of the tragedy, Murray formulated an opinion regarding the incident that never changed. He considered the deputies to be murderers who had shot the students down in cold blood.[2]

Marvin Shilling, the county attorney in Carter County who conducted the investigation, was in his mid-thirties in 1931 and had served as assistant county attorney before his election to the higher office. Shilling spent long hours investigating the circumstances surrounding the incident. Oklahoma City in 1931, had a Mexican consul, and Shilling contacted him and asked for his assistance in investigating the case.[3]

Meanwhile, word spread rapidly throughout the United States and Mexico of the prominence of the students who had been slain. The Mexican charge d'affaires delivered a note to Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson protesting the incident. Stimson wired Governor Murray and requested that the governor conduct a minute investigation into the causes and responsibilities for the incident.[4] Murray began to pressure Shilling into doing more,

[1] The events surrounding the Ardmore tragedy are summarized in Abraham Hoffman, "Alfalfa Bill Murray and the Shooting of the Mexican Students," *The War Chief*, Quarterly of the Indian Territory Posse of Oklahoma Westerners, V (December 1971), pp. 3–6.

[2] Telegram from William H. Murray to Marvin Shilling, June 8, 1931, Shilling Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library.

[3] Interview with Marvin Shilling, May 7, 1971.

[4] Telegram from Henry L. Stimson to Murray, June 8, 1931, Murray Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library. The telegram was printed in U.S. Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1931* (Washington, 1946), II, 710. (Cited hereafter as *FR.*)

though it is hard to see what more Shilling could have done other than what was already occupying all of his time. The Mexican consulate general in San Antonio appointed a young Mexican-American attorney to represent the Mexican government at the trial. This attorney, Manuel Gonzales, had already served in this capacity for the consulate in several other cases. He offered his services to Shilling, and the county attorney accepted without hesitation.[5] Because he did not arrive in Ardmore until Tuesday, Gonzales asked if the preliminary hearing set for that day might be postponed until Wednesday. Shilling agreed to this and saw that the hearing was set for Wednesday, June 10. This hearing would determine if the deputies should be held for trial.

Unfortunately, Governor Murray did not understand the reason for the brief postponement. He soon came to suspect that Shilling was acting in a deliberately reluctant manner. This view had to wait, however, while Murray took care of other matters. He publicly declared his sorrow at the tragedy on behalf of himself and the people of the state. He saw to it that the state paid the cost of the most expensive caskets available. As an added touch of pageantry, Murray commissioned an acquaintance of his as a colonel in the National Guard and announced him to be the official escort for the slain students on the train to Mexico. Accompanying the colonel was Murray's eldest son, Massena.[6]

The preliminary hearing commenced immediately after the funeral. Testimony was given by Salvador Cortés Rubio, the surviving student; William E. Guess, the deputy who had fired the shots; Cecil Crosby, the other deputy; and a string of witnesses that included the two police officers, various spectators, the undertaker, and the two physicians who had performed the autopsies. Secretary of State Stimson sent a State Department observer to attend the hearing, and the official requested that a transcript be made of the preliminary hearing for use by the State Department. The expense of making the transcript was to be borne by the Federal government. On the basis of the testimony presented, the judge ordered the deputies held for trial on a charge of murder.[7]

On the day after the preliminary hearing, the funeral train left Ardmore for Morelia, Michoacán, where the bodies would be laid to rest. Charles Clowe, the newly commissioned colonel, was a geologist from Ardmore who had lived for a time in Mexico. He, Massena Murray, and Salvador Cortés accompanied the bodies, as did attorney Gonzales and other officials.

[5] *Daily Ardmoreite*, June 9, 1931.

[6] William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma* (Boston, 1945), Vol. II, p. 488.

[7] Transcript of preliminary hearing, Shilling Papers.

The train ride received considerable attention from newspapers. At one stop Massena and Salvador walked down the platform, and in front of a large crowd of Mexicans, Massena put his arm around Salvador in a friendly manner. This won the approval of the crowd, and Massena repeated the gesture at subsequent stops. When Murray learned of his son's action, the governor, a veteran of the Bolivian colony he had tried to establish in the 1920s, credited the act to his own ability to understand "the peculiarities of the Spanish mind."[8]

With the trial date set for Wednesday, June 24, Murray decided that Shilling would not do as chief prosecutor. Although the county attorney had been assisted at the preliminary hearing by Gonzales, Assistant Attorney General Frank Dudley, and Claude Weaver, the governor's own personal secretary, Murray decided to try and replace Shilling with two of his own appointees. These were James M. Springer, a Stillwater attorney, and W. H. Brown of Oklahoma City. Shilling welcomed their assistance but made it clear to Murray that he intended to lead the prosecution team.[9]

The trial was conducted with a capacity audience in the courtroom and with extensive newspaper coverage for the readers in Mexico and the United States. The defense requested a severance, which was granted, and only William Guess was tried, charged with the murder of Emilio Cortés Rubio, the youth who had been behind the wheel. Shilling hoped to prove that Emilio had not actually drawn the second pistol; that Guess in firing had acted hastily and with poor judgment. Throughout the trial the prosecution was handicapped by the fact that the students had in their possession a large quantity of weapons and ammunition. The third student, Manuel García Gómez, had purchased the firearms with the intention of selling them in Mexico. Salvador Cortés Rubio, the surviving student, could offer little to aid the prosecution's case since his view had been obstructed by the glare of the headlights. Another factor working against the prosecution was difficult to measure. This was the atmosphere that came from the death of three Carter County peace officers in the preceding six months. At least one of the three had been killed in a situation similar to the one in which Guess and Crosby had found themselves—approaching an unknown car at night.[10]

The five attorneys on the prosecution team were matched by five defense attorneys. Considerable attention was paid to the testimony of eight persons who had watched Deputy Guess remove a derringer from the car. Four testified they saw the gun being removed from Emilio's pocket; two said it

[8] Murray, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 488.

[9] Interview with Marvin Shilling, May 7, 1971.

[10] *Daily Ardmoreite*, June 24–25, 1931; *Daily Oklahoman*, June 25, 1931; Shilling to Charles G. Blackard, June 29, 1931, Shilling Papers.

had been on the seat; one swore it had been in the folds of the clothing but not in a pocket; and one was not sure. The case went to the jury on Friday evening, June 26. Twenty-two hours later the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.[11]

Mexico's reaction to the verdict is understandable. The newspapers, government spokesmen, and students all protested, as did Governor Murray. He was quoted in the Mexican press as being quite dissatisfied with the verdict. Manuel Téllez, the Mexican ambassador, requested that the State Department conduct an investigation into the affair. He received the assurance that such an investigation was under way and that he would shortly be apprised of its results. On August 8, the State Department sent a report to the Mexican Embassy in which the United States expressed its regret over the incident. The report was a distillation of the preliminary hearing transcript, plus a few comments added about the verdict. The Mexican government found the report unacceptable, and it also criticized the delay between the first and second trials. This delay was made necessary by the exhaustion of court funds in the Eighth Judicial District, of which Carter County was a part. The trial of Guess and Crosby for the murder of the second student, plus Crosby's trial on the charge from which Guess had been acquitted, could not be until at least September, when the new court term began. Murray, suspecting the worst of Carter County's officials, communicated his views to Secretary Stimson. Although his opinions were not aired in print until the publication of his memoirs fourteen years later, Murray's letters to Stimson in 1931 reveal the governor believed that the judge had been hostile to Murray's desires; that the special sheriff appointed to summon veniremen for jury duty was a member of the Ku Klux Klan; that eleven of the twelve men on the jury were KKK members, and the twelfth member was personally hostile to Murray; and that Shilling had deliberately done a poor job of prosecuting the case because the defendants had been his friends.[12]

Secretary of State Stimson, no doubt a busy man, left much of the details in the Ardmore affair to William R. Castle, Jr., acting secretary during the summer months. However, Stimson did correspond frequently with Murray, and in more than one letter he thanked the governor profusely for all he had done. What Stimson and the State Department failed on their part to do, however, was to conduct a full-scale investigation of the incident. Apart from the transcript of the preliminary hearing, all the State Depart-

[11] *Daily Oklahoman*, June 28, 1931.

[12] "Guess' Acquittal Stirs Two Nations," *Harlow's Weekly*, Vol. XXXVIII (July 4, 1931), pp. 4–5; Mexico City *Excelsior*, June 28, 1931; Murray to Stimson, July 1, 1931, Murray Papers; Murray, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 489.

ment knew of the Ardmore tragedy was what Governor Murray reported. President Hoover, in expressing his regret over the shooting to Ortiz Rubio, had promised the affair would be investigated. The State Department gave similar assurances. When the trial resulted in an acquittal, the State Department apparently found it easier to accept Murray's version of the situation than to appoint its own investigators.[13]

The Mexican government, of course, did not know that the State Department was only paying lip service to the idea of an investigation. Ambassador Téllez and his successor, José Puig Cassauranc, complained about the delay between the first and second trials. Shilling was able to set the trial date for November 20, a date that was announced at the beginning of November. Determined to oust Shilling, Murray found another judge in the same district who was willing to accept a motion requesting that the state take over the case. Shilling, disgusted by Murray's maneuverings and pessimistic as to the outcome of the trial, stepped aside in favor of Assistant Attorney General Dudley, who in turn allowed Murray's friend Springer to conduct the prosecution. This time, the jury returned in less than three hours with a verdict of acquittal. The remaining charge against Deputy Crosby was then dropped.[14]

Once again, Mexico's reaction was negative. In order to make amends, Stimson submitted a recommendation to Hoover suggesting that the United States pay an indemnity of $15,000 per victim as "an act of grace," without admitting responsibility for the incident. The proposal received the attention of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs late in 1932, and on December 9, the House brought the bill up for debate. The discussion that took place over this issue is interesting, since the congressmen who spoke possessed little first-hand information.

The House committee's report simply reproduced Stimson's report to Hoover. Unused by the House committee was the State Department letter of August 8, 1931, that had been sent to the Mexican ambassador. Thus the congressmen knew nothing of why the deputies had confronted the students in the first place. Congressman Sam McReynolds of Tennessee, the chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, stated, "The officers came upon them, and one officer reprimanded one of these boys for something which the record does not show."[15] That something, of course, was the matter of urinating by the roadside. On more substantive matters, many

[13] Ambassador J. Reuben Clark to William R. Castle, June 30, 1931, *FR*, Vol. II, p. 717; Castle to Manuel Téllez, August 8, 1931, *ibid.*, pp. 718–23.

[14] Murray to Shilling, November 10, 1931, Shilling Papers; Shilling to Murray, November 14, 1931, Murray Papers; letter from Shilling to the author, October 12, 1971; *Daily Oklahoman*, November 25, 1931.

[15] U.S. *Congressional Record*, 72nd Cong., 2nd Session, December 19, 1932, p. 714.

congressmen were clearly uninformed about the trials; Oklahoma representatives were compelled to defend the judicial process in their state by declaring the trial had been an impartial one. Other congressmen used the discussion as an opportunity to complain about injustices to Americans in Mexico, the amount of the indemnity, or other questions irrelevant to the issue. Both indemnity payments were approved by the House, with Senate approval following several weeks later.[16]

The United States delivered a check to the Mexican Embassy for $30,000 as payment to the families in May, 1933, just short of two years after the incident. The entire affair by that time had long since lapsed from newspaper headlines, and the payment was only perfunctorily noted. In 1945, Murray published his memoirs, including a quite biased version of the events. A year later the *Foreign Relations* volumes for 1931 appeared. Volume II reproduced a number of the documents pertaining to the Ardmore tragedy.[17]

At this point it is essential to understand just what is available for the student of history to utilize as source material in tracing the Ardmore incident. The researcher in diplomatic history, looking in the *Foreign Relations* volume, finds the telegrams, letters, and reports on the affair in chronological order. The documents reproduced include the important letter of August 8, 1931, from the State Department to the Mexican ambassador. This report, as noted, was based on the preliminary hearing transcript which the State Department paid to have transcribed. However, this report says almost nothing about the trial, for which a transcript was not made. There is no evidence to indicate the State Department sent anyone to observe the trial. In short, the *Foreign Relations* documents fail to indicate whether the trial of the deputies was carried out with impartiality or whether it was a cover-up to enable the deputies, both Ardmore residents, to be acquitted. The discussion in Congress sheds little additional light on the matter, since the congressmen who spoke were clearly uninformed as to the details of the case.

The only accounts of the trial available are to be found in the newspaper coverage. The Associated Press carried the news to newspapers in the United States and Mexico. Except for the *Daily Oklahoman*, few papers quoted extensively the comments of witnesses or attorneys. It should be noted that the *Daily Oklahoman*, both editorially and in its straight news coverage,

[16] Ambassador José Puig Cassauranc to Stimson, November 20, 1931, *FR*, Vol. II, pp. 723–25; *Congressional Record*, 72d Cong., 2d Sess., December 19, 1932, pp. 714–18, and February 23, 1933, pp. 4693 and 4790; *House Report No. 1793*, 72d Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 1–2; *U.S. Statutes, 1932–1933* (Washington, 1933), Vol. XLVI, Park I, Ch. 125, p. 907.

[17] *FR*, II. pp. 710–25.

showed a clear bias against the defendants. The only newspaper coverage which attempted to be both objective and comprehensive was in the *Daily Ardmoreite*, Ardmore's only newspaper.[18]

But yesterday's news is soon forgotten, and prevailing views of the trial have come largely from the man who held such rigid views about it—Alfalfa Bill Murray. Murray's view was repeated four years ago in the biography about him written by Keith Bryant. This paper has hopefully shown that Murray's interpretation of the events in Ardmore constitutes a less than authoritative source. As for the State Department records, many details are simply not covered.[19]

It has been mentioned that Murray served as an intermediary between local officials and the Federal government. The view of the investigation and trial received by the State Department was that of Governor Murray's. Murray's interpretation influenced the State Department to the extent that its negotiations with the Mexican government were based on information supplied not from its own investigations, but on Murray's view of the affair. Although the preliminary hearing transcript provided the State Department with a fairly accurate recounting of the incident, this information was not made available to the congressmen who debated the appropriations bill. Having no firsthand information on the conduct of the trial, the State Department accepted Murray's judgments and recommended an indemnity payment in order to buy off the protests from Mexico. Mexico, in turn, found support for her complaints from the extensive comments in the Mexican press made by Murray about the trial.[20]

The end result of this incident is that a marked difference exists between what actually happened in Ardmore in the early summer of 1931 and what is remembered about it, with the remembrances based largely on biased or incomplete sources. On the international level, the incident was considered in terms of event, protest, negotiation, and settlement. Mexico and the United States exchanged notes, an investigation was made, apologies extended, and recompense accepted. Particular details were less important than the position adopted by leaders in both countries. Presidents, governors, ministers and secretaries, and spokesmen from various organizations

[18] *Daily Ardmoreite*, June 24–28, 1931, *passim*, and *Daily Oklahoman*, June 24–28, 1931, *passim*. All other papers carried AP dispatches. See also "State Tragedy Has International Aspect," *Harlow's Weekly*, XXXVII (June 13, 1931), pp. 4–5, and "End of the Mexican Case at Ardmore," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII (November 28, 1931), p. 16 for editorial comments of many Oklahoma newspapers on the affair.

[19] Keith Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray* (Norman, 1968), pp. 206–207; Murray, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 485–89. State Department correspondence notes only perfunctorily the conduct of both trials. The *Foreign Relations* volume has none of the correspondence between Murray and Shilling.

[20] Mexico City *Excelsior*, June 29, 1931.

all took the opportunity to air their political and personal grievances. Old complaints were resurrected and given new life. The gap between pronouncement and performance increased as the United States made promises of minute investigations and assured Mexico that justice would be done.

When the Ardmore tragedy is seen from the viewpoint of local history, however, the international ramifications assume a much lesser significance. The high-minded oratory, the promises of investigation, and the debates in Congress all seem to be based on what amounted to a virtual lack of knowledge as to the facts in the case. Instead, images were conjured that were perpetrated and dispersed as stereotypes. The deputy sheriffs who had fought bootleggers and armed robbers suddenly became trigger-happy, cold-blooded murderers. Carter County's jury system stood accused of harboring Ku Klux Klan members, the citizens of the region were labeled anti-Catholic and anti-Mexican, and Oklahoma found herself vilified in the press of two countries.

Historical examination of the incident at the local level reveals that none of these stereotypes was true. Carter County's chief prosecutor, though provided with more help than he needed, conducted a careful investigation. His prosecuting team included an attorney representing the Mexican consulate general, a state assistant attorney general, and two special prosecutors appointed by the governor. The jury, representing a cross section of the district's citizens, debated twenty-two hours before reaching a verdict on William Guess. Guess had pleaded self-defense; the weapons in the students' car proved a strong arguing point for his attorneys. As for the people of Carter County, their sympathy for the bereaved families was shown by their attendance at the funeral, their telegrams of sympathy, and the many public expressions of regret not only in Carter County but throughout Oklahoma.[21]

The argument may well be made that despite the well-intentioned desire of Shilling to perform the duties of his office, the magnitude of the affair required an investigation led by the state rather than assisted by it. The crime, however, remained the same regardless of the status of its participants. A more recent case—the assassination of President Kennedy—serves to remind us that until very recently it was not the importance of the victim that mattered, but the nature of the crime itself, which determined the jurisdiction in which the crime would be investigated. When questions of prominence and publicity arise, the central issues can be obscured by the rhetoric of denunciation or, for that matter, defense.

When Guess and Crosby confronted the three students late one Sunday evening in Ardmore, each group believed the other to be something it was

[21] *Daily Ardmoreite*, June 10, 1931; *Daily Oklahoman*, June 12, 1931.

not. Because of this mutual mistaken identity, three shots were fired. The shots signaled the loss of two lives and the beginning of a series of generalities that have never given justice to the facts in the Ardmore tragedy. The Ardmore incident thus stands as both a symbol and a warning to historians who would deal with events described in moral terms. Acceptance of political rhetoric on the international level is a poor substitute for the truth that lies below the exchange of diplomatic notes, inaccurate reports, and stereotypes. If the causes and complexities of such incidents as the tragedy at Ardmore can be subjected to careful research and analysis, then perhaps the villains may emerge as less vicious, the victims as less noble, and both as more human.

A HISTORY OF THE OKLAHOMA GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY TO THE YEAR 1904

*By George Steinmeyer**

The electric industry in Oklahoma is almost as old as the first settlements established after the run of April 22, 1889, made into the central part of the territory that is now the State of Oklahoma. In September of that same year the first two electric companies were formed: One was organized to produce the water power and the other to generate and distribute the electricity. Both were started by the same men.[1]

The Oklahoma Ditch and Water Power Company, as the name implies, was concerned with bringing water from the North Canadian River to the heart of Oklahoma City to furnish power for mills, manufacturing companies, and the electric generating station. A dam was built only three and one-half miles southeast of the plant although it took six miles of canal to cover the distance and cut off fifteen miles of river.[2] The ditch was thirty-two feet wide at the top, twenty-two feet wide at the bottom and was ten feet deep. In its six-mile flow it achieved a fall of thirty-two feet.[3] It was a gigantic undertaking for that time and the engineers faced a great many difficulties in finishing the job. The river crossings, in which the canal water was carried on bridge flumes back over the river from which it had originated, were the hardest problems, although an 800 foot cut was the heaviest work.[4] The canal finally reached its ultimate destination at the generating station on Robinson and Frisco streets, in the vicinity of the present Frisco R.R. line depot.[5]

Almost everyone was enthusiastic about the canal and its prospects. Dur-

* This article on the history of the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company was prepared by Dr. George Steinmeyer in the Oklahoma University Graduate School under the direction of Dr. Gilbert C. Fite. Dr. Steinmeyer is Associate Professor of history at Texas A&I University, Kingsville, Texas.

[1] Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company, Tentative Report to the Federal Power Commission. In compliance with the order of May 11, 1931 (in possession of controller of the Company).

[2] Albert McRill, *And Satan Came Also: An Inside Story of a City's Social and Political History* (Oklahoma City: Britton Publishing Company, 1955), p. 36.

[3] *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 21, 1909, OG&E advertisement.

[4] Bunky, *The First Eight Months of Oklahoma City* (Oklahoma City: The McMaster Printing Company, 1890), p. 104. This is a facsimile reproduction of the original paper bound book. The reproduction was printed in 1939 by the Trave-Taylor Company of Oklahoma City.

[5] F. H. Tidnam, "Growth of the Gas and Electric Plant," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, VIII (May, 1909), p. 88.

ing the first winter it had been the big project to provide work for laborers, and a hundred were given employment. But the large benefits were expected to be reaped in the future. Bunky, in *The First Eight Months of Oklahoma City*, could hardly have been stronger in his praise: "It has attracted the attention of capital to the city and numerous factories, mills, and cotton gins are in course of building along its way. To this canal Oklahoma City is indebted for a great many things. It has made her the metropolis and commercial center of the Territory and in the future will be her beacon light."[6]

On November 26, 1890, the city council passed the first electric light franchise to be given in Oklahoma City which opened the way for the big event —the coming of electricity.[7] They turned the lights on Christmas Eve, 1890, and the few bulbs around the light plant "flashed on."[8] But the water to turn the generator did not last for the sand absorbed it quicker than the river could furnish it. By the third day, the "ditch" obviously would be nothing but a sandy trench. The engineers spent another six months trying to find a way to solidify and harden the banks before they finally gave up and abandoned the project entirely. All of the hopes of the promoters, of the factory owners, and of the ordinary citizens disappeared in the sands of the North Canadian River valley.[9]

There is no doubt that Oklahoma City suffered a severe blow to her economic hopes and a worse blow to her pride, yet it was the promoters of the visionary scheme who were really hurt. It had been virtually impossible to sell stock in a venture as risky as the Canal, although Arkansas City, Kansas, had made a huge success of the same type of project.[10] Most of the money, outside of a few local subscriptions, had been the promoters' own.[11] The chief backer and the president of both The Oklahoma Ditch and Water Power Company and the Oklahoma City Light and Power was C. W. Price of Quincy, Illinois. Other directors were John W. Wallace, Robert Kincaid, B. N. Woodson, C. P. Walker, James B. Weaver, Frank Weimar, and W. H. Ebey. Others interested in the project were J. D. Cook, D. W. Gibbs, Eugene Wallace, and J. H. Wheeler. Among them, these men lost nearly $136,000 with C. W. Price suffering the greatest loss.[12]

After considerable delay in trying to repair the "ditch," C. W. Price and

[6] Bunky, p. 104.

[7] *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 21, 1909, OG&E advertisement.

[8] Tidman, "Growth of the Gas and Electric Plant," VIII (May, 1909), 88.

[9] Angelo C. Scott, *The Story of Oklahoma City* (Oklahoma City: Times Journal Publishing Company, 1939), p. 78.

[10] *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 21, 1909, OG&E advertisement.

[11] Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[12] *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 21, 1909, OG&E advertisement.

the other interested parties decided to install steam power. Since the price of a steam plant was about $20,000 and the other proposition had been expensive, they planned to finance the new plant with a bond issue. On May 11, 1891, the city gave the promoters a new franchise which pledged that any monies to become due for street lighting would be paid to the bond trustees, direct. Even this was not enough and no bonds were ever sold.

In spite of this set-back, efforts were continued to bring electricity to Oklahoma City. Early in 1892, sufficient money was on hand and the steam plant was started in the same location that the old water power plant had occupied. The situation was complicated, however, by the death of C. W. Price in 1892, when his interests were taken over by his brother Seymour S. Price. That there were delays, nevertheless, was understandable.

The City Council, however, became exasperated by these postponements and around the first of June, 1892, gave the company ninety days to have street lighting in operation.[13] Not only that, but they granted a gas lighting contract to another company which had been formed by T. J. Watson and J. E. Williams, giving it permission to put gas street lights on the electric poles. This company, the Oklahoma City Gas Company, had until January of 1893, to begin operation.[14]

Seymour S. Price, who had been joined by Joseph G. Fakes, became head of a partnership which took over from the original Oklahoma City Light and Power Company. They operated under the name of "Price and Fakes" and on September 1, 1892, again gave electricity to Oklahoma City. The steam generating plant consisted of two 125 horsepower boilers and two 125 horsepower engines, and by December of 1892, the plant was furnishing current to 25 street arc lamps, 35 commercial arcs, and 650 incandescent bulbs. The city paid $150 per year for each of the street lights on "a moonlight schedule." This meant that on the nights when the moon was bright, the lamps were not burned.

Other customers paid on a flat rate basis, in which there were no meters but charges were made on the number of sixteen candle-power bulbs burned, and on number of hours per night the customer wanted lights.[15] The bill per month ran as follows:

	Incandescent	Arcs
Dusk to 9:15 p.m.	$ .80	$ 7.50
Dusk to 11:00 p.m.	1.00	12.00
Dusk to 1:00 a.m.	1.25	
All Night	2.00	15.00

[13] *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 28, 1909, OG&E advertisement.
[14] *Ibid.*, April 4, 1909, OG&E advertisement.
[15] *Ibid.*, March 28, 1909, OG&E advertisement.

Even at these prices, service was poor with frequent interruptions and a long waiting period for those wishing to be connected to the lines. But, on the other hand, payment was not good either. Many businesses were not firmly established and quite a few proprietors, like Meyer Winter, sometimes left town without notifying their creditors.[16] Winter, in closing an unsuccessful saloon, had a barrel of whiskey and an unpaid light bill left over. He tried to express the whiskey back to the distiller but the light company heard about it and attached the whiskey in the express office. The distiller sued to get the whiskey back. The lower court gave the whiskey to the electric people but the Supreme Court finally gave it to the distiller and the owners of the light company were left with nothing but the unpaid bill and a thirst.[17] To avoid other such unpleasant experiences the electric company began a system of cash in advance with rebates if service was discontinued before the month was up. In January of 1893, Price and Fakes resumed the corporate form and the name Oklahoma City Light and Power was again in use.[18]

By March of 1893, the electric company had competition in the form of illuminating gas produced by the Oklahoma City Gas Company which had at least come close to meeting its January 1 deadline. The plant was located at Noble Street and the Santa Fe tracks within the bounds of the present OG&E warehouse and truck maintenance facilities. It was estimated that this plant cost at least $80,000 but it did not make a very good quality gas and was not successful from its beginning. The company never had over 100 customers and within a year the owners were ready to sell.

On February 28, 1894, Seymour S. Price and J. G. Fakes of Oklahoma City Light and Power bought the Oklahoma City Gas Company for $21,000, of which $6,000 was in cash and $15,000 in bonds of the former company. For a short time the two companies were operated separately but it was soon decided that a combined facility would be more efficient.

In July of 1894, the first Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company was formed. Incorporators were Seymour S. Price, Joseph G. Fakes, Frank Workman, James W. Rice and W. H. Barr. Price was president, and Fakes was secretary and treasurer.[19] The new incorporators were struck with trouble almost as soon as they were in operation. The electric plant, at Robinson and the Frisco tracks was partially destroyed by fire.

Most of the machinery was still usable, however, and the company

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Blankenship v. Oklahoma City Light & Water Power Company*, 4 Okl 242, 43 P 1088 (1893).

[18] *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 28, 1909, OG&E advertisement.

[19] *Ibid.*, April 4, 1909, OG&E advertisement.

management decided to move it to the gas plant location.[20] In making the move, plant capacity was also increased so that when the boilers went back into operation at the new site they were capable of producing 1000 horsepower for generating electricity.[21]

The Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company was no more successful as a gas operator than the Oklahoma City Gas Company had been and in 1895, the production and sale of gas in Oklahoma City was suspended, not to be resumed for over eight years.[22] This seems to have convinced Seymour Price that the utility business was not for him, for in 1896, he was appointed register of the Oklahoma City Land Office and severed connections with the Company. His successor was G. W. Wheeler who came to the territory from California and who was active head of the electric industry in Oklahoma City until formation of the present OG&E in 1902.

When Wheeler took over in 1896, E. H. Cooke became interested in the power company, at first purchasing a small amount of stock. Cooke soon became more deeply involved by taking over the stock of some friends whom he had influenced to take a "flyer" in the Company. Soon he and Wheeler were engaged in a struggle for control that hindered development of the plant during the entire period. Fakes had joined the fight on the side of Wheeler and he was the only real casualty. He was forced out in 1900 to make room for G. N. Beebe who became operating chief.

These years, 1896–99, were utterly devoid of beneficial results. No plant expansions were made and few extensions in the distribution system were built. None of the stockholders made a dime, and Cooke was forced to borrow on his personal credit and even loan money himself to keep the company in operation. An effort was made to increase the capitalization but the company was in such condition that the securities could not be marketed.

In 1900, Wheeler and Cooke, who had patched up their differences, decided to try once more to obtain capital and put the Company on a sound basis.[23] By this time Oklahoma City had grown to be a city of 10,037 population which was thought to be sufficient number to support a thriving electric utility.[24]

The first objective in any successful refinancing was to get a new franchise. On June 11, 1900, a new, and exclusive, franchise was awarded to the Oklahoma City Gas, Electric and Power Company. This was just exactly

[20] Tidnam, *op. cit.*, (Vol. VIII, May, 1909), p. 88.

[21] *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 10, 1907.

[22] *Ibid.*, April 4, 1909, OG&E advertisement.

[23] *Ibid.*, April 11, 1909, OG&E advertisement.

[24] OG&E, *Report to Power Commission*, May 11, 1931.

what the Company wanted but the Mayor was not present to sign the papers. It was known that he was not in favor of exclusive contracts.[25]

On June 25, 1900, Mayor Van Winkle vetoed the franchise and the Company could not muster sufficient votes to pass it over the veto.[26] G. W. Wheeler, president of the Company, was specific in denouncing the ordinance proposed by the Mayor that left out the exclusive provision. He said: "If the ordinance is altered so as to give another light company the right to compete with our company for the public lighting we do not want the franchise and we would not be justified in adding to our facilities, increasing the service and lowering rates."[27]

The City took every step possible outside of granting the exclusive franchise, even agreeing to pay the street light money directly to a bond trustee. This was evidently not enough. The Company property was not expanded and things went along in the same old way.[28]

Frank Meyer, who went to work for the Company in 1901 as a lineman's helper remembered that there was not a great deal of hurry and urgency in management in those days. G. N. Beebe was the actual manager and the only one who spent much time around the office. E. H. Cooke spent most of his time in the bank where he worked and would go over to the light office about once a week to look over the books.

The whole labor force would not make a good present-day line crew. Four men worked in the power house, an engineer and a Negro fireman for the day crew and the same at night; these men worked twelve hours a day, seven days a week. One man was the combination office force and collector, while the line crew consisted of a lineman and one helper. The lineman made two dollars and a half for a ten hour day while Meyer, as the helper, got ten cents an hour. One man, with a horse, was hired on a piece work basis to change the carbons in the arc lamps every day. The light was made, as the name implies, from an electric arc which jumped between the two carbons, and as it flamed the carbons burned.

The lines were strung with number fourteen wire which is small and very light so transportation was not much of a problem. The lineman and his helper would take a roll of wire on their shoulders and their hooks in their hands and walk to the job that was to be done. If more equipment happened to be needed the lineman called the transfer company, who came down, picked up the tools and materials, and hauled them to the job.[29] Running a

[25] *The Daily Oklahoman*, June 12, 1900.
[26] *Ibid.*, June 26, 1900.
[27] *Ibid.*, June 12, 1900.
[28] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1900.
[29] Interview with Frank J. Meyer, former OG&E operating chief, February 28, 1961.

power company was not too hard a job in 1901. It soon was showing signs of becoming more complicated.

At the beginning of its twelfth year the electric industry in Oklahoma City had, as yet, shown few signs of growing much beyond its infancy. Lack of money was still the primary concern of the operators, but public acceptance of the product was another problem to which an answer had not been found.[30] Frank Meyer, the last man associated with the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company who was present during the reorganization of 1902, recalls that in this period at least eighty percent of the people were still using kerosene lamps.[31] In February of 1902, the Oklahoma City Electric, Gas and Power Company had only 89 street arc lamps; in the business houses they operated another 120 arcs, and they serviced about 7000 incandescent bulbs throughout the city. The Company had not established a separate power rate since it had installed less than 200 horsepower in electric motors. Billing was comparatively simple in that all residences were on a flat, or monthly, rate basis. The downtown business houses, however, had been changed to meters.[32] Progress of a sort had been made but not enough to put the business on a sound basis. Tired of the struggle, Cooke and Wheeler, late in 1901, found two separate and distinct buyers for their utility business.

The first of these was George W. Baumhoff, a stolid and solid German from St. Louis, Missouri, who was prepared to give Cooke and Wheeler $120,000 for their interests. To men who had done nothing but contribute their investment to the dream of a successful public utility, the offer must have seemed the easy way out of an impossible situation. On December 10, 1901, just in time to bring joy to what might have otherwise been a dim Christmas season, they signed the contract with Baumhoff. A contingency in the contract—the usual one in the sale of any public utility—was that the sellers agreed to obtain a new city franchise before the sale was consummated. Baumhoff went back to St. Louis to await word that the Oklahoma City Council had passed the necessary ordinances and the other buyer came to town.

This man was a Colorado promoter by the name of Harry M. Blackmer, and the fact that one contract had been signed was no deterrent to him. It developed that it was no deterrent to Wheeler and Cooke either because when Blackmer offered them $20,000 more than had Baumhoff they signed a second contract with Blackmer. Baumhoff returned to Oklahoma City in February, understandably miffed at the double dealing of the two Oklahoma City men. He filed suit and later recovered $5,000 in expenses that he had

[30] *The Daily Oklahoman*, April 11, 1909, OG&E advertisement.
[31] Interview with Frank J. Meyer, former OG&E operating chief, February 28, 1961.
[32] *The Daily Oklahoman*, April 11, 1909, OG&E advertisement.

incurred, but the sale to Blackmer was declared final.[33] Blackmer had ambitious plans which involved new capital, a new corporate name, and, of course, a new franchise.

Since the purchase depended on this franchise, Wheeler and Cooke applied for it, and on February 17, 1902, it was passed by the City Council. The *Daily Oklahoman* approved of the Council's action although the reporter evidently did not know that the property had been sold since all of the credit for impending improvement and expansion was given to Cooke and Wheeler.[34] According to the terms of the franchise the Company could charge a maximum of 20 cents for a 1,000 watt-hours of electricity on a metered basis, or $2.50 a month for 10 of the 16 candle-power lamps, from dusk to midnight, on a flat rate basis. The Company could charge a maximum of $1.50 per 1,000 cubic feet for gas.[35]

Ten days later, on February 27, E. H. Cooke recorded the name Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company when he filed the articles of incorporation for the new firm with the Secretary of State of Oklahoma Territory.[36] Although the passage of years would see many changes in management, the name and the corporate structure of the Oklahoma electric utility was established. The first stockholders' meeting was held on March 1, 1902.

George W. Wheeler, Edward H. Cooke, Henry W. Rule, W. W. Storm, A. B. Baird, and G. N. Beebe attended that meeting. Beebe only attended as a representative of the outgoing company and would have nothing to do with the new company. The first five listed, as stockholders of the newly formed OG&E (Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company) adopted the by-laws without a dissenting vote. There was nothing unusual in the document. It gave the board of directors the customary powers and authorized an executive committee to act when the board was not in session. It named Oklahoma City as the principal office but empowered the board to designate other cities as such, if they deemed it necessary. The document called for the annual stockholders' meeting to be on the fourth Monday of March at which time the participants would name a seven man board of directors. One item in the by-laws to be noted was that all of the capital stock, preferred as well as common, was given full voting privileges.

Wheeler, Cooke, Rule, Storm, and Baird, as shareholders, chose themselves and Charles L. Ayling of Boston, and William K. Gillet of New York to be directors.[37] Ayling and Gillet were representatives of eastern bankers

[33] *Baumhoff v. Oklahoma City Electric, Gas and Power*, 14 Okl 127, 77 P 40 (1904).

[34] *The Daily Oklahoman*, February 8, 1902.

[35] *Ibid.*, April 18, 1909, OG&E advertisement.

[36] Minutes of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company, March 1, 1902 (in possession of the secretary of the Company).

who were to provide the money for Blackmer's bond issue when he took over the Company after the organization was completed.[38]

Since Ayling and Gillet were not present that day, the five men then met as directors and chose the officers of the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company. Wheeler, who had long been president of the old Oklahoma City Electric, Gas & Power Company was elected to be first president of OG&E, Rule was made vice-president, and Cooke, secretary and treasurer.

With the new company organized, the directors adopted a resolution to buy the Oklahoma City Electric, Gas and Power Company.[39] Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company issued $300,000 in capital stock and $300,000 in five percent bonds. The seven directors each bought one share of $100 par value stock as a qualifying share. The other $299,300 worth of stock was given to Wheeler, Cooke, and Beebe as part of the purchase price of the old company. Nothing was paid on this stock. The directors of OG&E also agreed to give, as the rest of the purchase price, $153,000 worth of the five percent bonds which Kessler and Company contracted to market. The other $147,000 worth of bonds, also sold by Kessler, were used in building a new gas plant and enlarging the electric plant.

Wheeler, Cooke, and Beebe, who were all of the stockholders of the Oklahoma City Electric, Gas and Power Company, accepted the offer.[40] It appears that Wheeler and Cooke were acting in a dual role and were in actuality dealing with themselves. However, this was not entirely the case. In their role as stockholders and directors of OG&E they were serving the interests of Harry M. Blackmer, the new owner. The records of the old company are not available but it seems evident from the original contract that Blackmer received the OG&E stock and bonds for which he paid Wheeler, Cooke, and Beebe the $140,000 set forth in the agreement of purchase signed in December of 1901. It is probably safe to assume that Blackmer got back most, or all, of the $140,000 from the sale of the $153,000 worth of bonds, for it is known that he borrowed operating money with the capital stock as security.

The Continental Trust Company of New York, was appointed Trustee for the bond issue and the directors executed a mortgage and deed of trust on all of the physical property as security for those bonds. Kessler and Company of New York, became transfer agent for the capital stock and fiscal agent for selling the bonds.

Blackmer, as owner of OG&E, did not take a seat on the board at this time

[37] Minutes of the Annual Stockholders' Meeting of the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company, March 1, 1902 (in possession of the secretary of the Company).

[38] *The Daily Oklahoman*, April 18, 1909, OG&E advertisement.

[39] OG&E Board Minutes, March 1, 1902.

[40] *Ibid.*

but he sent A. H. Branch down from Denver to take over as operating head from G. N. Beebe. Branch's primary duty was that of engineer in charge of the new construction which was to be done with the $147,000 worth of bonds that had been left to the disposal of the new company. The directors and the Continental Trust Company had agreed that the bonds could cover ninety percent of the cost of a new gas plant and additions to the electric plant. As portions of this work were finished, A. H. Branch issued "certificates of completion" which were sent to Kessler and Company, who in turn sold the necessary bonds and sent OG&E the money.[41]

The board of directors met a second time on April 2, 1902, and the local men who had lent their names to the incorporation proceedings moved off the board and representatives of Blackmer assumed these places. Rule, Baird, and Storm resigned; and Branch, the engineer, George B. Stone, and C. B. Ames,[42] a member, along with Dennis T. Flynn, of a newly formed law firm[43] which represented Blackmer, became members. The reconstituted board named Branch to succeed Wheeler as president, while Gillett replaced Rule as vice-president, and Ames filled Cooke's old role as secretary. In other business the board gave Branch a three year contract as general manager at a salary of $300 per month.[44]

No sooner was Branch installed as president and general manager than trouble, in the form of threatened competition, presented itself. Oklahoma City, during this period, seemed to be a fertile field for schemers of all types, and public utility promoters were especially numerous. The new contender for the gas consumer's dollar was J. E. DeWolfe of Michigan City, Indiana. He was not interested in the electric business, but felt that there was room in the artificial gas industry for two companies. He appeared before the Oklahoma City Council in April to plead for a second franchise and by April 18, 1902, had sufficient support to present a petition on his behalf signed by a number of citizens, who pledged a $5,000 forfeiture if DeWolfe's plant was not started in 20 days and finished in 6 months.

Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company did not give up its monopoly position without a struggle. At the same council meeting, a communication from Branch was read in which OG&E contended that there was not enough potential in the community for two good gas plants and that if another was allowed, both of them would have to be inexpensively built and inferior. The Company claimed that it had already spent $15,000 in preparing to build a new plant which would be large enough for the needs of Oklahoma City; and that it had deposited a certified check for $10,000 with the city

41 *Ibid.*

42 OG&E Board Minutes, April 2, 1902.

43 *The Daily Oklahoman*, December 27, 1903.

44 OG&E Board Minutes, April 2, 1902.

treasurer as evidence of good faith and intention. Whatever the sentiment of the Council, a writer for *The Daily Oklahoman* favored OG&E. The writer said, "the fact that such a heavy forfeit has been posted and the knowledge that several local people are connected with the institution created a very favorable impression."[45]

Each side had its supporters, however, and the next day the *Oklahoman* reported that the issue "has created a good deal of talk upon the streets as to the advisability of competition in the gas business."[46] In an interview a Mr. Henley, attorney for DeWolfe, said: "The more gas, the cheaper lights.[47] Mr. DeWolfe welcomes another gas plant, and if he goes broke at the business, he will not ask the city or his competitors for sympathy." Another story on the same day told of the progress that OG&E had made in laying its pipe along Broadway, and included a statement by A. H. Branch that the plant his company was building was "larger than the one in Dallas." Branch went on to say that "the highest price we will ever charge for gas will be $1 per thousand feet. . . . We do not expect to secure interest on the investment the first year. . . . Two companies in here could not possibly make money supplying $1 gas."[48]

On April 23, the Council, in a surprise move and without the presence of the mayor, passed the DeWolfe franchise. OG&E protested the hasty action and in a "Statement to the Public" on April 24, presented the Company's argument. In this OG&E contended that the price it planned to charge was as low as St. Louis, Denver, and New York, and lower than Kansas City, Dallas, Fort Worth, and Houston. It asserted that monopolies had been generally accepted as the most efficient form of public utility enterprise, that the investments of conservative people, as against speculators, should be protected, and that locally owned businesses should be encouraged. *The Daily Oklahoman* gave aid and comfort in a news story headlined, "Laying Pipes," and set forth, "The Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company commenced to give an object lesson of its good faith by starting the work of digging up the streets for the purpose of laying its gas pipes. . . ."[49] Evidently Mayor Dunn was influenced by the opposition to the franchise, and sometime before April 30 vetoed the ordinance, without effect. On May 1, 1902, the *Oklahoman* reported that the organization of the Peoples Gas Company had been completed with J. E. DeWolfe, president; Oscar Lee, vice-president; and J. S. Corley, secretary and treasurer.[50]

[45] *The Daily Oklahoman*, April 18, 1902.
[46] *Ibid.*, April 19, 1902.
[47] To a great extent gas was used for illuminating purposes during this period.
[48] *The Daily Oklahoman*, April 19, 1902.
[49] *Ibid.*, April 24, 1902.
[50] *Ibid.*, May 1, 1902.

In spite of the fact that it was defeated in the franchise contest, OG&E proceeded with plans for both gas and electric plants. By June 17, it had completed $11,040 in construction and had issued twelve of the 147 remaining bonds. The directors changed Branch's contract from three years to one of indefinite duration with a six month cancellation clause by either party.[51] With the franchises settled, it was no longer considered necessary to maintain the fiction of complete local ownership. At this time, Blackmer came on the board to replace Gillett. Since money was available for improvements and management had been stabilized, there should have been some respite from nagging worries, but such was not the case.

The general ledger for 1902, tells the story. It is true that on the profit and loss statement the company seemed to be growing and prospering. In April, for instance, the gross receipts were $5,182.77, while expenses were only $1,417.52. Continued gross profit increased the balance in this column through the months. Other columns in the ledger, however, changed that picture. Additions to capital investment other than plant expansion, including such things as distribution extensions and meters, had to come out of profit and loss money—not from the bond issue. Interest soon amounted to $1,244.40 per month, which was a large percentage of gross revenue. Although other things were important, it was the bank balance that showed the precarious situation of the Company. In October of 1902, it was down to $62.67.[52] The managers doubtless hoped that the Company's position would improve when the new and more efficient plant became operative.

Everyone, consumer and Company alike, was waiting for the new plant. On the 25th of October, OG&E published the following advertisement in the *Daily Oklahoman*:[53]

The Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co. desires to notify its consumers in the resident portion of the city that owing to the heavy load on Saturday nights, it will be necessary to cut out the resident portion of the city from lighting time until ten o'clock. This will have to be done from now on until our new Electric Plant is completed which we hope to have in operation by November 15th, 1902.

Frank Meyer, who was a meter reader and lineman's helper at the time, set the scene at the power house:[54]

The stores were all open Saturday. I remember we had an old engineer down there that ran the evening shift—name of Charlie Barth, I believe it was. I was working the nine to nine shift—nine in the morning to nine at night. I'd read

[51] OG&E Board Minutes, June 17, 1902.

[52] Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company general ledger, March 1902 to July 1904 (in possession of the Controller of the Company).

[53] *The Daily Oklahoman*, October 25, 1902.

[54] Frank Meyer interview, February 28, 1961.

meters in the daytime then I'd stay on in the evening to take care of trouble calls. Charlie'd call the office along about eight o'clock and say, "well Frank, the steam's started down and we can't hold it; go pull of Maywood"—that's the east part. We had a switch on a pole out there and I'd take a long pole and go out and pull that switch. Then I'd come back to the office and start answering the phone and tell them, "well, the lights will be on pretty soon." Then Charlie'd call again and say, "Frank, the steam has started down again; go pull of the north side of town." So, it wasn't any time at all until we had all east of the Santa Fe tracks and north of about Second Street in the dark for two or three hours.

The hopes for a November opening of the electric plant were not realized. In fact the year 1902, did not see either the gas or the electric plant completed, but on January 23, 1903, the *Daily Oklahoman* made the premature announcement that the "New Gas Plant Began The Work of Manufacturing Gas Yesterday" and "Will Test Mains Today."[55] The accuracy of the reporter must have been questioned by some when on January 27, the Company announced that, "we are delayed in the starting of the gas plant, on account of the non-arrival of exhauster and its connection. . . . Everything possible is being done to get both gas and electric plants in operation."[56] The *Oklahoman* did not announce the actual opening of either plant, but in the absence of further apologies by OG&E it must have been reasonably soon thereafter.

The most feared aspect of the electric business was realized on January 27, 1903, when the Company provided bond for Charles Schlosser,[57] night engineer, who was indicted for criminal negligence in a case involving death by electric shock. A wire had blown down during the night and the accident occurred when a man, who stepped out in his front yard to get the morning paper, came in contact with the high voltage. Schlosser was indicted for not shutting off the current after there had been indication of trouble on the line. The Company was held responsible in a civil suit, but the engineer was not convicted of criminal negligence.[58]

For the rest of the spring and through the summer of 1903, there was the usual activity but there was little to indicate any change. In March, Branch and Ames were again elected to be the principal officers of the Company and all of the directors were returned to their posts.[59] By fall, however, it became evident that, again, all was not well. Branch, who had been hired as president and general manager by Blackmer, resigned. C. B. Ames took over the title of president and the directors hired W. E. Robertson to be general

[55] *The Daily Oklahoman*, January 24, 1903.
[56] *Ibid.*, January 27, 1903.
[57] OG&E Board Minutes, January 27, 1903.
[58] *Lukert v. Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co.*, 16 Okl 397, 84 P 1076 (1906).
[59] OG&E Board Minutes, March 23, 1903.

manager. G. W. Wheeler, who had been instrumental in selling the Company to Blackmer, withdrew from the board of directors, to be replaced by M. L. Turner.[60] These developments indicated that Blackmer had begun to become involved in the financial trouble that was to eventually see him removed from control of OG&E by C. B. Ames and Dennis T. Flynn.[61]

By October of 1903, only a year and a half after the formation of the new company, the directors were in serious financial difficulty. They had used all of the $147,000 bond issue for new construction, and they needed money for day to day operations. On October 12, 1903, the board approved two notes to the Kessler Company totaling over $25,000.[62] At the November meeting the same bankers were asked to extend a note for $15,000 that had come due.[63] The bank balance was down to $132.94.[64]

Even though 1904 was a big year for the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company, it did not start auspiciously. On January 20, the directors asked for an extension on one note to the Kessler Company for $10,500 and negotiated a new one for $2,000.[65] Manifestly, something had to be done for not only was the Company going deeper into debt with Kessler, but Flynn and Ames had not been able to get the money that they had loaned to Blackmer. Blackmer had put up his OG&E stock as security for the money borrowed from the two lawyers, and when he did not pay, Flynn and Ames assumed control of OG&E.[66] Both of these men were capable lawyers but neither was a utility man. In addition, a utility operator in 1904 had to be a financial promoter and neither qualified on that score.

Somewhere in his travels—possibly on a trip to the Federal District Court in Denver—Dennis Flynn had met a man named J. J. Henry who was a big jolly fellow, a flashy dresser, and the model for a fictional series of the day entitled "Get Rich Quick Wallingford." Henry was a high pressure operator and the two new owners of OG&E thought that he was the man to get the money to run the sick utility.[67] On March 15, 1904, he succeeded Judge Ames as president of the Company. Charles L. Ayling, Henry M. Blackmer, W. E. Robertson, and M. L. Turner left the board of directors and J. J. Henry, D. T.

[60] *Ibid.*, September 21, 1903.

[61] See below, p. 29.

[62] OG&E Board Minutes, October 12, 1903.

[63] *Ibid.*, November 10, 1903.

[64] OG&E general ledger, 1902–1904.

[65] OG&E Board Minutes, January 20, 1904.

[66] Federal Trade Commission, *Utility Corporations, Summary Report.* Senate Document 92, Part 36. 70th Congress, 1st Session. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 335. These documents are published in 82 volumes, or parts.

[67] Interview with Streeter B. Flynn, son of Dennis T. Flynn and later director of OG&E, March 9, 1961.

Flynn, T. B. Burbridge, and D. J. McCanne were elected.[68] J. W. Springer, who came from Denver with Henry, was hired as manager for $200 a month.[69]

All of the changes in management had been made to protect the interests of Flynn and Ames, but the bankers in New York were not completely satisfied with the arrangements. OG&E owed Kessler and Company a considerable amount of money and the lender had reason to suspect the safety of that investment. To provide a measure of protection, Kessler forced the board of directors to pass the following resolution:

> Resolved that so long as this Company is indebted to Kessler & Company, a co-partnership of the City of New York, upon any of its notes held by said Kessler & Company, no indebtedness shall be incurred by this Company, excepting its present bonded debt, in excess of the sum of Sixty-five Thousand ($65,000) Dollars, nor during such time shall any further mortgages be issued on the property of this Company, or any security of any kind be given by it for any of its floating debt; and this resolution shall be irrepealable.[70]

The next action by the board at the same March 15 meeting indicated that one of the two parties, either the bankers or the company, wished to further widen the breach that had begun with the foregoing resolution. In this action the board removed the Kessler Company as transfer agent and it was voted to return the books to the company, to be kept thereafter in Oklahoma City.[71]

During the summer of 1904, the need for large amounts of additional capital was recognized, but the limitations which had been placed on the Company's borrowing power was too much for even a "Get Rich Quick Wallingford." On September 17, Henry resigned as president and was replaced by D. T. Flynn. E. H. Cooke and T. B. Burbridge relinquished their seats on the board of directors to B. J. Allen and William Grimes.[72]

The resignation of Henry and his men did not, however, solve any problems; it only brought Flynn and Ames closer to the active management which they wished to avoid. On September 22, Flynn personally loaned the Company $10,000 and even the twelve percent interest did not make him anxious to loan more.[73]

His son, Streeter B. Flynn, recalled his father's reaction to the electric business during those trying times:[74]

[68] OG&E Board Minutes, March 15, 1904.
[69] OG&E general ledger, 1903–1904.
[70] OG&E Board Minutes, March 15, 1904.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] *Ibid.*, September 17, 1904.
[73] *Ibid.*, September 22, 1904.
[74] Streeter B. Flynn interview, March 9, 1961.

The turnover in the electric business is slow; you don't turn your money over more than once in every four or five years and my father had never been in a business like that. He said at the time, "that is the darndest business I ever got into—you never get anything out of it; you are broke all of the time." He and Judge Ames spent all of their time while they had the Company trying to raise money. Finally my father said "I'm going to get out of that business and let somebody else sign those notes."

Management companies for public utilities was a comparatively new development in 1904, but D. T. Flynn was acquainted with a man who ran one. It is possible that he learned to know Colonel H. M. Byllesby in connection with the electric company at Enid. The Colonel had formed the H. M. Byllesby Company in 1902, and in 1903, had assumed control of the Enid public utilities.[75] In any case, Dennis Flynn's statement to the Federal Trade Commission gives the circumstances surrounding his first association with the Byllesby Company:[76]

They found themselves, a firm of lawyers, with a public utility on their hands. The company was at that time a small affair, serving only Oklahoma City; the service was poor, the lights went out at frequent intervals. The new owners did not know anything about operating a public utility and Mr. Flynn wished to know what made the lights go out. So he called in his friend, Col. H. M. Byllesby.

This, then, ended the independent operation of OG&E in its early years. First as manager, then as controlling owner the H. M. Byllesby Company dominated OG&E until the New Deal holding company legislation forced the Byllesby people to divest.

At the present (1973), OG&E is a completely independent operating utility based in Oklahoma City but serving a large part of the state.

[75] H. H. Ferrin, treasurer of OG&E, to Miss Gaynell Gettell, March 7, 1939 (in OG&E Advertising and Public Relations Files).

[76] F. T. C., *Utility Report*, Part 36, p. 335.

OKLAHOMA SEMINOLE INDIANS: ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND PAN-INDIANISM

*By Jerry L. Burk**

The purpose of this paper is to identify historical influences on Oklahoma Seminole Indian people and discuss how those historical influences affect interpersonal communication between Seminoles and whites. I submit that the Seminole tribe is unprecedented in that it is the only American Indian tribe to emerge historically. "Seminoles" moved to Florida in response to the colonial migration of whites down the Atlantic seaboard, " 'the word Seminole means runaway or broke off,' Wiley Thompson wrote; 'Hence . . . applicable to all the Indians in the Territory of Florida as all of them ran away.' "[1]

The purpose of this paper will be discussed in a four-fold analysis: First, I will provide an overview of the Seminole aggregation in Florida together with historical events that precipitated removal to Indian Territory; Second, removal will be discussed as a destructive force upon Seminole social and political structure; Third, the nature of Seminole socio-political destruction will be discussed as a force that generated mistrust for whites and other Indians; Fourth, pan-Indianism will be identified as a contemporary force that has united some Indian tribes into a socio-political unity. Antecedent tribal animosities may inhibit Seminole participation in efforts for inter-tribal unity. Seminoles may be described, moreover, as a "contra-culture."

Origin of the Seminole

Seminoles aggregated in Spanish owned Florida Territory to flee the influences of colonial whites moving down the Atlantic seaboard. The nucleus was the Oconee tribe that originated on the Oconee River near Milledgeville, Georgia, in the seventeenth century. Oconee tribesmen moved from Georgia to Lower Creek Territory and finally to northern Florida. Clashes with whites were avoided by southward migration: "From the

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[1] Edwin C. McReynolds. *The Seminoles.* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 12.

desolation and ruin of three wars in the international struggle for the lands of the Creek Confederacy sprang the Seminole Indians in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Oconee formed the nucleus of this tribe whose early history was a fight for refuge and peace in a region despoiled by war."[2]

More than fifteen Southeastern Indian tribes were ultimately represented in the ranks of Seminole in Florida Territory. Each faction sought sanctuary from white intervention in their lives.

Florida Territory provided sanctuary for Seminoles because it belonged to Spain. Transgressing Spanish boundaries was an international matter that American colonists avoided for some time. Florida provided optimal political protection from white intervention while affording bountiful subsistence. "Seminole Indians lived by hunting and fishing, together with a considerable activity in farming and stock-raising. Many parts of Florida were overrun with wild animals in numbers astonishing to Europeans."[3] Seminoles were able to live in relative isolation with minimal interference from Spanish intervention.

The Spanish were not strong in Florida. Seminoles could continue their relatively autonomous domain in northern Florida with minimal resistance from the Spanish. Spanish presence helped assure legal sanctuary: "The period of vigorous British colonial activity was not long enough to affect deeply the conditions of Indian life; and for thirty-six years following the British provincial experiment, Florida was in the hands of its native population, excepting slight authority maintained by Spain from its trading centers and missions, such as Pensacola, St. Marks, and St. Augustine."[4]

Major Seminole problems began with the ceding of Florida by Spain. "Elimination of the boundary between Florida and the United States left the dismayed Seminole and their Negro associates helplessly exposed to the application of American power."[5] Legal sanctuary ended with Spanish departure as white American colonization extended down the eastern seaboard of Florida.

Seminoles resisted the white expansion into their territory by raiding settlements. Raids were costly as structures were fixed for permanent occupation. White settlements were elaborate, permanent, plantation-type-structures. Many lives and precious property of United States citizens were being destroyed at the hand of Seminoles. Colonization of the Florida

[2] Gerald Forbes. "The Origin of the Seminole Indians." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV (March, 1937), p. 102.

[3] Edwin C. McReynolds. *The Seminoles*. (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 13.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Dale Van Every. *Disinherited: The Lost Birthright of the American Indian*. (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1966), p. 177.

Territory would be retarded if citizens could not be secure in their lives and property. Federal troops were dispatched to Florida to afford security for the lives and property of settlers. Stockades were constructed to ward off damages from Seminole attacks. But Seminoles remained relatively unrestrained to plunder, at will, the Florida settlers who sought refuge within Federal stockades.

Military intervention failed to deter the Seminole threat. Political and military embarrassment was generated as Seminoles operated freely within the Florida Territory. Embarrassed leaders concluded that the Seminole would have to be defeated and removed from Florida Territory. Removal emerged as the *ultimate* solution to the protection of Florida settlers and welfare of the Seminole population.

Seminole-White Encounters

Hostile Seminole-white encounters in Florida Territory will be discussed as sources contributing to the escalation of Seminole removal to Indian Territory. Seminole raids in Florida were largely for subsistence. Whites had settled the northern and coastal portions of Florida, leaving the swampy central portion to the Seminoles. Federal troops, furthermore, threatened the security of the Seminole while meager food resources compounded hardships. Advocates for Seminole removal gained force as the hostile clashes persisted.

Indian Removal Act. Andrew Jackson ratified the Indian Removal Act in 1830 and Seminole removal was inevitable. Seminole spokesmen openly rebuked Federal action, or inaction, and the removal policy. ". . . When a man calls another his friend, let him be poor or mean as he may, *he* ought to yield to him his rights, and not say he will judge for that other, and compel his to do as *he* pleases. Yet while you say you are my friend, you tell us we *shall* go to the West."[6] Andrew Jackson's accession to the Presidency was a problem for all Southeastern Indians. Jackson was committed to removing the Indian population by military force or annihilation, whichever came first.

Treaty of Camp Moultrie. The Treaty of Camp Moultrie, September 18, 1832, was entered by the Seminole in order that the threat of Federal troops be diminished. Seminoles were "given" land parcels where they could live autonomously. "By dictate of this remarkable treaty all of the Indians of Florida were required to withdraw not only from the north but from every sea coast, thereby relinquishing at one startling stroke every portion of

[6] *Ibid.* p. 179.

Florida so far coveted by the newly arrived Americans."[7] The threat of Federal intervention was eradicated as long as the Seminoles stayed within their boundary. But the central Florida swamps did not provide resources for subsistence.

Seminoles were ceded land east of Tampa Bay. One-fifth of the reserved land was suitable for habitation. Florida Governor Duval described the Seminole reserve to Superintendent McKinney as follows:[8]

> All the good lands have been exhausted by cultivation, and it is now poor, unhealthy, and has no water near it that is fit to drink .... I think that a man who is a judge of land would not give more than one dollar per acre for the best of it above high water mark, which would not be but a small part of the whole hammock. I traveled but a small distance, in going south, on the military road. I left it near Okihumky, and examined the whole country on the right of the road as far as Tampa Bay. I visited every spot where land was spoken of as being good, and I can say with truth, I have not seen three hundred acres of good land in my whole route, after leaving the agency. . . . the best of the Indian lands are worth but little; nineteen-twentieths of their whole country within the present boundry is by far the poorest and most miserable region I ever beheld.

The land alloted in the Camp Moultrie Treaty would not sustain agriculture, nor would it sustain game for hunting:[9]

> The central Florida area north of Lake Okeechobee to which the Seminole had been forced to resort was then a wasteland of shallow lakes, sluggish rivers and undrained swamps incapable of productive cultivation. It was a region so handicapped by nature that it was not even able to support appreciable quantities of wild game. The formerly prosperous Seminole, accustomed to the agricultural fertility of northern Florida, were not equipped by experience to cope with such a marginal existence. To their dispairing appeals for relief federal administrators gave the traditional reply that the one escape from their troubles was their consent to withdraw altogether from Florida by removing to the west. After Jackson's accession to the Presidency these federal pressures were intensified.

Seminoles were being coerced into removal by, (1) their impoverished plight in central Florida and (2) by federal inaction in relief. The parceled land, provisions of the treaty, and federal policy did not meet the needs of Seminoles nor generate advantages for resolving the sources of hostile conflict with whites.

Treaty of Payne's Landing. Southeastern Indian tribes gave up land

[7] *Ibid.* p. 178.

[8] Edwin C. McReynolds. *The Seminoles.* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), pp. 113–114.

[9] Dale Van Every. *Disinherited: The Lost Birthright of the American Indian.* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1966), p. 178.

claims in the gulf region for displacement to Indian Territory. Seminole leaders were taken to Fort Gibson to peruse their "surrogate homeland." The land pleased the leaders, but some disliked moving so close to "wild" Indians of the plains. Nevertheless, Seminole leaders agreed to removal by the provisions of the Treaty of Payne's Landing in 1832:[10]

Had the United States insisted upon removal immediately after the annexation when the Seminoles were still peaceful agriculturists in north Florida there could have been no more difficulty in requiring them to take the road west than in the case of the Choctaw and Creek. But in the 12-year interim of their residence in the central Florida swamps they had been so hardened by adversities that they had reverted to a wilder and more primitive state. They had become suspicious and refractory savages with whom it was to prove as hard for white-men to deal as when Narvaez had first encountered their like on these coasts three centuries before.

Twelve years of adversity had hardened the Seminole and made them more hostile toward whites. Tensions between the Seminoles and the Federal government were such that efforts to remove them from Florida precipitated the Second Seminole War![11]

The second Seminole war was caused by efforts of the Federal Government to remove the Seminole Indians from their home in Flirida (*sic*!) by virtue of a treaty obtained in 1832 which was repudiated by practically all the tribe. When an effort was made to remove the Indians, hostilities were inaugurated by the killing of Charley Emarthla in 1835 by Osceola's followers. Emarthla was killed for his signing of the treaty agreeing to the removal of the tribe.

The Second Seminole War lasted for eight years, cost $20,000,000.00 the lives of 1500 soldiers and many more Indians. Peace terms for the Second Seminole War were reached by General W. J. Worth. Several hundred Seminoles were allowed to stay in Florida—most of whom could never have been captured. Oklahoma Seminoles, therefore, are the displaced descendants of the Florida Seminole.

Removal From Florida Territory

Removal from Florida caused fatalities in transit, and poverty which are largely responsible for the destruction of Seminole tribal structure in Oklahoma. "Removal of the tribe from Florida to the Canadian Valley was the

[10] *Ibid.* p. 180.

[11] Carolyn Thomas Foreman. "Pierce Mason Butler." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXX (Spring, 1952), p. 423n.

bitterest and most costly of all the Indian removals."[12] Colonel William Penn Adair (1878) corroborated the destructive effect of removal upon the five civilized tribes:[13]

> . . . our Nations have had to retard their progress in civilization. I refer to their removal to this country [Indian Territory]. In their removal six hundred of the Seminole were chained and handcuffed and hundreds of Creeks were removed in chains while all the rest were emigrated by military force so that it has been estimated by the authorities of the United States that each of our five civilized nations . . . lost in their emigration by death, caused by privation and suffering, one-third of their entire population. Besides this loss, millions of dollars worth of personal property was taken or destroyed east of the Mississippi River for which no remuneration has been given though provided for by our treaties.

Adair concurs with the lost tribal structure of Oklahoma Seminole as he discussed the retarded progress toward "civilization" resulting from removal. The loss of lives and property contributed to the destruction of the way of life for all five civilized tribes, especially the Seminole.

Seminole Socio-Political Structure

The destruction of Seminole socio-political structures will be discussed as a force that generated mistrust for whites and other Indian tribes. Seminoles led a war-time existence for eight years before removal. Little time could be afforded the perpetration of tribal structure as they fought for their very existence. McReynolds stated that, "No people have fought with more determination to retain their native soil, nor sacrificed so much to uphold the justice of their claims."[14] The hardships of a long war were suffered at the hands of both whites and Indian alike. White oppression was directly impressed upon the Seminole, but that damage was compounded by the co-conspiracy of Indian tribes that led white attacks upon the Seminole.

Removal to Indian Territory

Seminole social-cultural-political structure can be understood when viewed historically. Poverty, intertribal animosity, and contentions over slaves are representative issues of problems encountered by Oklahoma

[12] Edwin C. McReynolds. *The Seminoles.* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. ix.

[13] Colonel William Penn Adair. "The Indian Territory in 1878." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Vol. IV (September, 1926), p. 263.

[14] Edwin C. McReynolds. *The Seminoles.* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. ix.

Seminoles: "The plight of the Seminole presented a difficult problem, impoverished as they were, without the solidarity of their old tribal organization and with the added complications of disputes and trouble with the Creek, who claimed some of the Negro slaves and free Negroes who had come with the Seminole from Florida."[15]

The history of Seminole-White and Seminole-non-Seminole interaction provides the greatest insight into the nature of the Seminole Indian. "Adversity may produce in a people characteristics that are readily discernable, and certainly the qualities of present day Seminoles—full blood and mixed blood—and the Negroes who have long been associated with the tribe can be studied effectively only in light of history."[16] The adversities that McReynolds describes provides some understanding of the animosity harbored by Seminoles for whites and other Indians.

The Federal Government deposited Seminoles in Indian Territory without means of subsistence or sufficient rations. William Penn Adair concurred with this impoverished condition in Indian Territory when he stated that, ". . . this country was a wild wilderness at the time our Nations [Five Civilized Tribes] occupied it and our people had to improve new homes and open farms with the loss of nearly all the personal property (or its value) realized by their former labors."[17] The government had not planned for the subsistence of Seminoles sufficiently and forsook them when their need became dire. "The Seminoles who arrived in the West early in 1845 came too late to raise any crops that year. The government had provided them with provisions for six months ending in January, but when spring came they were in want. Hunting alone, they found, afforded no livelihood."[18] Provisions for protection and subsistence were not made manifest as the whites had promised in negotiations for removal.

The Civil War

Seminoles had lived in Indian Territory less than twenty-three years before the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States. The Second Seminole War, removal from Florida Territory, and displacement in Indian Territory had broken the tribal unity of the Seminole people. The Civil War

[15] Muriel H. Wright. *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma.* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), p. 232.

[16] Edwin C. McReynolds. *The Seminoles.* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. ix.

[17] Colonel William Penn Adair. "The Indian Territory in 1878." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV (September, 1926, p. 264.

[18] Arthur Graebner. "Pioneer Indian Agriculture in Oklahoma." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIII (Autumn, 1945), p. 244.

divided them further by destroying life and property amid the hostilities between North and South:[19]

The non-Secessionist faction among them [Seminole], headed by Billy Bowlegs (Son-nuk-mek-ko) refused to treat with Pike [Commissioner for the Confederate States], and although they received no support nor encouragement from the Government or from the President to whome they wrote: "Now the wolf has come, men who are strangers tread our soil, our children are frightened and the mothers cannot sleep for fear," they shortly thereafter joined the "Loyal Creeks" and fought on the Union side throughout the war.

Seminoles were divided into sessionists and non-sessionists and their tribal structure was further rent asunder. Indian Territory was open for plundering by both sides as each could trace combatants into that area and "justify" aggression against the Indians.

The Civil War was the single-most damaging historical event in destroying Seminole structure:[20]

The war between North and South, 1861 to 1865, was the greatest misfortune of all for the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes . . . . the people of the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole nations suffered more terrible losses than white citizens in any part of the country. . . . Indians who lived north of the Canadian were the victims of unendurable pressure from both sides and devastating violence in all stages of the war . . . Losses of the Seminoles, Creeks, and Cherokees were heavier in percentage of total population than the losses of any northern or southern state.

Indian involvement in the Civil War was not by choice. They had nothing to gain by choosing sides in this white dispute:[21]

The Seminoles at the outbreak of the war, were not much concerned one way or another. They had had enough war in Florida, and the events attending their removal had not left them with any debt of gratitude to either the North or the South. Under the protection of well garrisoned federal forts placed in the Indian Territory to guarantee their security they were recovering from the devastating effects of the drought of 1860 and when there was an almost complete failure of crops in Nebraska, Indian Territory and Kansas. They hoped that while the whites were settling their differences among themselves the Indians might be left alone to pursue peaceful pastoral lives in the country in which their roots had already stuck so deep.

The neutrality of the Indians was not respected by either side in the four year long dispute.

[19] Alice Hurley Mackey. "Father Murrow." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII (March, 1934), p. 60.

[20] Edwin C. McReynolds. *The Seminoles.* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 289.

[21] Alice Hurley Mackey. "Father Murrow." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII (March, 1934), p. 65.

Indians were killed, driven from their homes and their property destroyed by contending forces: "During the four years of the war the contending armies directly, and indirectly, plundered our country [Indian Territory] and what one army did not take the other did so that between their depredations and the general effect of the war, the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles lost all their property of every description and had their houses destroyed or so wrecked as to render them of little value."[22]

Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole populations were drastically reduced by hostilities of the Civil War.

Cherokee census rolls, for example, were reduced from 25,000 to 13,000 and the same effect might be expected in Creek and Seminole census rolls: ". . . on the establishment of peace . . . our people [Cherokee] began to return to their homes and thousands of them on account of their extreme destitution were unable to return without assistance and very few returned with any household property, farming implements or livestock of any kind."[23]

Alice Mackey, describing the life of Father Joseph Samuel Murrow with the Seminole after the civil war, stated that, ". . . at no place was the reconstruction period more bitter than in the Indian Territory."[24] Seminoles returned to their land after the Civil War and reconstruction began for the second time in thirty years. Suspicion and mistrust for whites and other Indians had been well reinforced by that time.

Suspicion and mistrust were fostered by white men who terrorized, exploited, and plundered the Seminole in Florida, during removal and by hostilities in the Civil War:[24]

> . . . southern Indian refugees were wanderers, for the second time in thirty years forcibly evicted from their homes, a stricken people moving from place to place because of weather, sanitary conditions, or the proximity of Federal Troops. "With the fluctuating fortunes of war, my people and I had to move often" says Father Murrow, "Kansas Jayhawkers and Texas Bushwhackers raided the Territory, terrorizing, murdering. . . . It was a dreadful time, I know whereof I speak for I was with the refugee Indians through those horrible years of war. . . . Their cattle and ponies were driven north and south by tens of thousands for which they did not receive a penny. Their houses were burned, their fields laid waste. . . . their country was again a wilderness."

Fears, mistrust, and suspicions fostered in post-civil-war Indian Territory

[22] Colonel William Penn Adair. "The Indian Territory in 1878." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV (September, 1926), p. 265.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Alice Hurley Mackey. "Father Murrow." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII (March, 1934), p. 62.

continue to pervade the "psyche" of some American Indians today. No other Indian tribe can justify suspicious trepidations more than the Seminole.

Some Indian tribes had contributed to the Seminole problems in their suspicions and mistrust as aggressors and co-conspirators with the Federal Government. Other Indian tribes are directly linked to Seminole hardships in Florida Territory as they directed white attacks. Creek represent the pinnacle of Seminole distaste for non-Seminoles, but many writers fail to separate Seminoles from Creeks. Equivocation of these two tribes may, superficially, seem to imply "compatibility" or "good-will" between them. McReynolds contends that these two tribes must be separated. "The residence of Seminoles apart in Spanish Florida . . . and the gradual development of interests that were not only distinct, but in some cases positively hostile to those of the Creek Indians, render separate treatment of the two tribes a necessity.[25] Creeks were constantly sources of contention for Seminoles though their social-cultural structure and language were almost identical.

Seminole-Creek contentions stem from Creek assistance to the Federal Government in removing them from Florida. The removal was costly in lives and property, and the Creeks contributed to the atrocities. Tuckabatche Micco, a Creek chief was especially instrumental in the Seminole removal: "With this election the late principal chiefs of the Lower and Upper Creeks, Roley McIntosh and Tuckabatche Micco, retired from public life. . . . But these men were captives in the Creek wars and Tuckabatche Micco exerted great influence in removing the Seminoles from Florida in 1857–58. His services at that time were very valuable to the United States."[26]

Seminoles objected to being located near the Creeks after removal. They settled around Fort Gibson and some in Cherokee land to avoid the hated Creeks.

Choctaws had also been co-conspirators with General Jackson in at least one Florida invasion. McReynolds provides a description of the forces grouped against the Seminoles in 1814 as follows: "The troops ready for action included the Third, Thirty-ninth, and Forty-seventh Infantry; a part of General Coffee's brigade; a part of the Tennessee militia regiment; and the Mississippi Dragoons; and a *Choctaw Indian Company*."[27]

Numerous Indian tribes had conspired against the Seminole in their short history. They were betrayed by whites and their Indian counterparts. Mis-

[25] Edwin C. McReynolds. *The Seminoles.* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. x.

[26] Ohland Morton. "The Government of the Creek Indians." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VIII (March, 1936), p. 47.

[27] Edwin C. McReynolds. *The Seminoles.* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 66.

trust and suspicion were fostered by the history of betrayals by whites and Indians alike, and misgivings for both factions persists today.

Pan-Indianism

Pan-Indianism will be identified as a contemporary force that could unite Seminoles and other tribes into a socio-political unity. I submit, however, that such an alliance is unlikely as a result of mistrust for other Indians, as well as whites. I will begin by describing pan-Indianism as it operates in other Indian tribes and conclude by indicating how the forces fostering pan-Indianism may not be extant for Seminoles.

American Indian tribes have lost their aboriginal identities as a result of white interaction, displacement, and governmental control spanning centuries. Pan-Indianism is a social movement to generate a surrogate identity for that lost by the Individual tribes. "One can legitimately define Pan-Indianism as the expression of a new identity and the institutions and symbols which are both an expression of that new identity and the fostering of it. It is an attempt to create a new ethnic group, the American Indian; it is also a vital social movement which is forever changing and growing."[28]

Commonality between Indian tribes, emphasized by pan-Indianism, has been described by Robert K. Thomas as follows: (1) Pan-Indianism began with the Plains Indians and Plains characteristics pervade the movement; (2) Pan-Indianism is the result of "reservationism" and the pressure for Indians to "assimilate"; (3) Indians assimilated with one another—not with the white norm. Pan-Indianism is, therefore, a counter-force by Indians against the pressures of whites.

White institutions were intended to assimilate American Indians into middle-class life. Instead these institutions have fostered *Pan-Indianism*. ". . . the process of pan-Indianism has been abetted by educational and custodial institutions which have confined together Indians of various linguistic and cultural backgrounds and subjected them to a common discipline. Institutions which were designed to deracinate instead fostered pan-Indianism."[29] Sentiments, values, and beliefs of American Indian tribes are being combined in the development of an "Indian Identity." The identity is not that of one tribe, though Plains influences are the most prominent, but emphasis upon the commonality of all Indian peoples.

Thomas stated that Pan-Indianism is promoting the growth of a new

[28] Robert K. Thomas. "Pan-Indianism." *The American Indian Today*. Edited by Stuart Levine and Nancy Oestriech Lurie. (Deland, Florida Everett/Edwards, Inc., 1968), p. 77.

[29] Murray L. Wax. *Indian Americans: Unity and Diversity*. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 135.

ethnic group. He stated that anthropologists are changing their perspective in viewing American Indians as a result:[30]

> We saw American Indian tribal groups remaining as small societies, integrating into the matrices of their cultures various traits and institutions from western civilization while at the same time retaining much continuity with the past. We saw many individuals, however, leave those small societies and become a part of the general American milieu. It is the process of individual acculturation that is being changed by the Pan-Indian movement.

Anthropologists are changing their perspective from the overview of the culture, to the acculturation of individuals into the milieu of the dominant American society.

Murray L. Wax contends that there was never the "cultural milieu" as the focus for dealing with American Indians in the dominant white society. ". . . rather than the 'Indian Problem,' there is a set of diverse problems involving the interrelationships of Indians and non-Indians in a broad ecological and institutional context."[31] A great many problems in the interrelationship of Indians and non-Indians have been out of the control of the Indian population. "Like most human beings, Indians have always tried to deal with their own problems as they encountered them, but many features of their present problems are beyond their control. Even when this is not so, they are handicapped by poverty, social discrimination, and the restrictive nature of many governmental policies."[32]

"Indian Problems" may be insoluble as long as: (1) the Indian is encumbered by social maladies such as poverty, social discrimination, and governmental control; (2) and those problems remain a mystery for whites that stand outside the Indian social milieu.

Seminoles: One Anomalous Tribe

Historical antecedents such as mistrust and suspicion may inhibit Seminole-non-Seminole intercommunication. Seminoles might seem amenable to the conscription of a pan-Indian identity, but inspection of historical antecedents seem to indicate that this may not be the case. Aboriginal Seminole tribal identity has been lost, but an imperative for Seminoles to ally with other Indian groups seems to be lacking. Seminoles, moreover,

[30] Robert K. Thomas. "Pan-Indianism." *The American Indian Today*. Edited by Stuart Levine and Nancy Oestriech Lurie. (Deland, Florida Everett/Edwards, Inc., 1968), p. 83.

[31] Murray L. Wax. *Indian Americans: Unity and Diversity*. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 193.

[32] *Ibid.*

may represent a "contra-culture." They are vulnerable to the domination of the white social milieu, but they are also suspicious of Indian counter parts. Seminoles may aggregate against the threat of non-Seminoles (whites and other Indians) and may be identified as a "*contra-culture*."

Summary

The foregoing discussion provides an overview of the historical and cultural factors that might contribute to failures in non-Seminole intercommunication with Seminoles. Hostilities in Florida Territory, Removal to Indian Territory, and the Civil War provide an historical matrix for understanding Seminole Indians. Some contemporary writers addressing American tribes fail to differentiate Seminole from Creek. But Seminole problems in the dominant white social milieu cannot be addressed in a pan-Creek, pan-Southeastern, or pan-Indian fashion. This study is submitted that the Seminole Indian tribe is unprecedented as a social sub-group and may represent a *contra-culture*. Research is needed to determine the nature of urban assimilation of Seminoles to determine if they represent a contra-culture.

1972 INDEX

The Annual Index to *The Chronicles*, Vol. L, 1972, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is distributed free to those who receive the quarterly magazine. Orders for the Annual Index should be addressed to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105.

THE 80TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

It is not every day that one celebrates an 80th anniversary. Recognizing this fact, the Oklahoma Historical Society was proud to mark the occasion of its founding with a banquet and open house. The banquet was held on Saturday, May 26th, and honored both the Society and the Society's president, Mr. George Shirk. The event took place in the Silver Palm Room in Penn Square, Oklahoma City, and was attended by many interested people from across the state. Well-known Oklahomans, including members of the State Legislature, heard Mr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones of *The Tulsa World* give an informative and entertaining account of some of the more unusual place-names in Oklahoma. Mr. Shirk, as guest of honor, spoke on the meaning of heritage, stating that "Heritage is the collective gift to all of us from those who have gone before." Musical entertainment was presented by Oklahoma Christian College.

The Open House on Sunday included a preview look at the newly decorated, but not-yet-open, Confederate Room with its memorabilia of the Civil War, and, the dedication of a cupola from the old Baum building in Oklahoma City set on the grounds of the Oklahoma Historical Society. There was also the placement of a Time Capsule in the front lawn. Immediately following, in the midst of a remarkably high wind, there was the traditional firing of the Civil War cannon that stands in front of the Historical Building. Inside, punch was offered to all of the guests in attendance from the famous and beautiful sterling silver punch bowl taken from the *S. S. Oklahoma* sunk in Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941.

Faculty of Henry Kendall College at Muskogee and the College buildings, 1897
(Alice Robertson Photograph Collection, O.H.S.)

RARE PHOTOGRAPHS BY MISS ALICE ROBERTSON IN OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTION

In the last weeks of 1972, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Sanders, Oklahoma City, undertook a special project for the Oklahoma Historical Society. Since 1948, there has been a small wooden box of glass negatives sitting unopened in the Editorial Office. Mr. and Mrs. Sanders include among their hobbies kodak and camera film development. They were sent the stoutly crated box and they gave their time, talent and the necessary paper to make photo prints from the glass negatives. Thanks to their efforts, the Editorial Office now has 76 interesting, rare old pictures of the early-day Muskogee area. The many glass negatives appear to have been crated in 1917. Also, Miss Alice Robertson is revealed as the photographer, some of the photos dating back to Indian Territory days in 1894.

CHIMNEY ROCK, 1973

Unlike the leaning tower of Pisa, which has been bolstered and reinforced from time to time, Chimney Rock, a notable and famous landmark in northwestern Oklahoma could not be saved by man. The rock column which rose to a height of 30 feet above its base in the SE¼, Sec. 28, T25N, R 17W, was approximately 8½ miles southeast of Alabaster Caverns State Park and 24 miles northeast of Woodward. In a day when ecologists and preservationists are fighting to preserve our national landmarks, it is interesting to note that the hand of nature cannot always be controlled.

Chimney Rock, a monument that marked the way for expeditions and travellers for centuries, served as a guide and finally as a curiosity of nature. This ancient landmark worn by the storms and winds through the years has fallen (1973), and is now a pile of rubble and broken stone that once stood a tall pillar on the landscape of Northwestern Oklahoma.

MEMORIALS TO DECEASED MEMBERS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Golda B. Slief: Miss Golda B. Slief was born in Dover, Oklahoma Territory, on August 3, 1890. Miss Slief's parents were 89'ers and her father, John Anthony Slief, made the run and staked a claim 3½ miles southeast of Dover in what is now Kingfisher County. Miss Slief received an A.B. Degree from Oklahoma City University and an M.A. from the University of Oklahoma. She attended summer sessions in Public Health Nursing at

Iowa University and Colorado A & M College. She received her R.N. Diploma from St. Joseph's Hospital, Ft. Worth, Texas, and served in the Navy Nurse Corp in World War I.

Miss Slief was active in many organizations and contributed her time and talent generously to them all. She had a life membership with the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Oklahoma State Nurses Association, The 89'ers, Inc., The Catholic women's Activities Club and the American Nurses Association. Among her many honors, she was listed in "*Who's Who of American Women.*" In 1951, she wrote "Oklahoma City Historical Markers" for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* She died in Oklahoma City on June 28, 1972, and was buried in the Slief family lot at Kingfisher, Oklahoma, Memorial Cemetery.

Greenwood Mitchell McCurtain: Greenwood Mitchell McCurtain was born in Indian Territory, in what is now McAlester, Oklahoma, on November 3, 1904. He was the son of Judge D. C. McCurtain and the grandson of the last tribally elected chief of the Choctaws, Governor Green McCurtain. Mr. McCurtain married Julia Ward of Tishomingo, Oklahoma, on May 28, 1923. Mrs. McCurtain was the great granddaughter of Jesse Chisholm, the Trail Blazer. In 1937, Mr. McCurtain moved to Texas as a member of the Railway Mail Association and at the time of his death on December 2, 1972, was chief illustrator with the Fort Worth Post Office. Mr. McCurtain is survived by his wife and five children, Betty, Mrs. James L. Ellis of Phoenix, Arizona; Greenwood and Julian of Fort Worth; Ward C. Chisholm of Beaumont; Wilma Miller of Somerville, N.J.; sixteen grand children and seven great grandchildren. He is also survived by a sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Sims of Silver Springs, Md., and a brother, Jackson, of Fort Worth.

PAYNE COUNTY DEMOCRAT, 1894

The *Payne County Democrat* began publication at Perkins, Payne County, Oklahoma, on Friday, June 8, 1894. A faded, torn copy of this issue sent to the Editorial Department for microfilming several years before the Society's microfilm program was perfected is an item of interest in the history of the Press Association in Oklahoma as well as in the stories of the first towns and the leaders in "Old Oklahoma" opened to settlement by the run on April 22, 1889. The copy of the *Democrat* was sent to the Editorial Department by Mr. Warren Spear of Perkins, Oklahoma, who was enthusiastic in the support of the Payne County Historical Society. He had been one of the hosts of an enjoyable meeting of Oklahoma Historical Society members with the Payne County group held recently at Perkins (1947).

The old issue of the *Democrat* carries its first item headed "Salutatory" by J. K. Allen, Editor, addressed "To the citizens of Perkins and vicinity":

This week we will mail you the first issue of the *Payne County Democrat.* Hitherto our county has had but one organ of that political faith, while each of the other parties has had but one organ of that political faith, while each of the other parties have from two to five papers in that county. The *Democrat* will advocate the cause of democracy as it understands it, and we believe the west and south construes the issues of the day. We favor bimetalism, tariff for revenue only and an income tax. The *Democrat* can not and will not at any time condone the act of any man whose official conduct has been at variance with the teachings of his party, nor will we yield principle to policy. In county matters we advocate reform and the election of men to office who will reduce the cost of conducting public affairs to a minimum. We believe the present price of county warrants at 50 cents on the dollar to be the result of mismanagement of public affairs.

The *Democrat* will work for the interests of Perkins and vicinity to the exclusion of all others. We ask and hope for your patronage, and will endeavor to make our interests mutual....

The same issue of the Democrat (p. 1, col. 4) gave the speech of Roy Hoffman of the *Guthrie Leader* delivered before the Oklahoma Editorial Association on June 6, 1894. Hoffman, later usually called "General Hoffman," was known as one of the most gifted public speakers in Oklahoma during his life-time.[1]

The Press of Oklahoma

Roy Hoffman Makes an Interesting Talk on That Topic

Nowhere in the vineyard of the Lord can there be found a more patient, lowly, hard-working, poorly paid set of handicraftsmen than they who make and wield the power of the press in Oklahoma. Strong in individual belief that every other is mentally a pauper and morally a starveling, there is yet in each of us a deep, well-grounded conviction that in our collective breasts is the seat of all intelligence and the home of a late pattern model of all the living virtues.

At no time and place have the vicissitudes of journalism been greater or the field broader than in the settlement and upbuilding of this territory. Here was a frontier upon the interior, a face without expression; a history without a written record; a banquet without guests; a fountain sealed; a poem frozen; an uproar

[1] Roy Hoffman settled at Guthrie in 1889, and was admitted to the bar the next year at the age of 21. Some months after the run into the Cherokee Outlet in 1893, he established the *Guthrie Leader* that became the outstanding Democratic newspaper in Oklahoma Territory. He was active in civic and political affairs, and served in many public positions in his county and the state until the time of his death (1953). He was the ranking officer of the Oklahoma National Guard from 1900 to 1917. He was commissioned brigadier general in the National Army in August, 1917, and was a commanding officer with the Army in France during World War II. After the war, General Hoffman was an officer in the Reserve Army, and one of the organizers of the American Legion.

of color; a tumult of tradition, a riot of savage beauty; a language eloquent in a thousand tongues and yet mute with unspoken sublimity in all.

States are not great except as newspapers make them. For the rapid development of this country, for its spontaneous recognition among the commonwealths of the nation, for its high rating among the resources of the republic, a common impulse and a common justice pay tribute to the press.

It is no little thing—this building up a newspaper. Napoleon thought that 3 o'clock in the morning to be the rarest, but the Oklahoma newspaper must have a courage that burns all night, bright and steadfast as the stars, and which bubbles up at daybreak, joyous as the first burst of beams upon the morning dew. It may only sleep when the storm sleeps; its work is only done when the history of the future state is written.

He who enters journalism in Oklahoma embarks on a sea of trouble. Upon the unknown waters strange sirens signal and hidden rocks gore. He must know how to meet all the petty annoyances that crowd into daily life as well as engage in the "big wars that make ambition virtue." He must know how to know all and double up and double quick. He must know that the thing of least value in a newspaper office is brains and the thing most desired is a capacity to make one dollar do the work of two. He must crimp the locks of the fellow that needs it and back it up with a heroic display of courage even though he have it not. He must look with resignation upon all the ills that "make calamity of fortune." He must charge his contemporary with all the crimes in Newgate calendar, point with derision to his mental laches, drive coaching expeditions through his moral makeup, lament the fact that his mental pestilence poisons the community, and then meet him 'round the corner when the shades of night have gathered fast and clasp him fast to your bosom as a brother while you wink the other eye and schedule a pool of rates on printing or plan new methods to bilk the big-hearted public out of a livelihood. If the occasion demands he must put an upper case eye or an italicased expression upon the face of a bellicose visitor. He must praise the rank goodness of his party's candidate with the blandness of unconscious innocence. He must lie on a kite shaped track for the merchant of his town and then smother a wild-eyed desire to jam his hell box down into his vermiform appendix when he refuses to pay for the advertisement. He must give long primer always and must be satisfied with solid agate in return. He must see his circulation drop into ruin and decay or get licked for telling the truth. He is constantly between the Scylla of bankruptcy and Charybidis of a 'scoop.' He must print acres of church announcements without money and without price, and then be told that his chance for salvation is not worth a small pica em. He must pick up and curry and scrub and groom and boost the politician into power and then submit to his exchanging plums for little words of kindness from rival newspapers. He must shout double leaded over the metoric display of genius in the amateur theatrical and then when the participants fail to pay for their puffs make a histrionic effort to keep from saying that their ability is on a par with his paste pot. He must know how to caricature a fault, crystalize a virtue or cauterize a

chump. He must know where to take hold and when to let go. And then when he goes to that land where no "scoops" are ever served, when the "fat" takes are all up, the strings measured and cashed in, when his life has gone out in the work which burns the candle at both ends, he will drop aside unnoticed and unsung, and the community for which he gave his toil without stint will not even mark the neglected spot with the heathen benediction of a headstone. They could not repay him in sum or kind with all the golden glories of the New Jerusalem.

It is too long a story to enter upon the individual characteristics of the press of Oklahoma. Our 213 newspapers and publications contain the wisdom of the ages with the dash and vigor of the times. But even this poor mention would be more sadly incomplete did I not pause long enough to speak the name of him who lead where we might follow, who blazed the path of Oklahoma journalism and early gave up his life in the work. Where dust was mingled with the soil and sunshine of this territory who was first to come and soonest to go—who was first to tell the beauties of the land of the fair God and who told them as no other can, and this association will long hold in tender reverence the name of Milton W. Reynolds, the "Kicking Bird."[1]

It rolls a billowy wealth of affection into his waking hours, and steals upon him as he sleeps and stoops above him, glad to rain its gold into his dreams.

An so we go, each our separate way, evolving the history which we make, in which we mingle and of which we form a part. We can but write the preface. We can only lay the corner-stone of the edifice. But when our pencils are worn away to the tip, when our copy is all in, when "30" is called, may they who are to follow say of us that we played our many parts unselfishly and without complaint, and the work was well begun.

A REMINDER OF INDIAN TERRITORY DAYS ON THE SANTA FE RIGHT-OF-WAY NEAR EDMOND

The following note from Mike Gerald of Edmond points out a historical site showing a marked date of 1886 beside the Santa Fe Railroad track, with some history of this region when it was still Indian Territory:

[1] Milton W. Reynolds, well-known press correspondent for the *New York Tribune* and other papers, wrote of important events from the close of the Civil War to the opening of the unassigned lands (Old Oklahoma) in 1889. He was present at the great council with the leaders and chiefs of the Plains tribes at the Medicine Lodge in 1867, where he became the friend of the Kiowa chief, Kicking Bird. Reynolds adopted the name and became better known under this *nom de plume*—"Kicking Bird"—as a writer than under his own name. He championed the cause of the "Boomers" and the opening of Old Oklahoma in 1889. A few days after the opening, he started the *Guthrie Herald*, and founded the *Edmond Sun* within a few weeks. Reynolds was the most distinguished man elected to the First Legislative Council of Oklahoma Territory on August 5, 1890, but died before the Council convened a few days later.

A Note Worthy of Remembering

Travel via the Santa Fe Railroad tracks south from Edmond to Oklahoma City has become an almost indistinguishable jaunt through a scattered ten mile suburb. Edmond began to lose its distinct identity from the Oklahoma state capitol years ago.

However, traveling by foot, an Oklahoma historian would have to hike only a couple of miles from the Edmond depot to encounter the solemn remnants not of early Oklahoma but of Indian Territory before the famed land run of 1889!

Upon first indication of the site, one would acknowledge only a pensive lilac bush straddling a barbed wire fence which borders the west side of the track. Drawing nearer, the hiker may distinguish that a fence post emerging from the lilac bush is actually a crudely-fashioned cross keeping sacred and solitary vigil over two weathered mounds of dirt. Only on close examination does one realize that these mounds are graves and that they are over 86 yars old:

Both graves are marked. Letters scratched upon a stone slab read:

FRANK
MOSIER
DIED
SEP 17, 1886
AGE 22

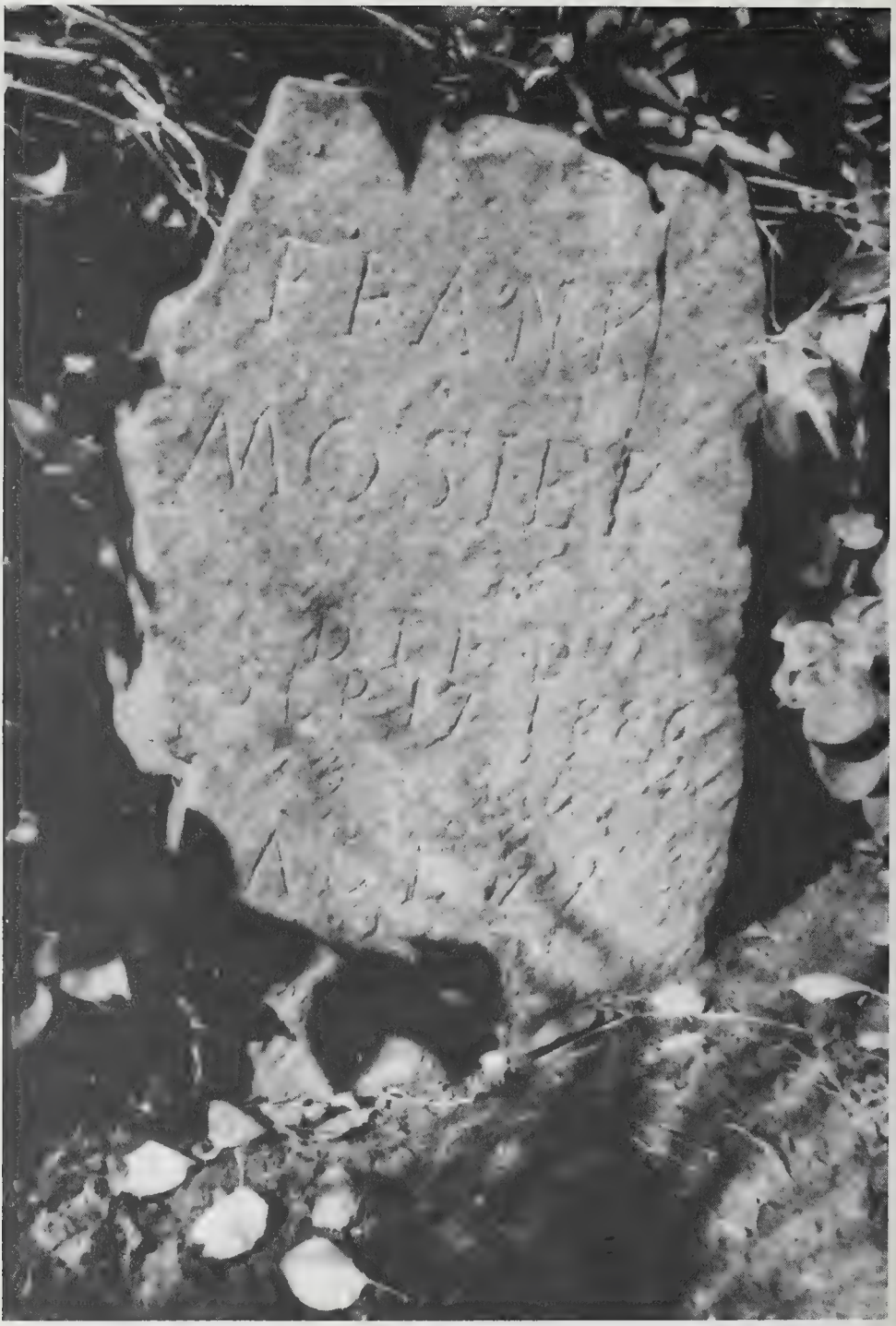
A small iron cross records only "Willie Davis" on the other grave.

Santa Fe trackmen over the years had kept up the graves somewhat and had apparently planted the lilac bush to shade them. It was 1919 when trackman F. L. Tanner of Ralston first saw the graves. But it wasn't until 1950 that he was assigned to maintain that section of track which he did until his retirement in 1965. It was during this period that Tanner took upon himself the responsibility of tending the graves. "There had been changes in the track forces and they did not seem to care about the graves, so I took over the maintenance of them, which I did for the next 15 years," Tanner recalled.

Originally, there was also a headstone marking Willie Davis' grave listing his age at 14. Tanner understood from "oldtimers" however, that a Catholic priest had come to Edmond many years earlier searching for a missing younger brother. The priest found his brother, Willie Davis, and replaced the stone marker with a more permanent iron cross which he fashioned with two iron spokes from a wagon wheel.

Other tales of old timers have it that the men's deaths resulted from a fight in the track construction camp. The date, 1886, is reasonable since the construction of the track was begun in 1885 and completed in 1887. However, other rumors claim the two were victims of a fever which swept the camp. It is unlikely that the true story will ever be known.

Shortly before Tanner retired to Ralston, he erected the wooden cross, scraped the ground around the graves, cut back bushes from the headstone and grave marker and spread weed killer over the area.



Gravestone at the forgotten grave of Frank Mosier

"Shortly after I had cleaned them up the last time, some vandals came there and dug out the headstones and dug about half-way down into one of the graves when, apparently they were frightened away," Tanner recorded.

It is certainly likely that these graves will suffer future attacks of vandalism unless a local historian sees fit to maintain and preserve them. They are, indeed, an unusual remnant of pre-statehood history dug three years before the run of '89.

In Tanner's own words, "It seems no more than right that men who died while building the railroad should have the courtesy of having their graves cared for."

RECENT EVENTS AT THE WOUNDED KNEE IN 1973 RECALL THE BITTERNESS OF THE TRAIL OF TEARS, 140 YEARS AGO

Indian tragedy described in a piece titled "Fate of the Indians" that was quoted in *Town's Fourth Reader* in 1847, has been received by the Editorial Office of *The Chronicles* through the interest of the Reverend Vernon A. Pendleton, Enid, Oklahoma. Mr. Pendleton gives the source of this description relating to Indian history: "Quoted from *Town's Fourth Reader*, by Salem Town; Publishers: Phinney & Co., Buffalo; Sanborn & Carter, Portland; 1847; In the Clerk's office of the District Court of the State of Maine; Pages 90, 92."

Mr. Pendleton offers his own comments on the Indian tragedy portrayed: ". . . It is the first almost contemporary description I have ever seen of 'The Trail of Tears.' It appears in *Town's Fourth Reader*, 1847. No author is listed for the story, so I assume that the editor of the book, *Salem Town*, wrote it. The information is given in the article. This book is in my collection." (Letter to Mr. George Shirk, April 9, 1973, from Vernon A. Pendleton, Superintendent of Missions, Perry Baptist Association, First National Bank Building, Enid, Oklahoma.)

Fate of the Indians

* * * * * *

1. There is, indeed, in the fate of these unfortunate beings much to awaken our sympathy, and much to disturb the sobriety of our judgment; much which may be urged to excuse their own atrocities; much which may be urged to excuse us into an involuntary admiration. What can be more melancholy than their history? By a law of their nature, they seem destined to a slow, but sure extinction. Everywhere at the approach of the white man, they fade away.

2. We hear the rustling of their footsteps. like that of the withered leaves of autumn, and they are gone forever. They pass mournfully by us, and they return no more. Two centuries ago, the smoke of their wigwams and the fires of their

councils rose in every valley, from Hudson's Bay to the farthest Florida, from the ocean to the Mississippi and the lakes.

3. The shouts of victory and the war-dance rang through the mountains and the glades. The thick arrows and the deadly tomahawk whistled through the forests; and the hunter's trace and the dark encampment startled the wild beasts in their lairs. The warriors stood forth in their glory. The young listened to the songs of other days. The mothers played with their infants, and gazed on the scene with warm hopes of the future. The aged sat down; but they wept not.

4. They should soon be at rest in fairer regions, where the Great Spirit dwelt in a home prepared for the brave, beyond the western skies. Braver men never lived; truer men never drew the bow. They had courage, and fortitude, and sagacity, and perseverance, beyond most of the human race. They shrank from no dangers, and they feared no hardships.

5. If they had the vices of savage life, they had the virtues also. They were true to their country, their friends, and their homes. If they forgave not injury, neither did they forget kindness. If their vengeance was terrible, their fidelity and generosity were unconquerable also. Their love, like their hate, stopped not on this side of the grave.

6. But where are they? Where are the villages, and warriors, and youth; the sachems and the tribes; the hunters and their families? They have perished. They are consumed. The wasting pestilence has not alone done the mighty work. No; nor famine, nor war. There has been a mightier power, a moral canker, which hath eaten into their heart-cores; a plague which the touch of the white man communicated; a poison which betrayed them into a lingering ruin.

7. The winds of the Atlantic fan not a single region which they may now call their own. Already, the last feeble remnants of the race are preparing for their journey beyond the Mississippi. I see them leave their miserable homes, the aged, the helpless, the women, and the warriors, "few and faint, yet fearless still."

8. The ashes are cold on their native hearths. The smoke no longer curls round their lowly cabins. They move on with a slow, unsteady step. The white man is upon their heels for terror or despatch; but they heed him not. They turn to take a last look of their deserted villages. They cast a last glance upon the graves of their fathers. They shed no tears; they utter no cries; they heave no groans.

9. There is something in their hearts which passes speech. There is something in their looks, not of vengeance or submission, but of hard necessity, which stifles both; which chokes all utterance; which has no aim or method. It is courage absorbed in despair. They linger but for a moment. Their look is onward. They have passed the fatal stream. It shall never be repassed by them; no never. Yet there lies not between us and them an impassable gulf. They know and feel, that there is for them still one remove farther not distant, nor unseen. It is to the general burial-ground of the race.

Patrick J. Hurley and American Foreign Policy. By Russell D. Buhite. (Cornell University Press, Ithica, 1973. Pp. xiv + 342. Preface, illustrations, bibliography, index. $14.50.)

An Oklahoman by birth, Patrick J. Hurley rose from humble origins to national prominence as Secretary of War under Herbert Hoover and as special envoy and ambassador under Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman. During this period Hurley exerted an important influence on certain areas of American Foreign policy. Buhite, professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, intended this book as an alternative to that done by Don Lohbeck in 1956. As such, the author produced a more critical interpretation by writing an "objective and scholarly study of Hurley" countering the authorized biased account done by Lohbeck. Throughout the book Buhite argues that due in part to Hurley's poor formal training he failed to see the entirety and complexity of international situations. Thus, Hurley appears as a man of mediocre ability whose successes came largely from his pragmatic and opportunistic approach to diplomacy.

Throughout the book Buhite emphasizes Hurley's career as diplomat and foregoes much personal material. As Secretary of War Hurley became a staunch antagonist to Philippine independence during the early 1930s and was influential in delaying Filipino sovereignty. His next international involvement came as arbitrator over Mexican oil expropriations for petroleum magnate Henry Sinclair during the Cardenas government. When World War II began Hurley had assignments to the Southwest Pacific, Russia, and the Middle East. He failed to run guns and supplies in a secret attempt to General MacArthur and was next employed by FDR largely in terms of a fact-finder to Russia and Iran. His last and most important mission was to China during 1944–1945. Here, Hurley strived to bring the Kuomingtag and the Communists together in a coalition government while at the same time maintaining cooperation with the American Army against Japan. After frustration and finally resignation, due in part to what Hurley termed State Department sabotage, he spent the final years of his life according to Buhite, "in fits of emotion, inconsistency and non-think."

Due to both Hurley's aggressive nature and his involvement in controversial issues in American foreign policy there is much room for differing interpretations about Hurley's influence and achievements. Many areas of disagreement between Buhite and Lohbeck concern larger foreign policy

controversies that are still being hotly debated today. Buhite's thesis that Hurley was naive about the complexity of international politics is borne out by Hurley's faith in Joseph Stalin and his promises concerning Russian entry in the Asian front. Further evidence is seen by Hurley's charge that his work in China was undercut by Communists in the State Department. But Buhite admits that Hurley's mission to form a coalition government in China was impossible and that China's internal problems were beyond the competence of any American to solve. However, Hurley did understand the paradox of American foreign policy concerning the application of the Atlantic Charter to the Far East. Although Buhite appears at times to be quite harsh on Hurley, his analysis and arguments are forceful and do provide a more critical study than do those of Lohbeck. Yet, throughout the book Buhite casts a shadow over the Hurley's career in American diplomacy leaving the reader with the feeling that *perhaps* another man might have done better. However, Buhite has given the reader a different perspective on Hurley by bringing together many previously unused sources and in so doing has demonstrated a fine ability to write clear and interesting prose.

—Charles R. McClure

University of Texas at El Paso Library

A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition Under Colonel Doniphan. By Jacob S. Robinson. Reprint of 1932 edition, originally published by Princeton University Press. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972. Pp. v, 96. Illustrations. Map. Index. $7.50.)

The Da Capo Press has reissued *A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition Under Colonel Doniphan*, indicating the importance of Robinson's observations of the hardships of the Mexican campaign as well as the importance of his descriptions of the country and its peoples. Private Robinson served in the Doniphan Expedition as a member of the First Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers, and they, like the rest of the Army of the West, marched to Santa Fe. There Robinson's regiment was ordered to join General Wood at Chihuahua. Leaving the remainder of the Army of the West, Doniphan's Expedition headed toward Chihuahua, and after traversing ninety miles of desert and taking a Mexican army at El Paso, the column learned that General Wood was much further south; he was at Saltillo. The army resolutely took up its southern march, and exposed to innumerable hardships, the expedition won Chihuahua. With the capture of that city, Doniphan was able to push on to Saltillo, assuring success of the American campaign in the northern sector of Mexico. From Saltillo, Robinson and the

other volunteers returned home by way of Matamoros to New Orleans and their mustering out.

Robinson's account of this troop movement is both important and interesting, and this is not because he detailed accounts of war strategy, army politics, or campaigns, but rather because Robinson chronicled what interested him—the lack of provisions, the constant heat and drought in the summer, the snow and cold in the winter, the enormous size of onions, the magnificent fields of corn, and even the blue fly, which Robinson heartily desired to be "delivered from."

Yet, in addition to relating the rigors of the march from Fort Leavenworth to Matamoros, Jacob Robinson also chronicled accounts and descriptions of the novel things exciting his curiosity. He obviously was interested in the "Purbelos" as his descriptions of various phases of their lifestyles indicated—the war dance, the food, the weaving. By the same token, the Navajos equally fascinated Robinson, and, in the same manner as with the Pueblos, he noted the Navajo dress, the horses, the games, the weaving.

By making these observations on the native peoples, Robinson left an important description of life in the Southwest on the eve of the influx of Anglo-American authority. This coupled with the author's presentation of the individual soldier's hardships on the campaign make *A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition Under Colonel Doniphan* both interesting and enlightening to scholars and laymen alike.

—Sherry Warrick

Edmond, Oklahoma

California and the Dust Bowl Migration. By Walter J. Stein. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973. Pp. 302.)

The appearance of *California and the Dust Bowl Migration* should please Oklahomans in two ways. This book, a revised version of Dr. Stein's dissertation done at the University of California-Berkeley, presents the first substantial treatment of the "Okies" since John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*. Historians had too long ignored Oklahoma's west coast cousins. Moreover, Stein's well developed themes confirm long held suspicions in the "Sooner" state that their relatives met little hospitality at the end of Route 66. Neither as poverty stricken interstate migrants nor as production inputs in California's farm industries did the "Okies" gain much sympathy from their new home state. Instead, they became a political football in the latter periods of the New Deal.

In many ways the westward trek of the 1930's was an emotional experience ironically akin to that felt by future Oklahomans along the Trail of Tears

a century earlier. Despite a lack of photographs which could have contributed much pathos to the plight of the migrants, Stein's text picks up some of their feelings. He quotes (p. 11) one mover who was "burned out, blowed out, eat out" and, according to Stein, "tractored out." The migrants found it more comforting, he claims (p. 14), "to be driven from the land by an 'act of God' than to be harried off by International Harvester." In California, the former Sooners encountered movie theaters directing "Negroes and Okies upstairs" (p. 63) and social workers ready to "pump into these people" the medicine and "the teaching . . . to rebuild their lives in a new and different environment" (p. 168).

Stein is very aware of certain critical distinctions. The efforts of the growers are "joint actions" not conspiracies. The Okies posed a new problem only because their white skins made them more difficult to ignore than earlier Mexican and Asian field hands. Stein is at his best, however, in describing the contradictory aims of the New Deal toward the migrants (collectivism versus the individual family farm) and the ambiguous growers' opposition to welfare. True, the growers had to supply the tax money to support relief programs and these very programs created a floor for the wages they then had to pay, but welfare granted during the off-season guaranteed the presence of a cheap labor supply at harvest time.

Unfortunately, the book does have a couple of real problems. Dr. Stein is neither a demographer nor a "quantifier." He badly understates the numerical impact of the migrants by considering only net migration. While California's population added some 300,000 newcomers from the southern plains states during this period, the gross movement in and out of the state was considerably higher. Application of some simple statistical technics to census data (and to voting behavior in the California legislature) would have created a better perspective for Stein's story. Maps would also have aided immensely.

The other problem is Stein's patronizing tone toward his subjects. His "Okies" are primarily passive agents—growers, legislators, and union organizers are the actors. Stein says the migrants came from "worn-out regions" (p. 193), yet he had earlier noted most of the migrants hailed from the overproductive cotton counties of Little Dixie and not the real Dust Bowl. The migrants carried habits "bred of generations of rural poverty" (p. 53) from a state only recently settled and booming. Oklahomans should appreciate Stein's sympathy for the migrants, but they may question the spirit in which he extends it.

—Richard M. Bernard

Oregon, Wisconsin

Where Have All the Robots Gone? By Harold L. Sheppard and Neal Q. Herrich. (New York: The Free Press, 1972. Pp. xxxiv, 222. $7.95.)

This work explores worker dissatisfaction in the 1970's. While probably not meaning to do so, the authors imply that this is a new phenomena on the American scene; which is certainly not correct. American worker dissatisfaction is as old as Captain John Smith's edict to the colonists at Jamestown that those who did not work did not eat. This has been one continuing problem throughout our history.

Sheppard and Herrick find that the dissatisfied worker, alternately called the alienated or the worker with the "blues," is usually less than thirty, makes less than $10,000, is a woman, a black man, single, and with some college. Most blue and white collar workers felt that the main causes of their discontent were that the job failed to achieve their preconceived expectations, was dehumanizing and that the employer failed to take advantage of the employee's special talents and abilities. Amazingly, the authors apparently failed to ask their 1,462 interviewers what talents or abilities they might possess, or at least they did not report these in their study.

After establishing that workers are unhappy, the writers then sought to find means to alleviate what they considered a potentially dangerous situation. Several methods such as job enrichment, job rotation, training, and taking part in decision making were suggested. The writers hinted that increased wages, fringe benefits, etc., the traditional means to satisfy workers, were no longer a totally valid approach. They also thought that in some instances union officials, older workers, supervisors and management may well have prevented solutions to some of the urgent problems.

This was not an easy book to read. While divided into five main parts, the sections seem to be repetitious. Perhaps it was caused by methodology or organization, but the essence of the book is in the preface and introduction. The chapters detail what had already been said clearly and concisely. Some questions can be raised about methodology. The writers sampled 1,462 workers, but there are over 22 million workers less than 30 years of age by the authors' own estimate. Probably doubling or tripling the size of the sample would give a fairly accurate estimate as to the feelings of the workers in this country. Also, only workers in Michigan and Pennsylvania were sampled, and on that basis we are asked to accept their findings. Finally, while naming valid reasons for dissatisfaction, they are only surface reasons and the fundamental reasons were not found.

In spite of the adverse criticisms, this is a book that should be read. The possibility for worker unrest to spill over into society and political life is

more than possible. It has happened in the past and will probably happen in the future.

—Donald E. Houston

Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

The cover caption of the Winter 1972 Issue should read: "A home on a claim in Payne County." Although many used the general term, Cherokee Outlet, this was actually in Payne County not the Cherokee Outlet.

MORTON RECTOR HARRISON, July 17, 1892–July 16, 1972

Morton Rector Harrison was a native Oklahoman. He was born in the Indian Territory, in the Coo Wee-Scoo Wee school district of the Cherokee Nation, July 17, 1892. He died in Tulsa, Oklahoma, a beautiful city he helped to build, on July 16, 1972.

Morton R. Harrison

His friends were legion and to each and every one of them he was Mort. He was a friendly person, informal in actions and always intensely dedicated to whatever he was attempting at the moment. Extremely loyal to his friends, his community and his country, he probably considered man's greatest sin to be disloyalty—to either friends or the nation.

Mort was a Cherokee Indian and he was proud of his Cherokee lineage.

He was an Oklahoman and he never missed an opportunity to declare his pride and loyalty to his state. He was proud to be an Oklahoman.

But first and foremost Mort Harrison was an *American*. He served his beloved United States of America in WWI, enlisting the day war was declared. He served with both Honor and Distinction in the United States Navy through World War I.

In WWI he served in responsible capacities in war materiel production, and was the Regional Manager of a five-state area directing the Smaller War Plants effort when the war ended.

Because of the almost endless list of services he rendered his beloved state, many of its communities and host of organizations, Mort was inducted into Oklahoma Hall of Fame in 1969.

No Honoree in that distinguished group listed in Oklahoma Hall of Fame started life with fewer material advantages than Mort Harrison, but not one of that distinguished array of citizen leaders contributed more to their state and to their fellow man than Mort Harrison contributed during an active life of unselfish service.

A prominent business and civic leader of eastern Oklahoma once told me, and

I quote, "Mort Harrison was the most unselfish man I ever knew." I knew Mort Harrison well for almost 50 years and I can join John Griffin of Muskogee in his statement I quoted you.

For more than 25 years, through the pioneering days of WWI veteran rehabilitation efforts, Mort served as Chairman and the recognized leader of Oklahoma's American Legion Service and Rehabilitation efforts. Because of him and a few kindred souls he gathered around him, Oklahoma's American Legion, and the State of Oklahoma assumed national leadership in War Veteran Rehabilitation services. Under Harrison's leadership Oklahoma led all of the then 48 states of the Nation in providing urgently-needed service and help to disabled War Veterans and to their dependents.

This effort to render service and assistance to disabled War Veterans and their dependents all too often took precedence over even his own personal business affairs. That was the Mort Harrison thousands of us knew in the decades of the 20's and 30's.

Time does not permit listing all of the many, many organizations, associations and activities in which Mort Harrison was active over the years.

We who served with him on the Board of Oklahoma Historical Society are grateful for the services he rendered this Society and his contributions to the preservation of the colorful history of his beloved state.

He left the Society a heritage of service, sound counsel and devoted effort.

Mort bequeathed the Society the rights to his Travel Stamp Project, which was the source of the early-day financing of state tourism.

Mort Harrison was a dreamer. He dreamed of a Great Oklahoma. He devoted four years of his life for the sum of $1 per year to establish the sound and valuable State Lodge projects which are contributing so much to Oklahoma's progress today. He made dreams come true.

The tremendous Cherokee Amphitheater at Tahlequah; the world renowned Gilcrease Museum's permanent establishment in Tulsa; the largest war veterans hospital facility in Oklahoma—over at Muskogee; and many, many other assets which made Oklahoma a Great State, are the result of dreams and contributions made by Mort Harrison. We in Oklahoma owe him a debt of gratitude we will never be able to pay. He never expected a payment for these unselfish things he did. He sought only the friendship, love and affection of his fellow man. And he richly deserved our friendship, our love and our affection.

Oklahoma may have in the past, or may some day in the future offer other citizens who can *equal* the record of unselfish service rendered by Mort Harrison —but Oklahoma will never offer a citizen who rendered more or greater service to this Great State than did Mort Harrison during his active and successful life.

Today I am honored just to be given the privilege of saying these few inadequate words in his honor. Thank you for listening.

—H. Milt Phillips

EDWARD EVERETT DALE EULOGY

Edward Everett Dale, 1879–1972

As I contemplate this occasion in which we are gathered to pay tribute to our cherished friend, two very strong currents course through me—one is a deep sense of humility; the other a keen sense of honor. Most men of consequence dazzle us by their complexity. Edward Everett Dale dazzled us by the force of his directness, utter simplicity, his almost pristine integrity. I know that you join with me in admitting that, in our attempt to properly identify, interpret, and eulogize this man to those who know him not as well as we, that ordinary, commonplace words are so inadequate, and we search almost in vain for the superlatives that reveal and revivify what manner of man he was, his spirit, his force of personality, his legacy.

Edward Everett Dale was born in 1879 in a log cabin near Keller, Texas. He grew up in the Cross Timbers of north Texas and resided for many years on the southwestern border of Texas, Indian Territory, Oklahoma Territory, and its successor, the new state of Oklahoma. As a young man he worked as a cowboy, riding the ranges of this wilderness. He was a witness to the opening of this frontier to the homesteader, both in historic Greer County and the contiguous Kiowa-Comanche country. He once told me that because he knew every creek, valley, ford, and highland meadow like the back of his hand, he for a time worked as a guide, leading prospective settlers to homestead locations following the Great Land Lottery of 1901.

By completing the eighth grade and attending county teacher summer institutes, Dale qualified as a teacher and taught at several public schools in southwestern Oklahoma during the pioneer period. His education and preparation as a teacher was slow. He calculated that he spent two years of work, punching cattle, picking cotton and other employment, to accumulate enough to finance one year of education. At the age of twenty-six he made a decision derived from very direct and simple logic. The question was should he punch cattle or go to school? Friends reminded him that he would be thirty-one by the time he graduated. Dale concluded that in five years he would be thirty-one anyhow, and the real question was did he prefer to be thirty-one without an education, or thirty-one with a college degree. The rest of his academic career is familiar to all of us and, for the record, I'll summarize it swiftly. He graduated from Central State University in 1909, entered the University of Oklahoma and in 1911 received a bachelor's degree. Following graduate study at Harvard University, Dale received the Master of Arts in 1914. In that year he joined the Department of

History, University of Oklahoma at the rank of instructor. Five years later he returned to Harvard to work for the PhD in history which he completed in 1922. Returning to the University of Oklahoma, Dale resumed his place in the Department of History and, in 1924, became chairman, a post he held until 1942. As a former chairman myself on two different occasions, I can tell you that Dr. Dale's tenure as chairman for nearly twenty years is a record stint of service and, in beholding all the other things he accomplished while chairman, this adds to my awe of the man. Dale continued as distinguished professor in the department until his retirement in 1952.

His honors are so extensive that press of time permits attention only to the more prestigious. He was named the first George Lynn Cross Research Professor by the University of Oklahoma Regents, he was Phi Beta Kappa, a member of the Oklahoma Hall of Fame, and recipient of the Distinguished Service Citation presented by the University of Oklahoma Regents.

In my word portrait of Edward Everett Dale, I would like to characterize him as a builder, as a bridge, as a creative person, as an interpreter of the American frontier, and Dale the man. Then I'll close with the Dale Legacy. Now, Dale the builder. First, of a great academic department. The Department of History, University of Oklahoma, is acknowledged regionally and nationally as a superior teaching and research-writing department. National surveys of departments offering graduate work list the University of Oklahoma Department of History among an elite group of forty-three out of nearly six hundred institutions offering graduate work as a department providing quality graduate work. This exclusive superior rating is due in no small measure to Dale's work as a builder, his long years of leadership as chairman of the department in its formative years. Second, builder of research collections; through his energetic efforts, funds were obtained from Frank Phillips in 1927 to establish a special research collection in the University of Oklahoma Library on Indian, Oklahoma and Western History. The Phillips Collection established by Dr. Dale, and he serving as its first curator, became the core for the present Western History Collections, in the University of Oklahoma Library, truly one of the great historical research centers in the region and the nation. Third, a builder of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Few persons in the distinguished life of the Oklahoma Historical Society can match the years of committed service on the Board of Directors performed by Dr. Dale. And it was dedicated service through active sharing in the managing of the society, contributing to its publications, and on several occasions assisting in the editorial work.

Next Edward Everett Dale as a bridge. He became a vibrant link between the simple frontier past and the complex technological present. With splendid poise and sensitive response he provided exciting, living connective tissue between these two eras through his long and distinguished career as teacher and writer.

Next, Edward Everett Dale the creative person. Few scholars in this nation can match the performance of this man in books published—twenty—and countless articles on Indian and Western History. But the range of his versatility was

awesome, for besides being peerless teacher and eminent historian, he was an established poet, an esteemed humorist, and folklorist of considerable note.

Next, Edward Everett Dale, interpreter of the American frontier. In this regard he had a strategic advantage over most frontier historians of his age in that he imparted to his work insight and substance drawn from raw frontier experience. Dale studied at Harvard under Frederick Jackson Turner, the greatest of all frontier historians who contrived the Turner frontier thesis and Turner theme of perennial rebirth. Dale brought the Turner thesis and Turner viewpoint to the Southwest. Those of us who were fortunate enough to study under Dale in a sense drew on the intellectual heritage of Frederick Jackson Turner.

And last, Edward Everett Dale, the man. I first met Dr. Dale in 1946. Through all the years of close friendship, I at no time ever saw him lose his temper. This does not mean that he had no pride or manly fire. He had lots of both. I always figured that he had such charismatic magic with people that no situation arose which would provoke wrath. He seemed to overwhelm, overpower others with patience and consuming interest in what they were doing. It appeared that he killed his enemies, if he had any, with kindness.

Now the Dale Legacy. Edward Everett Dale died on May 28, 1972 at the age of ninety-three. His legacy is multi-facted. It is books, poems, printed lectures; it is graduate students teaching, writing, continuing the Dale example; it is warmth of prime memories held by surviving friends; it is a building on the University of Oklahoma campus—Edward Everett Dale Hall of the Social Sciences, dedicated June 1, 1969. On this occasion Dr. Dale stated "The new building, as you know, is less than a block from my home and I am sure that when I see it, it will be an inspiration to me to work a little harder at my writing."

In closing may I state that few men live long enough to see themselves become the central figure in a timeless legend. Edward Everett Dale was one of these.

—Arrell M. Gibson

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: April 26, 1973

The eighty-first Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by President George H. Shirk at 9:30 a.m., April 26, 1973, in the Auditorium of the Historical Building.

Mr. Shirk asked his colleague of eighteen years, Vice President H. Milt Phillips, for comments and recognition of the service to Oklahoma and the Society of deceased Member Morton Rector Harrison. Mr. Harrison had long been active in the American Legion, devoted four years of his life to state lodge projects for $1 a year, and was active in the development of the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa. Mr. Harrison was also a founder of the Cherokee amphitheater at Tahlequah and of the veterans' hospital in Muskogee. Mr. Shirk recalled that Mr. Harrison was the chairman of the authority that issued the revenue bonds for the State lodge system.

Members of Mr. Harrison's family present at the meeting were introduced by Mr. Shirk: His son, Ralph Harrison, daughter-in-law Irene, granddaughter Mrs. Nancy Sue Ramsey, and great-grandson Shannon Ramsey.

In 1969, Miss Florence O. Wilson first advised the Society that she wished to make a contribution of the personal files of her uncle, William F. Harn, to the Society. Mr. Harn had been appointed by President Benjamin Harrison as Special Agent to the Land Office in Oklahoma City in 1891 and during his lifetime had collected an entire attic of papers and files relating to early-day Oklahoma City. For this contribution, the Board has created Miss Wilson an Honorary Life Member of the Society—only the sixth such membership accorded by the Board in the past twenty years. The William Fremont Harn Memorial Research Collection has been referred to as the "mother lode" of Oklahoma City history. Accession of the large collection is now underway.

Miss Wilson accepted the Life Membership Certificate and reviewed for the members some of the highlights of Mr. Harn's life and his contributions to his community.

Dr. A. M. Gibson was then introduced by Mr. Shirk. Dr. Gibson paid tribute to Dr. Edward Everett Dale whose death in 1972 brought to a close 42 years of membership on the Board of Directors. Dr. Dale served as chair-

man of the University of Oklahoma History Department during its formative years. During that time it rose to become recognized nationally as a superior teaching and research-writing department. Dr. Gibson stated "that few men live long enough to see themselves become the central figure in a timeless legend. Edward Everett Dale was one of these."

Mrs. Dale and her guests were introduced to the members present at the meeting.

The plans for the Society's eightieth anniversary celebration were revealed by Mr. Milton May, chairman of the banquet committee. A reception and banquet will be held May 26, 1973 honoring President Shirk. This affair will be in the Silver Palm Room, Penn Square, Oklahoma City. Mr. Charles Bennett, Managing Editor of the OKLAHOMAN AND TIMES, will be toastmaster and the speaker will be Mr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor and Publisher of THE TULSA TRIBUNE.

An Open House will be held on May 27 at the Historical Building for the general public. An invitation was extended to all to attend the activities.

Mr. Fisher Muldrow moved that the actions and decisions of the Officers and the Board of Directors during the year just closed be approved, ratified, and confirmed. Miss Genevieve Seger seconded the motion and it was carried.

Dr. V. R. Easterling introduced the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society to the members.

Mr. Shirk suggested that the remarks of Mr. Phillips, Miss Wilson, and Dr. Gibson be included in the minutes for publication in THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA. Miss Seger so moved, Dr. Fischer seconded the motion and it was passed.

Meeting adjourned.

V. R. Easterling
Executive Director

George H. Shirk
President

PRESENTATION OF AN HONORARY MEMBERSHIP TO FLORENCE O. WILSON

Response

Mr. Shirk, President, Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society and Friends.

Thank you for this high honor of an Honorary Life Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society and for your kind friendships.

First may I tell you just a little of the heritage that brought all this about?

As members of William Fremont Harn's immediate family, Jane Harn McCarty, his grand-niece, and I, his niece, are deeply grateful for the fine

recognition that Mr. Harn has received as a prominent pioneer citizen, a builder and planner, and for the formal acknowledgement from the Historical Society of his early-day records. They are now a part of the Society's Historical Files and are known as the William Fremont Harn Memorial Research Collection. We thank Mr. Shirk for his interest and concern in helping to assemble this historical material for a curator to organize. The Collection is now available for reference and for study. These records carry on some of the heritage Mr. Harn left us. Perhaps they also reflect a little of his stern, independent, determined personality and some of his ideals.

As many of you may know, Mr. Harn came to Oklahoma in January 1891, the appointee of President Benjamin Harrison, as Special Agent to the Land Office here, for the pursuit and prosecution of the Sooners—a hazardous and colorful assignment. The record shows that during Mr. Harn's period of service no offender was acquitted. He followed his law career until his retirement. When the State Capitol was moved from Guthrie to Oklahoma City, Mr. Harn gave to the State, toward a new Capitol site, 40 acres of his farm land just west of the present Capitol Building. Harndale Addition and Alice Harn Park bear the Family Name. The Grand Boulevard, which once encircled the City, was Mr. Harn's idea. The new Federal Reserve Bank Building, opposite the Third Street Post Office, stands on the site of the Harn's first Oklahoma City home, a rose covered cottage, which took Mrs. Harn's artistic eye. In the intervening years the four story red brick Harn office Building stood there. Now the old farm homestead has been designated an "historical site" and is to become a Pioneer Museum, surrounded by the William Fremont Harn Gardens. And so today we honor Mr. Harn.

For me, it is indeed a rare privilege to receive this gift of a Life Membership in this distinguished Society. There are scarcely words adequate to express my deep appreciation. That it comes to me through such sources enhances its value. It is in itself a rich and treasured heritage. Again my grateful thanks to all of you for this honor and for your interest and kindness in coming to be with us.

Thank you.

(MISS) FLORENCE O. WILSON
7103 Nichols Road,
Oklahoma City, Okla. 73120

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: April 26, 1973

Following the eighty-first Annual Meeting of the Members of the Okla-

homa Historical Society, held in the Auditorium of the Historical Building, the Board of Directors met in the Board Room on April 26, 1973. The meeting was called to order by President George H. Shirk.

Dr. V. R. Easterling called the roll and those present were: Henry B. Bass, Mrs. Edna Bowman, O. B. Campbell, Joe Curtis, Harry L. Deupree, M.D., W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Mrs. Mildred Frizzell, E. Moses Frye, Nolen J. Fuqua, Dr. A. M. Gibson, W. E. McIntosh, Dr. James Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Jordan B. Reaves, Miss Genevieve Seger, and H. Merle Woods. Those who had asked to be excused were Lou S. Allard, Q. B. Boydstun, Denzil D. Garrison, John E. Kirkpatrick, and Earl Boyd Pierce. Mr. McIntosh moved that these members be excused, Miss Seger seconded the motion, and it was passed.

Society members who had attended the Annual Meeting were invited to the Board Meeting. A number of members accepted and were introduced, including Mayor Danny Swanda of Apache and a group from the Apache Historical Society.

Dr. Easterling asked that the minutes of the January 25 Board Meeting stand approved as mailed. The 'silent' work of the Society was described by Dr. Easterling. He also outlined some of the plans for the Museum. A new roof is being designed for the Historical Building, and $250,000 additional funds are needed for repairs and improvements.

Gifts presented to the Society's Museum, Library and Archives were listed by Dr. Easterling, and he also presented the list of applications for membership in the Society. There were 73 such requests, 69 Annual and four Life Members. Mr. Phillips moved that the gifts be accepted and the applicants be elected to membership. Miss Seger seconded and the motion passed.

Mrs. Bowman reviewed the financial report of the past quarter. Mr. Phillips moved that the reports given by Dr. Easterling and Mrs. Bowman be approved. Mr. Woods seconded the motion which passed.

In his Microfilm Committee report, Mr. Phillips told the Board that the Microfilm Division area had been painted during the past quarter.

Mr. McIntosh gave a brief report of the work of the Historic Sites Committee with the Society's marker program.

Fort Washita continues to be a well-attended site and Dr. Morrison in his report announced plans for the annual Fish Fry to be held the first Saturday in June.

Dr. Morrison and Mr. Muldrow told the Board of the grant from the Merrick Foundation of $700,000 to the University of Oklahoma to establish the first Chair of History. Mr. Ward Merrick of Ardmore has long been a

supporter of those working to preserve the heritage of Oklahoma, having donated the money needed to purchase the Fort Washita site.

A short report of the work of the Publications Committee was given by Mr. Shirk.

The American Association of Museums has granted an interim accreditation to the Oklahoma Historical Society for one year, at the end of which time a new accreditation team will be sent to evaluate the Museum. Dr. Fischer was requested by Mr. Woods for a report on the suggestions of the Association for full accreditation. Short and long range goals were suggested to bring the Society's Museum to the standards set by them. Some of these recommendations are an increase of funds, personnel trained for museum work, an enforced collections and disposal policy, additional security, and proper care for artifacts. Dr. Fischer said he believes inroads can be made on major items in the Association report and that the short range goals may be achieved in the year's time with full cooperation.

With the assistance of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and friends Mr. Reaves announced that the Confederate Memorial Hall will be completed by the Eightieth Birthday celebration in May.

The work at Honey Springs has been slowed considerably by the heavy rains in the area this spring.

Mr. Curtis was welcomed after a long period of convalescence. He thanked the members of the Library staff for their work and urged everyone to visit the Library.

The Society's student historian organization, Heritage Club, met in Guthrie April 14, for their First Annual Statewide Meeting. An election of officers was held, goals were set up, and a program was held, according to Mr. Foresman, Education Committee chairman. Educators throughout the state have been contacted for their advice on how the Society can assist them in teaching history. Mr. Foresman commended Mr. Bruce Joseph, Education Director, for his efforts.

Among the guests attending the Board Meeting was Mrs. Louise James, sponsor of the Sooner Heritage Club in Guthrie, who introduced the new president of the statewide organization, Miss Jo Walton, Guthrie. Mr. Shirk escorted Miss Walton to his President's chair for a message to the Board. President Walton graciously thanked the Historical Society for its interest in the young people of the state who also have a pride in Oklahoma.

The Board was reminded by Dr. Easterling of the state personnel laws regarding retirement at age 65. Extensions may be made on a year by year basis until the employee reaches age 70, at which time full retirement will be required.

Dr. Easterling advised that each member of the Historic Sites Committee would be mailed a report on the Society's markers.

The Membership Committee report was read by Mrs. Frizzell, chairman. She reviewed the work done by this Committee in its consideration of the dues of the Society. After four meetings, the members of the Committee agreed to present to the Board a proposal which would retain the Annual Individual Membership dues at $5.00 and the Life Membership, $100.00, but would add two new categories: An Annual Business Membership for $25.00 and an Annual Corporate Membership for $100.00.

Dr. Gibson moved that the subject of member dues be made a matter of continuing study compatible with the income needs of the Society, with the possibility of bringing the dues into line with those charged by other societies. Mr. Phillips seconded this motion, which passed.

Mr. Phillips proposed that each member of the Board contribute at the quarterly meetings to a flower fund to be used at the time of the illness or death of members of the Board. All agreed to the plan.

Dr. Easterling reiterated an earlier request for each of the committee chairmen to submit to the Executive Director a report on his conception of the duties and responsibilities of his particular committee. Only one chairman had previously responded to this request, which had been made at the suggestion of the American Association of Museums. These concepts will be set forth in a policy manual, which is being prepared to clarify the goals of the Society in perpetuating the history of Oklahoma for which the Society is organized and conducted.

At one time the City of Purcell, McClain County, deeded the old Federal Courthouse to the Historical Society. However, sufficient funds have never been available to restore the building and, therefore, during the past quarter arrangements were made to convey the property back to the City of Purcell, with the hope that the residents of that area will restore the building as a community endeavor. A motion was made by Mr. Curtis to confirm the action of the Executive Committee in this matter. Gen. Frye seconded the motion and it carried.

Mr. May was asked to comment on the progress of the plans for a reception to honor Mr. Shirk on May 26, at the Silver Palm Room, Penn Square. A banquet will follow the reception. The Society will hold Open House on Sunday, May 27, 1973, between 1:00 p.m. and 5:00 p.m. commemorating its eightieth birthday.

Mrs. Bowman extended an invitation to the members to attend a barbeque sponsored by the Chisholm Trail Museum in Kingfisher at 7:00 p.m., April 28.

In behalf of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Vern Firestone, President, directed Mrs. Bowman to present to the Society Plate Number One in a series of four Bicentennial commemorative plates of colonial milk glass. These plates are produced by the Fenton Art Glass Company and depict four major aspects of the American Revolution.

As there was no further business, the meeting adjourned to the Lincoln Room of the Quality Inn, Lincoln Plaza, where Congressman Tom Steed was the featured speaker at the Second Annual Luncheon.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

V. R. EASTERLING
Executive Director

Gift List for First Quarter, 1973

LIBRARY:

The Journal of the Oklahoma Bar Association, Vol. 43, No. 3, Jan. 15, 1972.
"Symbols for Safety"—Greater Oklahoma City Safety Council, 1972.
Prisoners in America—The American Assembly of Columbia University, Dec. 1972.
Friends of Ely Cathedral Year Book, 1972.
Soviet Life, February 1973, March 1973.
The Ancestors of John Hall Boydstun and His Descendants, compiled and published by Q. B. Boydstun, 1972.
An Archaeological Survey and Assessment of the Prehistoric Resources in the Albany and Parker Reservoirs, Oklahoma by Larry Neal, 1972.
Oklahoma State University '72 Annual Research Report.
Program Study Report on St. Joseph's Home, Feb. 1973.
Names—Journal of the American Name Society, Vol. 20, No. 4, Dec. 1972.
Big Brothers Program—Report of the Study Committee, February, 1973.
Oklahoma City Toll Expressway *Report to the Turnpike Authority*, June 1970.
A Plan For Financing an Industrial Park—Feb. 1973, Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce.
Oklahoma Chapter American Institute of Architects Membership Roster, 1973.
Presbyterian Hospital Annual Report, 1972.
Study Committee Report on Merger Possibility For the Greater Oklahoma City Safety Council, 1973
The following The Newcomen Society in North America publications:
Avondale's Third Generation by J. Craig Smith, 1972.
Wine in America by Harry G. Serlis, 1972.
A Pioneer in Communications by Wilda Gene Hatch and Joseph F. Breeze, 1972.
The Debt Shall Die with the Debtor—The CUNA Mutual Insurance Society Story, by Charles F. Eikel, Jr., 1972.
United Telecommunications, Inc.—A Rose By Any Other Name . . . by Paul H. Henson, 1972.

Integrated Technology—The Story of Gould, Inc. by William T. Ylvisaker, 1972.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma.

Capitol Hill Beacon—23rd Annual Edition, January 25, 1973.
Donor: The Sellers of The Beacon Publishing Co., Capitol Hill.

Dwight Presbyterian Mission, 1820–1953, compiled by Betty and Oscar Payne, 1954.
Donor: Michael Bureman, Edmond.

"Enos Osborn Loomis"—Pioneer Doctor of the Indian Territory by Ada Loomis Barry and Edith Loomis Leslie.
Donor: Mrs. Glen Leslie, Tulsa.

The Family of William Burress of Tennessee by Charles G. Burress and Pamela Anderson Jensen, 1973.
Donor: Charles G. Burress, Phoenix, Arizona.

The Moore and Estes Families of the Valley-of-the-Globe by Thomas Estes Moore.
Donor: Mrs. Henry F. Israel, Oklahoma City.

"Health Care in the Cherokee Seminaries, Asylums and Prisons: 1851–1906" by Stephen T. Autry and R. Palmer Howard, 1972. Reprinted from *The Journal* of the Oklahoma State Medical Association, December 1972.
Donor: Dr. R. Palmer Howard, Oklahoma City.

Yearbook of the Society of Indiana Pioneers, 1972.
Donor: The Society, Indianapolis.

Cemetery Records of Rosemound Cemetery, Medford, Grant County, Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. J. D. Edmonson, Medford.

That We May Not Forget by Mary Amorette Kelso Buffington, 1972.
Donor: Author of Stillwater.

Collection of Association of Oklahoma Artists.
Collection of Oklahoma Art Association.
Donor: E. R. Abbott, Oklahoma City.

In The Long Ago—Photos of—Randolph County, Arkansas. Second Edition.
Donor: In memory of Jas. Luther Akers by Denzil, Flo and Debbe Cates, Midwest City.

The Arcadian Landscape, Publication # 89.
150 Years of American Quilts, Publication # 90. Museum of Art of University of Kansas, 1973.
Donor: Exchange & Gift Dept., University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence.

Musings in an old Ledger by Ruby Icelene Sierman Maxwell, Nov. 1972.
Donor: Author, Oklahoma City.

Twenty-Two Years at Tinker Air Force Base by OCAMA Historian, Nov. 1963.
Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Thomas Burke Papers.
Collection of Oklahoma History articles.
Donor: Mrs. Leora Bishop, Oklahoma City.

Wilkes Genealogical Society, Wilkes County, North Carolina Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 7, No. 1, Feb. 1973.
Donor: Mrs. Pat Wall, Oklahoma City.

Ten Generations of Teegardens—A Genealogy. Compiled by Jeanette Teegarden Jones, 1972.
Donor: Compiler thru Oklahoma Dept. of Libraries, Technical Service Division, Oklahoma City.

Crawford and Allied Families 1540–1971 by Andrew J. Crawford, 1971.
Donor: Author, Fairborn, Ohio.

1971 Archaeological Investigations at Fort Towson, Choctaw County, Oklahoma, by Kenneth E. Lewis, 1972.
Donor: Author, thru Oklahoma Archaeological Survey, Norman.

A History of And the Progress of Hinton 1902–1962 by Marie Main Wornstaff.
Violence on the Oklahoma Territory—Seminole Nation Border: The Mont Ballard Case—A Thesis by Geraldine M. Smith, 1957.
Progress Edition: Capitol Hill Beacon, Jan. 20, 1972.
Donor: Mrs. Louise Cook, Nicoma Park.

Western Speech and Western Stories by Ramon F. Adams.
Donor: Jordan B. Reaves, Oklahoma City.

Cemetery Records of Oktibbeha County, Mississippi. Compiled by Members of Oktibbeha County Genealogical Society et al., 1969.
Mississippi 1820 Census by Irene S. and Norman E. Gillis.
Mississippi 1830 Census by Irene S. and Norman E. Gillis.
Early Inhabitants of the Natchez District by Norman E. Gillis.

Early Records of Nacogdoches County, Texas by Pauline S. Murrie.
Washington County Georgia Tombstone Inscriptions, compiled by Elizabeth P. Newsom, 1967.
Mid-South Bible Records Vol. I, compiled by Ft. Assumption Chapter D.A.R. of Memphis, 1967.
North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790 by Charles Christopher Crittenden, 1928.
Grimes, Cook and Related Families of Wayne County, Tennessee, by Jay Cook Grimes.
The American Revolution in Georgia 1763–1789 by Kenneth Coleman, 1958.
History of the City of New York, 1609–1909 by John William Leonard, 1910.
The Book of New York—Forty Years' Recollections of the American Metropolis, by Julius Chambers, 1912.
Donor: Mrs. Fred Switzer, McAlester.

Ante-Bellum Houses of Natchez, by J. Wesley Cooper, 1970.
Collection of tourist booklets from Mississippi, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama and Louisiana.
Donor: Zebalene M. Ramsey, Oklahoma City.

A Brief History of Corning and Adams County, Iowa. On the Occasion of Observing Corning's First 100 Years, 1857–1957.
Donor: Miss Margot Boyle, Oklahoma City.

Lincoln County Tennessee Pioneers, Vol. 2, No. 3. Compiled by Jane Warren Waller.
Donor: Clark Hibbard, Oklahoma City.

PHOTOGRAPH SECTION:

Post Office and Federal Building, Oklahoma City, 1943—postal card.
Greetings from Fort Sill, Oklahoma, 1942—postal card.
Donor: Archivist, Michigan Historical Society.

Two photographs of George H. Shirk taken in Washington, D.C. during National Trust Historic Preservation Conference.
George H. Shirk; Truett Latimer, Exec. Director, Texas State Historical Survey Committee; and Robert M. Utley, Dir., Office of Archaeology & Historic Preservation, National Park Service.
Michael Bureman, OHS Historic Sites with Mrs. Mildred Councilor of the Alexandria (Va.) Bicentennial Commission at the Lloyd House.
Michael Bureman, OHS Historic Sites with Stephen Heath, Urban Planner with grants in aid of National Register and Rock Comstock, Jr., National Capitol Parks, National Park Service.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Original, large photograph of "First Grocery Store following 'the Run' in Perry, Oklahoma Territory"—HEWINS GROCERY—name on large sign.
Donor: Velma E. Lowry, Sedan, Kansas.

Lloyd Siever Drug Store, Marlow, Oklahoma, Christmas 1912.
Merritt "Bud" Scott, wife and their daughter in "Old Kentucky Hotel," Lawton, Oklahoma, 1918.
Donor: Mrs. Leora Bishop, Okla. City for Mrs. Ruth Derryberry of Wellington, Texas.

Four sepia photographs of the September 18-23rd, 1899 Oklahoma City Street Fair taken by North Losey. The annual street fair preceeded the Oklahoma State Fair.
Donor: Mrs. Vernie Knapp Crawford, Oklahoma City, by George H. Shirk.

George Bullet Foreman 1852–1892.
Nannie Elizabeth Garrison Foreman.
Donor: Mrs. Paul Updegraff, Norman.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION:

Clipping from *The Indian Citizen*, Atoka, I. T., Apr. 16, 1903, in re: "Opening Choctaw Land Office."
Donor: Fisher Muldrow, Norman, Okla.

Brochure: "Love County Economic Base Report, Aug. 1972" with "Love County Historic Background."
Donor: Harry H. Revelle, Jr., Oklahoma City.

Copy of allotment patent to Henry J. Muller, covering certain land in McAlester, Choctaw Nation.
Donor: Frances McGuckin, Williams Bay, Wis.

The True West Frontier Times, Mar. 1973, with article "Chickasaw Rhoda" by Julia B. Smith.
Donor: Julia B. Smith, Norman, Okla.

Zerox copy of account book kept by Clinton Monroe Lynch of Asher and Avoca, O. T., 1902–1903.
Donor: Mrs. Bishop, Oklahoma City.

Report of meeting of Inter-Tribal Council of Five Civilized Tribes held Jan. 11–12, 1973.
Donor: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Okla.

Clipping from *The Oklahoma Journal*, Mar. 4, 1973, "Native Alternative-Church, Center Combine to help Indian Alcoholics Get Fresh Start."
Donor: Mr. & Mrs. Fred Thede, Oklahoma City.

Vinita, I. T. The Story of a Frontier Town of the Cherokee Nation, by O. B. Campbell.
Donor: O. B. Campbell, Vinita, Okla.

Texas Libraries, Fall 1972 and Winter 1972
Donor: Texas Library & Historical Commission, Austin, Texas.

Jicarilla Apache Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 22-A: Supplemental Findings of Fact on allowance of attorney's fees; Order allowing Reimbursable Expenses.
Creek Nation v. U.S., Docket No. 273: Findings of Fact on Compromise; Final Award.
Iowa Tribe in Kansas, Nebraska & Oklahoma & Sac & Fox Tribe of Oklahoma & Iowa v. U.S., Docket No. 135: Order allowing Attorney's fees.
Iowa Tribe in Kansas, Nebraska & Oklahoma & Sac & Fox Tribe of Oklahoma & Iowa, Docket No. 153: Order allowing reimbursement of expenses of attorneys.
Kiowa, Comanche & Apache Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 259-A: Order.
Miami Tribe of Okla. v. U.S., Docket Nos. 253 & 131: Opinion; Order.
Nisqually Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 197: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Ponca Tribe of Okla. v. U.S., Docket No. 322: Order allowing attorney fees.
Citizen & Prairie Bands of Potawatomi Tribe, et al v. U.S., Docket Nos. 71, 128, 146, 216, 217, 306, 308–311, 338, 15-C-R & 29 A-P: Order denying Motion for rehearing.
Seminole Nation v. U.S., Docket Nos. 204 and 247: Order denying plaintiffs motion for rehearing.
Western Shoshone Group, et al v. U.S., Docket No. 326-K: Order Denying Motion for rehearing.
Steilacoom Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 208: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Swinomish Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 233: Order allowing attorneys fees.
Tuscarora Indians v. U.S., Docket No. 321: Final Award.
Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Reservation v. U.S., Docket No. 198: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma & Kansas v. U.S., Docket No. 338: Order Setting Oral Argument.
Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C.

MUSEUM:

Drapes; curtains; pillows; linens; articles of clothing, from donor's family.
Source: Mrs. George W. Bass, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Wrench; survey step; shoemaker's lasts, which belonged to the late Wilbur White.
Source: Mrs. Verda L. White, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Artifacts and documents related to the development of the aerosol can, from the inventor.
Source: Dr. Lyle D. Goodhue, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Cane bottom chairs, *ca.* late 19th century.
Source: Mrs. Walter Lybrand, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Framed photographs of Oklahoma Lieutenant Governors, and Oklahoma State flag, which are believed to have hung in the Oklahoma Senate Chambers.
Source: State Senate of Oklahoma, by Edwin C. Campbell, Administrator, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Assortment of magazines and newspapers.
Source: Mrs. Naomi Howard, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Oil painting, "Despair," by donor.
Source: Mrs. Brunetta Bernard Griffith, Rush Springs, Oklahoma.

Oil painting, "The Harvesting Bee," by donor.
Source: Mrs. Velma Pflug, Wagoner, Oklahoma.

Sad iron used by donor's mother, Mrs. Ina Boswood, in old Day County.
Source: R. D. Boswood, Choctaw, Oklahoma.

Booklet, souvenir of Lone Star Public School, 1900–1901, and photograph, Banner School, 1901.
Source: Mrs. Hazel Q. Brattain, Yale, Oklahoma.

Book, *The Man of Yesterday*, copyright 1908.
Source: Mrs. J. C. Wyrick, Paris, Texas.

Phonograph record, early 20th century.
Source: The Reverend Frank W. Sprague, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

United States 46-star flag.
Source: Miss Bella C. Brown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Booklet of tickets from Oklahoma State Fair, 1914.
Source: Charles C. Kennedy, San Pablo, California.

Violin, case, and bow, used by donor's husband, J. H. Cordell, in the orchestra at Harley Institute and in the family orchestra.
Source: Mrs. Ethel Debbie White Cordell Rollow, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Anti-Horse Thief Association badge, which belonged to donor's grandfather, Wesley Moore.
Source: Earl Moore, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Collection of artifacts associated with The Honorable Carl Albert's political career and installation as Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States.
Source: Mrs. Margaret Lokey, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Chairs; documents, which belonged to donor's uncle and aunt, Governor and Mrs. J. B. A. Robertson.
Source: Mrs. Scott Fisher, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Collection of clothing and personal items from donor's family.
Source: Mrs. Edwin A. Deupree, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Collection of early photographic equipment owned by William Fremont Harn, donor's uncle, and brought to Indian Territory in 1891.
Source: Florence O. Wilson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Personal and household items from donor's family.
Source: Miss Helen Biggers, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Set of cotton cards.
Source: Cloud Duncan, Muldrow, Oklahoma.

Mortar and pestle.
Source: Jim Bornoski, Vian, Oklahoma.

Oxen yoke.
Source: Felix Humphrey, Sallisaw, Oklahoma.

Handcarved rocking chair, handed down in donor's family.
Source: D. H. Scott, Sallisaw, Oklahoma.

Handforged andirons, poker, shovel, and tongs.
Source: Ed Powers, Moffitt, Oklahoma.

Wooden table.
Source: James Humphrey, Sallisaw, Oklahoma.

Bedroom suite and document which belonged to donor's uncle, Judge John H. Cotteral.
Source: Mrs. Ruth Cotteral Butterworth, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Furniture; household items; personal items; clothing; photographs; and documents, from donor's family (Donor's grandfather, James M. Brooks I, was the owner of the Royal Hotel and Brooks Opera House, Guthrie).
Source: James M. Brooks III, Ponca City, Oklahoma.

Model boxcars made to secure a patent on an automatic coupling device, by E. G. Sessions, a leader in the field of railroad safety.
Source: Mrs. Spencer Sessions, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Reproduction of photograph of Ataloa, Chickasaw.
Source: Mrs. Ernest W. Tate, Ardmore, Oklahoma.

"Madstone" which belonged to donor's great-grandfather, Wilson Lee Fletcher.
Source: Mrs. Amelia Weaver Capshaw, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. (in the name of Mrs. Floy Weaver Barrier)

Political cards, "M. V. Canavan . . . Candidate for County Superintendent," Elk City, and ". . . Candidate for County Clerk."
Source: I. L. Hansen, Elgin, Illinois.

Pen used by Fred C. Tracy, Beaver, when he signed the Constitution of the State of Oklahoma.
Source: Oklahoma School for the Deaf, by R. T. Youngers, Superintendent, Sulphur, Oklahoma.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

January 26, 1973 to April 26, 1973

Abbott, Mrs. L. A.	Cherryvale, Kansas
Alleman, Clarence H.	Oklahoma City
Baker, Jack	Westville
Bettis, Jack W.	Covina, California
Bivins, Mrs. Duce D.	Carlsbad, New Mexico
Boswell, Frances Baker	Quapaw
Boudreau, Homer	Purcell
Bourassa, Mrs. Virginia	Rosenburg, Oregon
Brand, C. Harold	Oklahoma City
Carrington, Vina	Pawhuska
Cloud, Mrs. Neeta M.	Delta, Colorado
Cooper, Mrs. Lelia	Miami
Cozby, Louis	Crescent
Curtis, Jack Tecumseh	Oklahoma City
Dabney, Don R.	Oklahoma City
Damato, Dorothia Jean	Spiro
Dougherty, Mrs. John G., Jr.	Oklahoma City
Ethridge, Mrs. Don F.	Edmond
Fincher, Robert H.	Auburn, Alabama
Freeman, Charles E.	Edmond
Gaither, Mrs. J. W.	Norman
Hamilton, Scott L.	Houston, Texas
Hayden, Mrs. Martyne Woods	Tuskahoma
Hesse, Mrs. Francis X.	Purcell
Howell, Haney	Wichita Falls, Texas
Hunt, Mrs. Dennis	Sulphur
Jackson, Mrs. Berenice	Follett, Texas
Johnson, Dorothy L.	Oklahoma City
Lambert, Paul F.	Oklahoma City
Little, Charles D.	Oklahoma City
Maloney, Mrs. J. F.	Muskogee
May, Milton B.	Oklahoma City
McElderry, Neil W., Jr.	Purcell
McGuckin, Mrs. James	Williams Bay, Wisconsin
McKown, Dave R.	Oklahoma City
Merrill, Violet	Ripley
Monahan, Forrest	Wichita Falls, Texas

Nelson, Charles T.	Stillwater
Nesbitt, Mrs. Charles	Oklahoma City
Ozmun, Dr. Joe M.	El Reno
Peters, Curtis R.	Cherokee
Pittman, Steven T.	Norman
Powell, Robert W.	Oklahoma City
Pyle, Duard	Oklahoma City
Revard, R. F.	Washington, D.C.
Robins, William R.	Princeton, New Jersey
Robinson, Don R.	Oklahoma City
Shumate, Joe	Pauls Valley
Smith, Mrs. Herman C. W.	Muskogee
Speck, John K.	Oklahoma City
Spurlock, Waneta Jeanne	Ada
Stephens, Robert Ray	Purcell
Stout, Joe A., Jr.	Stillwater
Sullivan, Cecil R.	Oklahoma City
Sweet, Joe W.	Del City
Taylor, Joe W.	Oklahoma City
Taylor, Thomas G.	Tishomingo
Turner, Vernon	Purcell
Unkefer, Golda	Stilwell
Vernon, Mrs. Marilyn A.	Nicoma Park
Voss, Mrs. Aileen	Monmouth, Oregon
Walters, Mrs. Rex J.	Oklahoma City
Welch, Miss Ruth Vera	Denver, Colorado
Williams, Bill	Purcell
Wilson, Larry J.	Meno
Wilson, Purman	Purcell
Wood, Cleo M.	Holdenville
Wood, Don P.	Buffalo, Missouri
Zahn, Fred H.	Oklahoma City

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

January 26, 1973 to April 26, 1973

Cook, Charles W.	Oklahoma City
Harrell, Mrs. Wm. E.	Austin, Texas
Howell, Neil S.	Oklahoma City
James, Mrs. Earl E.	Oklahoma City

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine $1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

VOLUME LI NUMBER III FALL 1973

the chronicles

UBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF OKLAHOMA

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

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H. Milt Phillips, 1st Vice President
Fisher Muldrow, 2nd Vice President
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Treasurer
V. R. Easterling, Executive Director
Historical Building, Oklahoma City

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Governor David Hall

Term Expiring in January, 1974

O. B. Campbell, Vinita
Henry B. Bass, Enid
E. Moses Frye, Stillwater
Denzil Garrison, Bartlesville
Nolen Fuqua, Duncan

Term Expiring in January, 1975

Fisher Muldrow, Norman
Mrs. John D. Frizzell, Oklahoma City
Lou Allard, Drumright
LeRoy H. Fischer, Stillwater
Bob Foresman, Tulsa

Term Expiring in January, 1976

Miss Genevieve Seger, Geary
H. Milt Phillips, Seminole
H. Merle Woods, El Reno
George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
A. M. Gibson, Norman

Term Expiring in January, 1977

Joe W. Curtis, Pauls Valley
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kingfisher
Harry L. Deupree, Oklahoma City
W. E. McIntosh, Tulsa
Earl Boyd Pierce, Muskogee

Term Expiring in January, 1978

W. D. Finney, Fort Cobb
Jordan Reaves, Oklahoma City
James D. Morrison, Durant
John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City
Q. B. Boydstun, Fort Gibson

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be sent to Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, 2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklaho Historical Society with its editorial office in the Historical Building at 2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma C

The subscription rate is $6.00 a year. Single numbers of *The Chronicles* are available at $1.50. All members the Oklahoma Historical Society receive *The Chronicles* free. Annual membership is $5.00; Life members $100.00. Subscriptions, change of address, membership applications, orders for current issues of *The Chronic* and non-current back issues should be sent to the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Responsibility for statement of facts or opinion made by contributors in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is assumed by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

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VOLUME LI | *Fall 1973* | NUMBER III

DR. KENNY A. FRANKS, *Editor*

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THE COVER The photograph is of Theodore Roosevelt, attired in a business suit crowned with a Rough Rider hat, leading a parade through downtown Oklahoma City in 1900 as he prepared to address a meeting of former Rough Riders' who had fought in the Spanish-American War. This print was taken from the Oklahoma Historical Society Library collection.

Many men from both Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory had rushed to join the First Volunteer Cavalry organized by Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt at the outset of hostilities. Roosevelt had telegraphed the Governor of Oklahoma Territory, Cassius M. Barnes, and asked for young men who were good shots and good riders who were eager to "Remember the Maine." The response was tremendous, and men from the "Twin Territories" flocked to San Antonio, Texas, to enlist. Welcomed to the training camp by a band playing "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," the volunteers made-up for their lack of equipment and discipline by their enthusiasm. After several weeks of drilling, the regiment arrived in Cuba in June, 1898, and on July 1, they stormed up San Juan Hill and their way into history.

Now many of these same men, together with thousands more, jammed the streets or joined the procession to catch a glimpse of the famous visitor, who had traveled to Oklahoma City to honor those who had served under him.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT VISITS OKLAHOMA

*By Brian Lee Smith**

During the second week of April, 1905, the people of Frederick, Oklahoma Territory, witnessed a novel event. President Theodore Roosevelt and a special party of Oklahoma and Texas cowboys were hunting wolves in the area and it was apparent to those present that Roosevelt was enjoying himself immensely. It was a great honor to the citizens of Oklahoma to entertain the President of the United States. In expressing his appreciation to the citizens of Frederick and the surrounding area, Roosevelt exclaimed, "You never had a guest who enjoyed himself better than myself, and I will come to Oklahoma again." To Roosevelt, Oklahoma represented the last frontier to be conquered, and the frontier atmosphere allowed him to pursue the strenuous, active life he enjoyed most.[1]

Roosevelt had not acquired his taste for the bold and daring easily. As a child, he was frail and subject to severe attacks of asthma. In order to fully stimulate his mind, he realized, with the aid of some fatherly prodding, that he would have to physically develop his body, thus vigorous exercise, including boxing, became an integral part of his life.[2]

Tragedy struck Roosevelt in 1884 when both his wife and his mother died on the same day. Working to relieve his grief, he became a rancher in the Bad Lands of North Dakota, so that he might lose himself in the challenge of frontier adventures. During this time he was also active as a writer, composing his major work, *The Winning of the West.* If Roosevelt had been so inclined, he would have been most influential and successful as an author as he possessed all the qualities of a reputable scholar. However, throughout his life, Roosevelt could never resist the lure of politics.[3]

Theodore Roosevelt began his political career as the youngest member of the New York State Assembly. Later, from 1889 to 1895, he effectively ad-

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[1] *Mangum Sun Monitor*, April 13, 1905, p. 1; *Frederick Enterprise*, April 14, 1905, p. 8.

[2] William Henry Harbaugh, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Collier Books, 1963), pp. 10–11.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 54; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (4 vols., New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917), Vol. 1, p. vi.

vanced reforms as United States civil service commissioner and for the next two years he was president of the Police Commission of New York City. The following year Roosevelt served as assistant secretary of the navy from which post he resigned to become lieutenant colonel of the First United States Volunteer Cavalry in Cuba where he led the assault on San Juan Hill in the Spanish-American War. Roosevelt's unit was popularly called the "Rough Riders," in which many men from the twin territories participated. The bravery and courage displayed by them endeared Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory to Roosevelt to such an extent that he eagerly wanted to visit them.

In November, 1898, Theodore Roosevelt was elected governor of New York. Though he wanted a second term as governor, he accepted the Republican nomination for vice-president in 1900. Roosevelt adopted the role of McKinley's shadow: both in the campaign of 1900 and as vice-president he played a secondary part. McKinley conducted a dignified canvass from his front porch in Canton, Ohio, while Roosevelt, under Marcus A. Hanna's direction, crossed the country defending the administration.

Because of the many friendships Roosevelt made with Oklahoma Rough Riders, he took time off from the political campaign to come to Oklahoma City for the Rough Riders' Convention in July, 1900. He announced from the outset that his special visit would be separate from politics; he would be Oklahoma City's guest of honor at the national reunion of Rough Riders. Several prominent members of his regiment, David Goodrick, Arthur F. Cosby and H. C. Pollock, accompanied him on the long journey from New York.[4]

While Roosevelt traveled toward the West, the people of Oklahoma City were preparing for what promised to be the single most exciting event in the history of Oklahoma Territory. A reception committee of distinguished individuals traveled toward Kansas with the purpose of meeting Roosevelt's train and accompanying him to Oklahoma City. From all parts of Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory, the informed, the curious and the veterans of the Civil and Spanish-American wars crowded into Oklahoma City in order to get a glimpse of Colonel Roosevelt, and it "seemed almost a coronation that at this joyous time the most dramatic figure in American life should be a visitor to the young and eager city." In the minds of Oklahomans, Roosevelt stood second to none in the nation, and even the popular Democrat, William Jennings Bryan, did not hold as much appeal to the people of Oklahoma as did Roosevelt.[5]

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[4] *Times-Journal* (Oklahoma City), July 2, 1900, p. 1.

[5] *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), July 1, 1900, p. 5. The members of the Oklahoma

Roosevelt arrived in Oklahoma City late in the evening of July 2, and as his special train pulled into the station, twenty thousand people greeted him. Surrounded by former Rough Riders, Roosevelt slowly made his way on foot to the Lee Hotel, the only hotel in the city with electrically operated elevators. Much to the pleasure of the crowd, upon reaching the hotel he made a short speech referring to statehood.[6]

Exhausted but enthused, Roosevelt began to greet the Rough Riders at a special reception. Tears of joy appeared on his face as he talked to his comrades. Meanwhile, an elaborate social event, a military ball, commenced in the Reed-Smith building. Some five hundred women and men from the "Twin Territories" and nearby states attended, eagerly awaiting his arrival. It was not until after midnight that he finally reached the ballroom, but due to the lateness of the hour and the rigors of the day, he stayed for only thirty minutes. Yet, while he was at the ball, he proved to be the sensational individual that all had expected; highlighting the evening he led the grand march with Mrs. Marcella Van Winkle, the wife of Oklahoma City's mayor. Soon afterwards Roosevelt returned to his hotel for some much needed rest.[7]

The festivities planned for July 3 opened with a grand parade and Roosevelt naturally occupied the center of attraction. He rode a beautiful black charger and led nearly one-hundred Rough Riders through the streets. The huge throng that had lined the avenues noticed with mild disappointment that he was not adorned in his military uniform, but Roosevelt had not wished to make a display of himself. Therefore, he had dressed plainly in a business suit, and only his Rough Rider hat signified his connection with that famous unit. A group of veterans of the Civil War, cowboys on their ponies, Indians in their regalia and ordinary citizens who just wished to march in the procession followed Roosevelt and the Rough Riders through the cheering crowd. The parade was a complete success, owing much to the untiring efforts of Grand Marshall C. G. Jones.[8]

The next stage in the Rough Riders' Reunion program featured Roosevelt, who was a dynamic speaker, in a round of speeches. Thousands of people

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City reception committee were Mayor Lee Van Winkle, Colonel Alex O. Brodie, Captain Frank Frantz, Sergeant C. E. Hunter, E. W. Johnsen, Anton H. Classen, Judge Benjamin F. Burwell, Sydney Clark, D. T. Flynn and D. R. Boyd. Angelo C. Scott, *The Story of Oklahoma City* (Oklahoma City: Times-Journal Publishing Company, 1939), p. 172.

[6] *Daily Oklahoman*, July 3, 1900, p. 1; Scott, *The Story of Oklahoma City*, p. 172; *Daily Oklahoman*, July 3, 1900, p. 1.

[7] *Oklahoma Leader* (Guthrie), July 5, 1900, p. 5; *Daily Oklahoman*, July 3, 1900, p. 1.

[8] *Ibid.*, July 4, 1900, p. 2; *Times-Journal*, July 3, 1900, p. 5.

jammed into Kramer's Park to hear the Governor of Oklahoma Territory, the Mayor of Oklahoma City, and more especially Roosevelt. While most newspapers proclaimed an attendance figure of thirty thousand people, a conservative estimate was placed at twenty thousand.[9]

Territorial Governor Cassius M. Barnes spoke first, thanking Colonel Roosevelt for making the long trip to be with members of his regiment, and praising the efforts of Oklahomans and the leadership of Roosevelt in winning the Spanish-American War. In an attempt to flatter Roosevelt, Barnes exclaimed that his name was "inscribed upon the hearts of all our people as the gallant soldier who led our boys up the heights of San Juan to a glorious victory." The vast crowd, eager to hear Roosevelt speak, became restless and unruly during Barnes' talk, and the ensuing speech by Mayor Lee Van Winkle was drowned out by shouts for the man of the day—Theodore Roosevelt.[10]

Without the benefit of notes and with great conviction, Roosevelt addressed the crowd in the kind of language that they had come to hear. Declaring that he felt at home in Oklahoma and very close to the men who sacrificed so much to make the regiment respectable and great, Roosevelt did not fail to mention specifically the bravery of the Pawnee, Cherokee and Creek men in his regiment. Then he touched upon the important issue of statehood, exclaiming that "the next time I come I hope to see you a State." With the full support and attention of the huge crowd, he paid a high compliment to his listeners: "You of Oklahoma formed this state, because you came here not seeking a life of ease, but out of labor to rest in splendor and in triumph." He was so impressed with the energy and self-determination of the Oklahomans in settling and developing the land that the idea of expansion provided the key to his speech. Contrasting China with America, Roosevelt stated he did not want to see the United States become weak and sterile like China. Arguing that China had ceased to be a great power because it had stopped expanding, he emphasized the glory of an ever increasing nation and the role Oklahomans could expect to play.[11]

When he had completed his speech, Roosevelt knew that it had been "prodigious, an overwhelming success," and that he had won the hearts of all Oklahomans in attendance. According to the Oklahoma City *Times-Journal*, the scene that followed the speech "beggars all description." On behalf of the Rough Riders' Reunion Association, President Anton H.

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[9] *Stillwater Gazette*, July 5, 1900, p. 1; *Daily Oklahoman*, July 4, 1900, p. 1; *Times-Journal*, July 3, 1900, p. 1.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Daily Oklahoman*, July 4, 1900, p. 1; *New York Times*, July 4, 1900, p. 2.

Classen presented a magnificent golden sword to Roosevelt, which elicited a tremendous emotional response from both Roosevelt and the people—undoubtedly he had conquered his audience.[12]

Perhaps one of the most exciting events of the day was the steer roping contest staged for Roosevelt's enjoyment. James Mirrel of Round Rock, Texas, won top honors during the afternoon when he roped and tied a steer in fifty-one and one-half seconds. However, Roosevelt was most enchanted by the daring feats of Lucille Mulhall, Oklahoma's lovely and talented horsewoman. She rode beautifully throughout the contest and lassoed the wildest steer in the field.[13]

After the roping tricks had been performed, Roosevelt mingled with the old-time cowboys and the crowd, talking to and shaking hands with as many people as he possibly could. One newspaper reporter remarked that "besides being known as both honest and fearless, he is a friendly man." He was guest at an informal dinner, attended a local theatrical production of the Battle of San Juan and watched a fireworks display. Finally at 10:00 p.m., he left Oklahoma City after having been the central figure in "the greatest day in the history of Oklahoma and one that will never be forgotten by all present," according to a highly impressed reporter of the *Times-Journal*.[14]

As Roosevelt departed, he must have believed that he and the pioneer Oklahomans belonged to that rare group of individuals who constantly renewed their faith in the challenge of physical combat, the struggle for bare existence and the exhilaration of final victory. He realized that the people of Oklahoma at the turn of the century best exemplified his undying love for the spirit of the West. Perhaps he expressed this best when he wrote years later in his autobiography about the great people of the West: "We knew toil and hardship and hunger and thirst; and we saw men die violent deaths as they worked among the horses and cattle, or fought in evil feuds with one another; but we felt the beat of hardy life in our veins, and ours was the glory of work and the joy of living." After having spent a day among the people of Oklahoma, Roosevelt knew that he would aid the area in its quest for statehood if given an opportunity.[15]

On March 4, 1901, Roosevelt assumed the office of vice-president; however, he presided over the Senate for only one session. Word that President

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[12] *Times-Journal*, July 3, 1900, p. 5.

[13] *Daily Oklahoman*, July 4, 1900, p. 2; *Oklahoma Leader*, July 5, 1900, p. 5.

[14] *El Reno News*, July 5, 1900, p. 1; *New York Times*, July 4, 1900, p. 2; *Daily Oklahoman*, July 4, 1900, p. 2; *Times-Journal*, July 3, 1900, p. 5.

[15] Harbaugh, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 65; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Autobiography of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. by Wayne Andrews (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), p. 59.

William McKinley was dying from a bullet wound reached him on a climb of Mount Marcy in the Adirondack Mountains in northern New York. A day later, on September 14, 1901, before most of the cabinet in Ansley Wilcox's home in Buffalo, New York, he took the oath of office as President of the United States. With the assassination of McKinley, he became, at the age of forty-two, the youngest President of the United States to that time.

Through the next three years Roosevelt was carefully conscious that he was filling out another president's term. "I wish to say that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken," he declared, "the policy of President McKinley for the peace, the prosperity and the honor of our beloved country." Though he moved cautiously, he did so more with an eye to 1904 than to 1900.[16]

His strategy paid off handsomely in the 1904 election when he received the greatest popular majority vote to that time. Although he made no pretense about his position as president, he valued the power which allowed him to accomplish much of his reform program. Thus in 1905, Roosevelt resumed the presidency by popular mandate, and the fact that he was no longer president by accident bolstered his pride.[17]

One of the most enjoyable events of Roosevelt's second term was his visit to Indian Territory and Frederick, Oklahoma Territory, in April, 1905. In this second visit to the Oklahoma region, Roosevelt was able to see much more of the country than he had in 1900. On April 5, the President traveled through Indian Territory, delivering short addresses in several towns along the route of his special train, while traveling to the Rough Riders' Reunion in San Antonio, Texas. As was true in 1900, Roosevelt drew large crowds and warm response from Oklahomans during his visit in 1905.

On the morning of April 5, 1905, the President made his first stop in Indian Territory at Vinita. John Swain was in charge of the firing of a twenty-one gun salute when the train came into town. The old Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad depot was smothered with flags, and a crowd of ten thousand people eagerly awaited Roosevelt's arrival. The train pulled into the station at 9:08 a.m., and as Roosevelt addressed the crowd in his plain, well modulated voice for approximately two minutes, he looked "the picture of strong, young manhood in the best of physical health and as strenuous as life and vigor can make him." The President's theme was single statehood, but he began by thanking some of the men of his old Spanish-

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[16] G. Wallace Chessman, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Power*, ed. by Oscar Handlin (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1969), p. 76.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 77; Edward Wagenknecht, *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1958), p. 196.

Theodore Roosevelt speaking in Muskogee on April 5, 1905, while on his way to Frederick to attend a wolf hunt.

American War regiment for their valor. One reporter remarked that "something far transcending the cheap reverence paid to the divine rights of outworn European monarchs" characterized Roosevelt and the crowd at Vinita.[18]

Although the original schedule did not include a stop at Wagoner, in the Creek Nation, the train paused briefly to greet several hundred people present at the depot. Roosevelt made a few remarks on statehood and added that he took "the most extreme interest in everything that concerns your welfare."[19]

Since the end of March, preparations had been underway in Muskogee in the Creek Nation, to give Roosevelt a truly special greeting as he passed through the town. On March 30, Mayor Samuel Morton Rutherford had appointed a special committee of three men, Charles N. Haskell, Isaac N. Ury and Clarence B. Douglass, to travel to Parsons, Kansas and escort the President to Muskogee. Also, a huge platform was erected in the center of Broadway for Roosevelt's use.[20]

When the President arrived at Muskogee at 11:00 a.m., he had not intended to leave the train. However, the special effort of the people in offering him a platform prompted him to mount the stage from the rear of his train. The Muskogee reception committee was headed by Pleasant Porter, the chief of the Creek Nation and nearly two thousand school children and many full-blooded Indians gathered to catch a glimpse of Roosevelt, who was introduced by Judge John R. Thomas. In a short speech to the crowd of fifteen thousand, Roosevelt advocated single statehood in glowing terms by announcing that "your territory in conjunction with Oklahoma will soon be one of the greatest states in the Union." Also, he stressed the qualities and duties of a good citizen to the attentive crowd.[21]

Continuing his tour, the President spoke to seven thousand people in South McAlester, in the Choctaw Nation, for about eight minutes. Again, his speech focused on the idea of single statehood, and those essential qualities necessary for outstanding citizens. Without question, he was highly impressed with his trip through Indian Territory, so he told his audience: "You have great industries here and great resources, but what counts is the right type of men and women, and I believe you have that."[22]

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[18] *Vinita Daily Chieftain*, April 5, 1905, p. 1; *Vinita Weekly Chieftain*, April 6, 1905, p. 1; *Vinita Leader*, April 6, 1905, p. 1.

[19] *Shawnee Herald*, April 6, 1905, p. 1; *Daily Oklahoman*, April 6, 1905, p. 1.

[20] *Muskogee Phoenix*, March 30, 1905, p. 7.

[21] *Shawnee Herald*, April 6, 1905, p. 1; John D. Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma* (3 vols., Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1922), Vol. 1, p. 281; *Muskogee Phoenix*, April 6, 1905, p. 4.

[22] *South McAlester Capital*, April 6, 1905, p. 1.

At Atoka, in the Choctaw Nation, between four and five thousand people gathered around the depot to see Roosevelt. Judge Thomas C. Humphrey was in charge of the reception committee, and the crowd was composed of whites, Indians and Negroes who presented him "with one welcome." Roosevelt gave special thanks to the many Indians who had served valiantly under him, and he asked that no efforts be spared in the quest of aiding the Indians in attaining the highest standard of citizenship. After departing from Atoka, Roosevelt spoke briefly in Caddo and Durant, in the Choctaw Nation, later in the afternoon. His speeches in these towns were repetitions of the five earlier speeches of the day.[23]

The impetus for the President's visit to Frederick three days later for the purpose of wolf hunting with John R. Abernathy began at a White House dinner in January, 1903. When Roosevelt first heard about Abernathy's ability to catch wolves with his bare hands, he thought that his friend from Fort Worth, Texas, Sloan Simpson, who was telling the story, was greatly exaggerating. Simpson insisted that he was telling the truth and invited Roosevelt to see the amazing feat performed in person. Several months after this debate over Abernathy's ability, another friend from Texas, Colonel Cecil Lyon, reinforced Simpson's tale, and provoked renewed interest in the President's mind. Roosevelt desired to make the long journey from Washington but could not do so until after the election of 1904. Finally, he accepted Simpson's invitation to come to a wolf hunt in April, 1905.[24]

On behalf of Simpson and Colonel Lyon, a committee consisting of John Abernathy, Charles McHugh and Major H. L. Ripley handled the important arrangements to entertain the President both at Frederick and at the hunt. Abernathy, who would act as the principal guide once the hunt began, selected the Big Pasture, near Frederick, as an ideal location for hunting wolves. The Big Pasture contained 480,000 acres of open range in present-day Tillman and Comanche counties. On Monday, April 3, McHugh and Major Jules E. Muchert left Frederick to search for a suitable camp site. Also, Major Ripley, who had been assigned the task of overseeing the transportation of Roosevelt's camping equipment, departed for the Big Pasture the next day. The camp supplies consisted of six wagon loads of tents, guns and other hunting paraphernalia. Naturally, the President did not want to be bothered by curious citizens on the hunt; therefore, Major Ripley and a

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[23] *Indian Citizen* (Atoka), April 6, 1905, p. 4; *Daily Oklahoman*, April 6, 1905, p. 10.

[24] Wayne Gard, "Teddy Roosevelt's Wolf Hunt," *Cattleman*, Vol. XLV, No. 5 (October, 1958), p. 38.

troop of cavalrymen from Fort Sill had the responsibility of keeping trespassers out of the area.[25]

After celebrating with former Rough Riders in San Antonio, President Roosevelt and his party reached Frederick at 5:40 p.m. on Saturday, April 8. As the hunt at Frederick was the one part of his western trip that he longed to experience, the reception committee discovered a very friendly, jovial man waiting to be greeted. When the President saw the large group of people assembled at the grandstand on Main Street, he acknowledged a desire to speak before the audience of five or six thousand. He noticed mounted guards along the road as he journeyed toward the grandstand; the town of Frederick had not been lax in taking the necessary precautions for his safety.[26]

At the grandstand, Roosevelt saw a crowd composed of ordinary Frederick citizens, veterans from both sides of the Civil War, and, much to his surprise, the famous Comanche chief, Quanah Parker. Immediately he asked Quanah Parker to come to the speaker's stand, and when the two shook hands, the crowd roared its hearty approval. Actually the President could hardly have picked a more appropriate symbol than the handshake with Parker to begin his speech which stressed how happy he was that "we are one people and one country." To Roosevelt it was absolutely essential to "give the red man the same chance as the white." Excitement mounted to a peak with his remarks concerning immediate statehood. Combining his flashing smile and aggressive gestures, he exclaimed: "The next time I come to Oklahoma I trust I will come to a state and it won't be my fault if this is not soon." Within three years, Roosevelt's prediction became reality.[27]

At the close of the speech, Roosevelt and his hunting party left Frederick for the Big Pasture. Camp Roosevelt, as it was called in the President's honor, was located "in township 2 south, range 16, west of the Indian Meridian and near where the Big Pasture townsite, Isadore, was later planted." Roosevelt believed that "altogether it was an ideal camp." A street had been laid out in the center of the encampment separating the President's and Abernathy's tents from the others, all of which had been

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[25] *Daily Oklahoman*, April 6, 1905, p. 1; *Frederick Enterprise*, April 7, 1905, p. 1; *Times-Democrat* (Pawnee), April 6, 1905, p. 1; *Daily Oklahoman*, December 4, 1932, Sec. C, p. 7.

[26] Theodore Roosevelt, "A Wolf Hunt in Oklahoma," *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 5 (November, 1905), p. 513. Members of the presidential party included Lieutenant General S. B. M. Young, Lieutenant Roly Fortescue, Dr. Alexander Lambert, Colonel Cecil Lyon and Sloan Simpson. *Daily Oklahoman*, April 9, 1905, p. 1. The Frederick reception committee was composed of W. B. McHugh, A. D. Kell, A. Kir, a Dr. Wymore, Colonel W. W. Walker, I. T. White and George O'Hern. *Frederick Enterprise*, April 14, 1905, p. 1.

[27] *Mangum Star*, April 13, 1905, p. 1; *Frederick Enterprise*, April 14, 1905, p. 1.

pitched on short, thick grass. Living arrangements were styled in the old cowboy tradition. The men slept on single army cots, and all meals were prepared from an ordinary chuck wagon. C. H. Harris, a Negro cook from Saint Louis, Missouri, had the responsibility of making certain that the men were well fed.[28]

Sunday turned out to be a lazy day as there were no planned hunts, and Dr. Alexander Lambert took photographs of the group and the trained hounds which had been furnished by Colonel Lyon and Abernathy. In the meantime while exercising his horse, Roosevelt experienced a great thrill by lassoing a coyote. That night, the hunting party sat around a campfire exchanging stories and reveling in their adventure.

The planned hunts officially began Monday morning, with two scheduled for each day through Thursday. The hunters departed camp at 6:30 in the mornings and at 1:30 in the afternoons. In every chase the President performed remarkably well, and the veteran cowboys were amazed at his ability to stay in the lead of most of the riders. In fact, only Roosevelt could keep pace with Abernathy.[29]

Abernathy held the unofficial title of champion wolf-catcher of the world. His technique appeared simple, but no other man could duplicate it. Mounted upon his favorite horse, Sam Bass, Abernathy would skillfully ride the wolf down, leap off his horse and catch the wolf by the jaws with both hands. Primarily motivated by jealousy of Abernathy's success and a desire to impress Roosevelt, Al Bivins, a wealthy daredevil rider from Texas who had been invited for the hunt, attempted to match Abernathy's style. Nevertheless, for all his efforts, Bivin's only catch was an injured hand, and from that point forward, all the wolf-catching was left up to Abernathy.[30]

Abernathy had truly impressed the President with an exceptionally fine wolf-catch on Monday afternoon. After an exciting mile-and-a-half chase,

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[28] From the following three sources a list of those individuals who were members of the hunting party can be formulated: Roosevelt, "A Wolf Hunt in Oklahoma," *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 513; *Mangum Star*, April 13, 1905, p. 1; *Frederick Enterprise*, April 7, 1905. Each list varies somewhat, but it can be concluded that the party consisted of Theodore Roosevelt, Dr. Alexander Lambert (Roosevelt's personal doctor), Lieutenant General S. B. M. Young, Lieutenant Roly Fortescue, Colonel Cecil Lyon, Sloan Simpson, John R. Abernathy, Major J. E. Muchert, W. T. Waggoner, Guy Waggoner, A. B. Burnett, Tom Burnett, C. B. McHugh, Quanah Parker, Al Bivins, Fi Taylor, Ed Gillis and Captain Bill McDonald (a former Texas Ranger). *Daily Oklahoman*, December 4, 1932, Sec. C, p. 7; Roosevelt, "A Wolf Hunt in Oklahoma," *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 513; *Mangum Star*, April 13, 1905, p. 1.

[29] *Daily Oklahoman*, April 13, 1905, p. 1; *Frederick Enterprise*, April 14, 1905, p. 1, Gard, "Teddy Roosevelt's Wolf Hunt," *Cattleman*, Vol. XLV, p. 40.

[30] *Frederick Enterprise*, April 21, 1905, p. 1; Foster Harris, "T. R. and the Great Wolf Hunt," *Oklahoma Today*, Vol. 11 (Fall, 1958), pp. 8–9; John R. (Jack) Abernathy, *In Camp With Theodore Roosevelt* (Oklahoma City: Times-Journal Publishing Company, 1933), p. 112.

Abernathy seized the harassed wolf under the jaw and held it up for Roosevelt to see. "Bully!" exclaimed the President, "I haven't been skunked. This catch pays me for the trip to Oklahoma and corroborates Colonel Lyon's statements." Throughout four days of hunting, Roosevelt witnessed the pursuit with intense animation and "was in at the death of eleven wolves." The most exciting moment occurred on Tuesday afternoon when Abernathy overcame the slashing attack of a vicious wolf after a wild and hazardous ten-mile chase in which all other riders except the President had dropped out. Roosevelt yelled ecstatically, "this beats anything I have ever seen in my life, and I have seen a good deal."[31]

Roosevelt thoroughly enjoyed the camp life. The stories told by cowboys sitting around the fire and the typical diversions, such as foot races and coon hunting, allowed him an opportunity to relax and to put aside the pressures of the presidency for a few vitalizing days. His attraction turned to a particular fondness for Abernathy who seemed to be a living example of Roosevelt's idealization of the strenuous life. At meals Roosevelt and Abernathy "sat down on the ground, with tin platefuls of beans, syrup and choice yearling steak; and sipping steaming black coffee from tin cups" in cowboy fashion. Rapport existed both in camp and on the hunts. To Roosevelt the five days in Oklahoma Territory proved to be "unalloyed pleasure" and the best hunting trip of his entire life.[32]

At the conclusion of the hunt, Roosevelt asked to meet Mrs. Abernathy and her five children. Talking to her about her husband's fantastic accomplishments for nearly half an hour at the gate of the Big Pasture, Roosevelt then left for Frederick.[33]

Many people expected the President to make a short speech when he returned from the hunt in the late afternoon. More than anything, they desired a second look at their Chief Executive. With a flair for the dramatic, Roosevelt and his party entered Frederick at full gallop, in truly Western style, and headed straight for the train. After trading jokes with several of the cowboys who had been on the hunt, Roosevelt addressed the crowd from the rear of the train before he left at 8:25 p.m. for his Colorado bear hunt. He simply thanked the people of Frederick for their kindness in not inter-

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[31] *Daily Oklahoman*, April 12, 1905, p. 1, Abernathy, *In Camp With Theodore Roosevelt*, pp. 109–110, 125; Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, April 14, 1905, in Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (8 vols., Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1951), Vol. IV, p. 1161.

[32] *Daily Oklahoman*, May 3, 1936, Sec. D., p. 4; Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, April 14, 1905, in Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Vol. IV, p. 1160.

[33] *Frederick Enterprise*, April 14, 1905, p. 8.

fering with the hunt and "for as pleasant a five day outing as any president ever had."[34]

Roosevelt came to Oklahoma for the last time on September 24, 1912. Due to a rigorous schedule of speeches on his tour of the states, he stayed only one day while campaigning as the Progressive candidate for the presidency. For Roosevelt, it was not what he had expected, nor were faithful disciples of the Progressive party very pleased with his impact upon the state. He struggled to elicit some degree of fervor, but for the most part he failed. Not only had he split the Republican party into two bitterly opposed wings, but many Oklahomans could clearly recall the snide remarks which he made concerning Oklahoma's constitution at the time of statehood in 1907.[35]

After his first visits to the area, most people believed Roosevelt would strongly aid them in their quest for statehood. However, the constitution adopted by the citizens of Oklahoma proved far too radical for Roosevelt to support, and he voiced strong objections. He still possessed some misgivings when he proclaimed Oklahoma the forty-sixth state "on equal footing with the original states." Some Oklahomans were not likely to forgive Roosevelt's opposition to their attempt at constitution-making.[36]

On his campaign tour through Oklahoma, Roosevelt had planned to speak at Tulsa, Sapulpa, Chandler, Guthrie, Oklahoma City, Shawnee, Holdenville and McAlester on September 24, 1912. However, he cancelled his visit to Guthrie due to the severe strain on his voice from open-air oratory. His weak voice would plague him throughout the day, causing many to not hear a single word he said.[37]

Roosevelt had left Joplin, Missouri, at 11:00 p.m. on September 23, 1912, and his special train on the Saint Louis and San Francisco Railway arrived in Tulsa at 5:00 a.m. the next day. Tulsa, as the first city in Oklahoma to see and to hear the distinguished visitor, had busily prepared an appropriate welcome. A state reception committee traveled to Pittsburg, Kansas, to accompany Roosevelt to Tulsa, and a welcoming committee composed of Mayor Frank M. Wooden, Eugene Lorton, editor of the *Tulsa World* and E. D. Mitchell, president of the Commercial Club, greeted him at 7:00 a.m. at the door of his special coach. Roosevelt led the parade from his train to a platform at Central High School, while the Boy Scouts of Tulsa formed an escort for him and the members of his party.[38]

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[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Oklahoma City Times*, September 25, 1912, p. 4.

[36] United States, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXV, p. 2160.

[37] *Daily Oklahoman*, September 24, 1912, p. 2.

[38] *Tulsa Weekly Democrat*, September 26, 1912, p. 6. The state reception committee in-

At the speech, Frank Frantz introduced Roosevelt to the crowd of ten thousand. Unfortunately, only those people who were next to the grandstand could hear Roosevelt's attack on the two traditional parties. Declaring that "the republican party is dead, as dead as was the old Whig organization when deserted by Abraham Lincoln," Roosevelt stated that in his estimation, the Democratic party could not save the nation. Therefore, only one party could represent the people in 1912—the Progressive party under Roosevelt's dynamic leadership. At times, his winning personality would show through his bitter political tirade, especially when he observed, "I thought I knew what a strenuous life was, but I see I must come to Oklahoma to learn the real meaning of the word." His speech lasted ten minutes, but he appeared exhausted.[39]

At Sapulpa, Roosevelt was greeted by a crowd of 5,894 people and 157 cowboys from the 101 Ranch Show. Jim Marrs, the local chairman of the Roosevelt Club in Sapulpa, introduced him as the next President. Speaking nearly ten minutes, and again his words reached only a few people, Roosevelt emphasized his belief that "the republican party is dead and that in November we propose to bury the democratic party." The main cheering came from the members of the Wild West Show.[40]

In Chandler, Roosevelt's third stop of the day, he received the most enthusiastic greeting of his entire visit. The Chandler schools had closed for the event when he arrived at 10:40 a.m. to find the Frisco depot "packed almost to suffocation." Roosevelt showed the effects of a hard campaign of over a month and a half, but the reception committee and the people termed his visit a success. In an extremely short speech, he walloped the crowd by exclaiming harshly that "no honest man should vote the republican ticket." From the Chandler response, the Progressive party could count on Lincoln county as territory friendly to their cause.[41]

In contrast to his stop in Chandler, he failed to generate real excitement in Oklahoma City. Interestingly enough, most of the fervor came from the

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cluded James Veasey, George C. Priestley, Frank Frantz, A. A. Davidson, M. R. Houser, R. T. Potter, A. A. Dennison, T. A. Latta and Ralph Harvey. *Ibid.* and the *Tulsa Daily World*, September 24, 1912, p. 1. George Emden Roosevelt, Secretary John W. McGrath, Cecil Lyon, Dr. Scurry L. Terrell and Secretary Whitmell P. Martin made up the ex-president's party.

[39] *Tulsa Daily World*, September 25, 1912, p. 1; *Tulsa Weekly Democrat*, September 26, 1912, p. 7.

[40] *Creek County Republican* (Sapulpa), September 27, 1912, p. 1; *Tulsa Daily World*, September 25, 1912, p. 8; *Daily Oklahoman*, September 25, 1912, p. 5.

[41] *Chandler News-Publicist*, September 27, 1912, p. 1; *Chandler Tribune*, September 26, 1912, p. 1. The Chandler reception committee contained Congressman Bird S. McGuire, J. Bart Foster, W. M. Merchant, Colonel H. E. King, Clyde Crane, Dan Norton, J. C. Herr and Dr. George R. Hansen. *Chandler Tribune*, September 26, 1912, p. 1.

ladies of the local Roosevelt clubs who were creating a new voice in politics. Otherwise, the huge crowds were marked by unenthusiastic curiosity, and some people had come only to see his famous gleaming teeth.[42]

At the Frisco depot in Oklahoma City, ten thousand people awaited Roosevelt's arrival at 12:05 p.m. Entering a special automobile decorated with the head of a bull moose, the symbol of the Progressive party, Roosevelt began his parade to the Skirvin Hotel. Riding next to Alva McDonald, the state chairman of the Progressives, Roosevelt waved his hat "in a desperate attempt at a bid for the applause of the multitude." While the women and veterans of the Spanish-American War offered Roosevelt warm salutations, for the most part "the cheering came only in relays" from the rest of the crowd. Newspaper accounts estimated that over one hundred thousand people saw him on his journey from the depot to the Skirvin Hotel.[43]

Once he arrived at the Skirvin Hotel, he laughed over being given the presidential suite. After enjoying a luncheon with prominent Oklahoma Progressives, he reviewed a parade from the balcony of the Skirvin Hotel and thanked the people of Oklahoma City for their warm support. Then he toured Central High School, and addressed a small crowd on how favorably impressed he was with Oklahoma education.[44]

Roosevelt had been due to arrive at the Fairgrounds for an hour speech at 2:00 p.m., but delays caused by the huge crowds prevented his arrival until 2:45 p.m. A sixteen-foot ring had been specially constructed for Roosevelt so that he might have room for his famous gestures. Frank J. Wikoff introduced Roosevelt in a short speech that was noisily interrupted, but when Roosevelt took the stand he did not offer any new slogans nor did he speak aggressively as was expected. In fact, his voice faded out several times. He simply never appealed to the audience's interest, and his speech was "regarded as political small talk of a negative character."[45]

After stating how glad he was to be back in Oklahoma City, he attempted to discredit the traditional parties by a bitter attack on President William Howard Taft, Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic bosses. As far as his own party was concerned, he failed to say much except for generalizations as "we haven't said anything that can't be done." He went to great pain to

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[42] *Oklahoma City Times*, September 24, 1912, p. 1, *Tulsa Weekly Democrat*, September 26, 1912, p. 7; *Daily Oklahoman*, September 25, 1912, p. 1.

[43] *Ibid.*; *Tulsa Weekly Democrat*, September 26, 1912, p. 2; *Daily Oklahoman*, September 25, 1912, p. 1; *Chandler Tribune*, September 26, 1912, p. 5; *Oklahoma City Times*, September 24, 1912, p. 1.

[44] *Daily Oklahoman*, September 25, 1912, p. 5.

[45] *Daily Oklahoman*, September 22, 1912, p. 6; *Lawton Constitution*, September 26, 1912, p. 1.

demonstrate to his audience that the Progressive cause was not a one-man movement, a criticism that had been levelled frequently at the party. Near the end of the speech the crowd around the speaker's stand had thinned out simply because Roosevelt had failed to arouse any enthusiasm.[46]

The same fate beset Roosevelt at Shawnee in the late afternoon. He contended that "the object of the progressive movement is to make this such a country that your children will have a better opportunity to get along than you had," but only a few of the four thousand could hear him, and he received "scarcely more than a ripple of real applause." Nevertheless, Roosevelt continued his journey toward Holdenville and McAlester.[47]

Roosevelt's train arrived in Holdenville at 6:35 p.m., and he addressed the crowd from the rear platform of the train. His speech was milder in tone than his previous efforts of the day, and for nearly four minutes he appealed to the people of the progressive state of Oklahoma to stand with him in "the fight for the rights of all decent Americans." Roosevelt told the crowd that his party was the only one which truly represented the people.[48]

Roosevelt's final stop in Oklahoma was at McAlester at 8:10 p.m. As he came into McAlester on the special Rock Island train, James C. Davis, a member of the Progressive central committee for Pittsburg County, greeted him. Immediately a parade began toward the Busby Theater where Roosevelt was to deliver a long speech, but during the procession, he drew only scattered cheers from the large crowds that lined the streets to catch a glimpse of him. At the theater, he addressed approximately eighteen hundred adults; the theater had denied entrance to those individuals under eighteen years of age in order to give the adults a chance to hear the ex-President's message.[49]

After an invocation by Dr. Robert Liddell, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Judge W. R. Harris made an introductory speech condemning the Republican convention for having robbed the American people of their first choice for president—Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt agreed heartily with the judge about the theft and claimed that "it is a poor patriot who would not abandon a dead party when it's no longer useful." According to Roosevelt, the Progressive party, unlike the other two organizations, took a fearless stand on every issue, but he failed to expand on his ideas. Instead, he stated that the golden rule of the Bible should be applied to the twentieth century.[50]

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[46] *Daily Oklahoman*, September 25, 1912, p. 2.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 5; *Shawnee Daily News-Herald*, September 25, 1912, p. 1.
[48] *Holdenville Democrat*, September 27, 1912, p. 5.
[49] *McAlester News-Capital*, September 25, 1912, p. 1.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Throughout the speech, Roosevelt possessed a convincing air of earnestness, but one reporter observed that "he did not show his usual violence of gesture nor did he snap out his words with the old time force." He was an exhausted man as those in attendance could see, and only his reputation saved the speech from being a complete failure. After he left the theater, he talked briefly to several hundred people who had not been able to get into the packed theater, and then retired to his train never again to see Oklahoma.[51]

After Roosevelt came to Oklahoma and departed without conquering much of the state, an editorial in the *Daily Oklahoman* predicted that while "Roosevelt and his followers make the most noise, Wilson and his followers will get the most votes." The prediction turned to reality in November when Oklahoma voted overwhelmingly for Wilson, the Democratic candidate. Roosevelt had been unable to sway the state, which had come into the Union under his administration, to his new party. In no manner whatsoever did Roosevelt's visit in 1912 equal his triumphant previous visits. As before, huge crowds were present to greet him, but according to a journalist of the *Daily Oklahoman*, "the old time Roosevelt enthusiasm got lost in the crowd." Even though Oklahomans in 1912 did not accept his brand of politics as they had in 1900 and in 1905, they could still agree with H. G. Wells' description of Roosevelt: "He sticks in my mind . . . as a very symbol of the creative will in man, its limitations, its doubtful adequacy, its valiant persistence amidst perplexities and confusions." After all, Oklahoma had been formed out of the same mold.[52]

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[51] *Ibid.*

[52] *Daily Oklahoman*, September 25, 1912, p. 6; *ibid.*, p. 2; Wagenknecht, *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 287.

AN ILL-FATED EXPEDITION: THE EXPERIENCES OF COLONEL WARNER LEWIS

*Introduction by: Merle Woods**

When a military figure is offered an opportunity to participate in an adventure which promises military glory, admiration of his fellows and the possibility of advancement, he usually accepts with alacrity. Thus, when Colonel Warner Lewis of Missouri was approached by the Confederate leadership to head a highly secret expedition to New Mexico and Arizona, he was pleased with the offer and accepted readily, even though it was a mission fraught with great hazards.

Specifically, the mission called for a command of some twenty special officers to proceed to the West and conduct the double objective of recruiting soldiers for the Confederate cause and to raising funds from Southern sympathizers for the continuation of the fighting. As Kansas and Colorado were allied with the Union cause, it was necessary for the small band to take the risk of travelling through Indian Territory, the Panhandle of Texas, New Mexico and Arizona with all the attendant risks. However, a soldier's life is one in which risks of life are a constant accompaniment and the little group was most confident that it would be equal to meet and survive whatever emergencies might arise. Little did they know that their presence in Indian Territory would be quickly noted by hostile Indians and that disaster would overtake them when a force of 300 Indians would attack the Southerners and leave only two survivors—Colonel Warner Lewis and John Rafferty. Location of the attack has not been discovered, but is generally believed to have been in the vicinity of Nowata or Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Lewis prepared a careful journal of the adventure and this account offers a thrilling description of the disastrous events. Fortune was with Lewis and Rafferty and they managed to elude their pursuers and escape to Missouri and report the tragedy. A few months later the other survivor died, but though wounded, Lewis recovered fully and his report became a part of the annals of the Civil War.

Colonel Warner Lewis was the second child of a family of eleven and was born in St. Louis County, Missouri, January 5, 1834. He graduated from the University of Missouri in 1854, and the following year he married and eventually had seven children. When the Civil War erupted in 1861, Lewis

* Merle Woods is a former newspaper editor and presently serves on the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. This article is based on original manuscripts collected by his wife, Sara Woods, who is the granddaughter of Warner Lewis.

Warner Lewis, who was a member of the ill-fated 1863 expedition to enlist badly needed recruits for the Confederacy.

received an appointment as an officer in the Confederate States Army and a few weeks later was commissioned a Colonel. At the close of the war, he migrated to Mexico, but soon returned. Reuniting his family, Lewis embarked on a legal career, and his later years were spent at Danville and Montgomery, Missouri, practicing law and participating in politics. He died at Montgomery on October 22, 1915, at the age of eighty one.

Here then is the report prepared by Colonel Lewis describing his military adventure in Indian Territory and the outcome of the ill-fated expedition. The vivid account is Lewis' own description of the adventures experienced by the expedition.

In May, 1863, an expedition was organized on the western border of Jasper County, Missouri, under the command of Colonel Charles Harrison, who had been commissioned by Major General [Theophilus H.] Holmes to proceed to New Mexico and Colorado for the purpose of recruiting into the Confederate service the men who had fled there from Missouri and other states, to avoid being drafted into the Federal Army; of whom there was then supposed to be a large number, anxious to make their way into the Southern Army. The plan was to organize them into companies, regiments and brigades, and as soon as this was done to drop into western Texas and then unite with the main army. The plan appeared feasible, though very hazardous; so much so, that many of those who had at first volunteered, finally refused to go.

Colonel Harrison appeared to be the man above all others to lead such an undertaking, since his entire life had been spent upon the western plains, and he had been the protegé of the celebrated Indian fighter, General Kit Carson. He was tall, athletic, and almost as brown as an Indian, of whose blood he was said to be a mixture. He knew no fear and he staggered at no hardships. On the early morning of the 22nd day of May, 1863, the mules were packed with rations for the men. The party consisted of eighteen men, rank and file. The starting point was Center Creek where it crosses the line of the State in Jasper County. The route pursued was westward over the trackless prairie in the Indian Territory about 15 or 20 miles south of and parallel with the Kansas State line. There was no human habitation to be seen and no living person discoverable, and no incident worthy of note until the afternoon of the second day. After crossing a ravine fringed with brush and small timber, we halted on an eminence just beyond for rest and rations; our animals were tethered to grass or left to roam at will, whilst we were resting under the shade of some scattering oaks, inapprehensive of danger.

We had begun saddling up to renew our journey when we discovered a body of men coming on our trail at full gallop. By the time we were all

mounted they were in hailing distance, and proved to be a body of about 150 Indian warriors. To avoid a conflict we moved off at a brisk walk, and they followed us. We had not gone far until some of them fired and killed one of our men, Douglas Huffman; we then charged them vigorously and drove them back for some distance. My horse was killed in this charge and I was severely wounded in the shoulder with an arrow. I mounted the mule from which Huffman was killed. The Indians kept gathering strength from others coming up. We had a running fight for eight or ten miles, frequently hurling back their advance on to the main body or with loss. Our horses were becoming exhausted, so we concluded to halt in the bed of a small stream that lay across our path, to give them rest. The Indians here got all around us at gunshot range, and kept up an incessant fire. We had only side arms and pistols and were out of range. Here Frank Roberts was shot through the head, and fell from his horse. I immediately dismounted the mule and mounted Roberts' horse. This incident was the saving of my life. Colonel B. H. Woodson of Springfield, Mo., preferred this mule to his horse, and mounted it. When our horses were rested we made a dash for liberty. On ascending the bank of the stream the saddle of Captain Park McLure of St. Louis, slipped back and turned and he fell into the hands of the savages. Harrison was shot in the face and was captured. Rule Pickeral had his arm broken.

We broke the cordon as we dashed out, but from now on the race was even and our ranks much reduced. It was about two miles to the Verdigris River. When we were in about two hundred yards of the timber Woodson was caught. I tried to get the men to halt and give them a fire so as to let him get into the timber, but did not succeed. We could not cross the stream with our horses, owing to the steepness of the banks on both sides. I went down to get a drink and heard the Indians connecting with the bank above. John Rafferty stood on the bank above me, and I said to him: "Follow me." He obeyed. We made our way up the stream under cover of the bank for about half a mile, and noticing some fishing poles and some fresh tracks, and hearing the barking of dogs on the other side of the stream, we concluded it safest to secrete ourselves in some dense bushes near the prairie; and the darkness of the night came on.

We had just escaped a cruel death from savages. We were without food and about eighty miles from a place where relief could be obtained. We were without animals to ride, and our journey lay through a trackless prairie, beset by hostile Indians.

We dared not attempt to travel by day, for fear of being discovered by roving bands of Indians, and put to death. By accident, I lost my boots in the

Verdigris River, so we "took it turn about" in wearing Rafferty's shoes, and used our clothing to protect our feet when not wearing the shoes.

We concealed ourselves by day and traveled at night, with only the sky for our covering and the stars for our guide. Just before we reached the Neosho River we frightened a wild turkey from her nest, and secured nine eggs in an advanced state of incubation. Rafferty's dainty appetite refused them, but I ate one with relish and undertook to save the rest for more pressing need.

We found the Neosho River not fordable, and Rafferty could not swim; so we constructed a rude raft with two uneven logs and bark. I put the eggs in the shoes, and the shoes between the logs, and undertook to spar Rafferty across the river. When we got midway the river Rafferty became frightened, tilted the raft, and we lost both the shoes and the eggs. On the morning after the second night the Missouri line appeared in sight, and we nerved ourselves for the final struggle. We reached the neighborhood from which we had started about 11 o'clock,—footsore, wounded and half dead. The good women concealed us in the brush and there fed us and nursed our sores until we were strengthened and healed. Rafferty was soon after killed, so that I, only, of the eighteen men who entered upon that fatal expedition, survived the war.

On the 28th day of May, 1863, Major Thomas R. Livingstone made a report to General [Sterling] Price from Diamond Grove, Mo., in which, among other things, he says: "Col. Warner Lewis is, also, here, who has just escaped from the Indians, and consequently without a force. He will make a report of the unfortunate disaster he escaped."

On the 30th day of May, 1863, Colonel William F. Cloud of the 2nd Kansas Cavalry, made a report to Major General [John M.] Schofield, in which he said, among other things: "A party of 16 men under command of a so-called Colonel Harrison were attacked and killed by Indians upon the Verdigris River west of Missouri, while on their way to the west," etc. A few days after the above tragedy an account was published in the Fort Scott [Kansas] paper in which it was stated that sixteen men were killed by Indians, and their heads cut off and piled up on the prairie.

The place where this unfortunate disaster occurred was in the Indian Territory, and only a short distance south of the present town of Coffeyville, [Kansas] on the southern border of the State of Kansas, and seventy-five or eighty miles west of the west line of Missouri.

Warner Lewis.

HOMESTEADING THE STRIP

*By Robert C. Lucas, told to Lucille Gilstrap**

The Cherokee Outlet was created by the United States government in 1828 when a treaty was signed with the Western Cherokees, removing them from an area in western Arkansas Territory where they had settled in 1817 after migrating from Georgia.[1] This agreement provided for a "perpetual outlet" extending west from their lands, in present-day Oklahoma, to the western boundary of the United States—the 100th meridian. This area was to serve the Cherokees as a hunting ground, and as an access route to the buffalo ranges farther west. Later, when the Eastern Cherokees were removed to Indian Territory, they also used the outlet for access to hunting ranges, but otherwise, the Cherokee Nation did not occupy the area.

The Cherokee Strip, not a part of the Cherokee Outlet, was a narrow piece of land about two and one-fourth miles north of the 37th parallel in southern Kansas, extending west from the Cherokee Neutral Lands to the 100th meridian.[2] This strip of land, a result of a boundary dispute with Kansas, was ceded to the United States by the Cherokees in 1866 together with the Neutral Lands between Missouri and the eastern part of the Osage territory—an area twenty-five miles wide and approximately fifty-two and one-fourth miles long. Settlers were permitted to homestead on the Cherokee Strip after 1872.

The Cherokee Outlet, though called the Cherokee Strip by the pioneers who settled it, and some careless historians, was not opened for settlement to whites until September 16, 1893, when prospective settlers began a run for their 160-acre claims at noon. The dash was to be made from a portion of land 100 feet wide, around and immediately within the outer boundaries of

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* Lucille Gilstrap's grandfather, Issac Lucas, participated in the "Run of 1893." This article is based on the reminiscences of her uncle, Robert C. Lucas, who also participated in the dash for new homes.

[1] Charles J. Kappler, ed. and comp., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (5 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904–1941), Vol. II, pp. 288–292.

[2] On June 21, 1825, a treaty with the Osage Indians established the boundary "due east of White Hair's Village and 25 miles west of the western boundary line of Missouri"; however, it was later discovered that the boundary should have been two and one-half miles north of the 37th parallel. This strip of land in southern Kansas, extending west to the 100th meridian, became known as the "Cherokee Strip," *ibid.*; Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 214; Morris L. Wardell, "Southwest's History Written in Oklahoma's Boundary Story," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V, No. 4 (December, 1927), p. 293; Joe B. Milam, "The Opening of the Cherokee Outlet," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 3 (September, 1931), pp. 268–286.

the entire Cherokee Outlet—this strip being temporarily apart to give everyone making the run an equal opportunity for a fair start.

Those intending to make the dash for land, were obligated to register. Requirements were: the party must be twenty-one years of age, or the head of a family; a citizen of the United States, or one who had declared intention; and a person who had not exhausted homestead rights in any other state or territory. After meeting all requirements, registrants were issued certificates. Similar statements were issued for those desiring town lots, but no person could stake both, nor were the certificates interchangeable. For land east of 97½ degrees west longitude, the charge was $2.50 per acre; for land between 97½ and 98½ degrees longitude cost $1.00 per acre. Interest on the amount, from date of entry to final payment, was to be four percent annually.

There was a $10.00 fee for an entry of more than eighty acres, and $5.00 for eighty acres or less, and in both cases, an addition of two percent upon the government price of the land, computed at the rate of $1.25 per acre.

Four land districts were established—at Enid, in County O; at Alva, in County M; at Woodward, in County N; and the Perry district, County P. A settler who staked a claim was required to file that claim or town lot in his own land district.

The Cherokee Outlet contained the fertile grasslands which, after the Civil War, cattlemen, en route to northern markets with their great herds of Texas cattle, crossed slowly, allowing the lank cattle to graze before the last leg of the long journey to market. This was the area that was eventually fenced by these cattlemen and openly used to graze and fatten expending herds.

As the market prices rose and the cattle business grew more lucrative, large cattle companies vied for the choice grazing land. In 1879, the Cherokee Nation collected its first grazing fee of $8,000, without approval or authority from the Department of the Interior. As competition grew among the cattlemen, the fees received by the Cherokees increased, until 1888 when they collected $200,000 for a five-year lease. That same year, an eastern syndicate offered the Cherokee Nation $18,000,000 for outright ownership of the area, but the United States Congress would not approve and the offer was declined.

However, the day of the cattlemen's bonanza in Oklahoma Territory was fast coming to a close. In 1889, when Sooners and Boomers poured across the Cherokee Outlet in their first race for claims in the Unassigned Land, many noted the rich soil and regarded the area for possible future settlement. Thus the story of the Sooners began again as the Federal government was bombarded with lobbyists demanding the opening and settlement of the Chero-

Crowds waiting in line to register in September, 1893, for the opening of the Cherokee Outlet.

kee Outlet, and determined settlers tore down cattlemen's fences and established homes.

My father, Isaac Lucas, everyone called him Ike, was a big man, five or six inches over six feet, with blue eyes that looked right through you. By the time I remember him, his thick, dark hair and the handlebar mustache was graying. Eventually, both turned snow white. Everyone who knew him said that his word "was as good as gold." I might add that when my father made up his mind to do something, he did it, and he made up his mind to establish a homestead in Oklahoma Territory.

He made his first run on April 22, 1889, when the Unassigned Lands were opened. However, after staking a claim three and one-half miles west of present-day Oklahoma City, he was forced to return to Kansas because of typhoid fever. My father could not get back to the claim in time to build a cabin or make establishments, so he had to relinquish the land.

We lived on a farm between Sedan and Independence, Kansas, in Chautauqua County, where I was born on Decoration Day in 1887. My mother, Johanna Margueritta Carolina Bosse, had a son, Frank Wisdom, by her first husband. My father's first wife had died of quick consumption leaving him with four children, but only his two sons, Al, the oldest, and Elmo, his youngest, lived with us. Other than me, my parents had a girl, Ethel, by their marriage.

When newspapers in Kansas began carrying stories about another land opening in Oklahoma Territory, my father made plans to make the trip again. This was the 1893 opening that everyone called the Cherokee Strip.

According to the stories reaching my father, the largest crowds were gathering for the rush at Caldwell, Kansas, and at Kingfisher, Hennessey and Guthrie in Oklahoma Territory. The best land was supposed to be in the eastern part of the Cherokee Strip so my father decided to make the dash from the Cimarron River, on the south side of the area to be opened. He took with him my half-brothers, Al, who was then twenty-one and planned to stake a claim; and Elmo, who was about eighteen. Another boy, Pete Himes, nearly the same age as Al, who planned to claim a homestead, joined them. Father and Al both rode good saddle horses and Elmo drove a team of mules with a supply wagon containing axes, tools, bedding, grub box and other necessary supplies.

Rain had been scarce in Oklahoma Territory and it was both hot and dusty that Saturday of September 16, 1893. The dust was so thick you could hardly breathe, and everybody was hot and tired, crowding and pushing, and some fighting and cursing. It was noisy, with babies crying, dogs barking, horses stomping and mules snorting—everything was tense, and everyone was waiting for the shot at noon to begin the rush.

Some people had been camped there for days or even weeks. Supplies were low, and there was no water to drink, except what was available in the Cimarron River. Thus you paid a nickel, a high price in those days, for a glass of water, and many could not afford the cost. A large number of people were ill before the run even began.

All day my father had scouted along the Cimarron River seeking the best place to cross. He decided that he and Al would make for a six-foot-high bank that would give them a head start over the rest of the crowd—if they could make it. Because my half-brother, Elmo, could not file a claim, he was to follow my father and Al as best he could in the wagon and cross the river at the nearest ford. As there were no roads or section lines then, my father told Elmo to take a northeast course from the river and follow an old Indian trail.

Saturday, just before the starting signal, my father pointed out to Al the

On the line during the morning of September 16, 1893, for the opening of the Cherokee Outlet.

place in the high bank on the other side of the river where he was to cross, and told him to make a fast run for the spot. Al replied that his horse would "never make it up there," and my father answered "well, if he don't, try him the second time."

When the signal was fired, Al was off on the run and his horse hit the bank, tore out a chunk and fell back. Backing up he tried it a second time, but again the horse slid down, tearing out a little more of the bank.

Then, my father made a run for the six-foot bank; however, his horse slid back but remained on his feet. Farther down the river, people were yelling, cursing and shouting at their horses, while women screamed. The dust made by the crowd was too thick to see through.

Al made another run for the bank and went over the top. Following him, father made it up the bank and onto the prairie, where he looked back to see what was happening. People were coming over the bank as fast as they could, and when they reached the prairie they spread out over the land in all kinds of rigs. Some were in wagons, some on horseback, some in buggies and he saw one person in the river bottom on one of those old high-wheel bicycles.

One person had gotten ahead of my father and Al, while they were breaking down the bank. He was driving one good horse pulling a single-seated buggy with no top; however, the prairie was rough and the buggy was being heavily jolted. Soon a bolt broke in the fifth wheel, that held the box on the front axel. The driver leaped out of the seat, landed with one foot on the axel and the other on the shaft. Tightening the lines he continued the run on two wheels!

Everywhere people were fighting each other to get ahead and acquire a prime homestead. Some were trying to push others out of the way, or run them down. It is a fact that everybody who made that run did not love his neighbor half as much as he wanted a claim!

My father, Al and Pete Himes, started to the northeast, following the old Indian trail for about twelve or thirteen miles. My father staked his claim in Pawnee County, ten miles south and ten miles east of Pawnee. Jennings soon became the nearest trading place, four miles east of his homestead.

Al flagged his claim and staked it next to my father's and later, to keep anybody from jumping their claims, they cut logs from the trees and laid them in a square to indicate where they would build their cabins. Pete Himes flagged a quarter section south of my father's.

To flag a claim, homesteaders simply tied a white rag to a stick and thrust it into the ground, until the next day when they traveled to Pawnee and filed the claim. If there were rocks or timber on the site, settlers cut poles or collected rocks to form an outline of a cabin, in the middle of which they placed a flag to designate their claim.

That day, after my father and Al had established their claims, Al returned to my father's plot and was sent back up the trail to find Elmo. After riding a mile, Al reached the top of a hill which overlooked the valley. Elmo was emerging from Lagune Creek, when Al reached the hilltop. Seeing the wagon and mule team, Al waited for Elmo to reach the hill, and then guided him to the claim.

There was an abundance of trees on my father's homestead—oak, burr oak, post oak—from which he acquired the necessary lumber to construct the fences and buildings that he lived in the first winter.

The following day, after Pete Himes had staked his claim, an Indian named George Young Hawk appeared at Pete's site and declared the land belonged to his brother. Later while visiting my father he declared, "You're all right; open ground. This guy no good. On Indian land." Pete never established a claim though there was a place west of my father's, on a hillside that my father said was worth filing on; however, Pete ignored the advice. To the west of that tract was another Indian allotment, and west of that another, while to the north another Indian farm.

Afterwards a man approached my father and declared he would give him a log wagon, if my father would tell him where he could find a claim. Needing the wagon to haul logs for the cabin he was building, my father told him "Well, since you told me that I could have the wagon, I'll tell you. It isn't much of a wagon—I'll have to do a lot of work on it before I haul logs, but," he added, "I was going to tell you anyhow." The man replied, "All right. We'll settle for the wagon." My father then described the claim on the hill west of his place and the man filed on it. There was only ten or twelve acres along the river while the remainder was on a long, steep grade; however, after you reached the hilltop the land was level. Later, the man planted a field on the hilltop, but it was quite high and at first, hard to reach.

After my father constructed his log cabin, in late February or early spring, he returned to Kansas for the rest of the family. My mother and Al drove wagons pulled by a team of horses, while I rode my pony named Nell. We had three wagons of farm equipment, household goods and supplies; five teams of horses, a span of mules and some other stock, including saddle-horses. We also brought Peking ducks, chickens and almost anything else that anyone would need to start a farm. I was less than six years old, but most of the way I rode old Nell bareback, and helped Elmo take care of the cattle and loose horses.

There had been a lot of rain ahead of us, and when we reached the Arkansas River it was high. Thus we camped our first night in our new home on the bank of the river near the ford, between present-day Cleveland and Blackburn, Oklahoma. The river was about a half-mile wide at that point, and with the high-water, it was swift.

That evening another man arrived at the ford and talked to my father about the crossing. He told my father if he would help him get across, he would then aid my father in crossing. That man had a span of big mules, two wagons and a yoke of oxen, which he did not drive by the yoke, but had harnessed with their collars upside down.

The next morning, my father put Al on a saddle-horse and told him to ride across the river to see if we could make it. When Al returned, he told my father that there was a narrow portion in the middle of the river where his horse had to swim, but if enough stock were attached to the wagons, they could cross. Arranging the wagons for the crossing, my father placed four spans of big mules and a span of large gelding horses to his wagon, which was loaded with machinery, plows, a cultivator, a harrow and other farm equipment. His wagon also had a tail-wagon and the entire load weighed nearly three tons. Placing the heavy wagon first and pulling the tail-wagon, my father lashed the two saddle-horses which Al and Elmo were riding to

the wagon. The lariat ropes were tied to the breast strap of the lead team and fastened to the saddle horn of the saddle-horses. Thus the saddle-horses could pull while the other animals were in deep water and guide the lead team across. In the main channel, the river was probably ten or twelve feet in depth, and when the horses reached the deep part they had to swim to pull the wagon through. The wagon, of course, had to run on the river botton, under water, and that was hard pulling.

My father, who was sitting on the wagon, would yell to the boys, who were on the saddle-horses pulling the lead team: "Hold'em upstream! Hold'em upstream!" Waiting on the bank, we could hear him, even when he was nearly across the river—"Hold'em upstream!" By holding the horses and teams upstream my father hoped to reach the opposite bank where it was cut down. Otherwise, they would never get the wagons up the bank. With the force of the water pushing against the teams, he could not hold the lead team against the current, but as long as the boys kept the saddle-horses upstream, the lead team had to follow.

Large crowd waiting to begin the rush to acquire new homes in the Cherokee Outlet.

From the time the wagon plunged into the water, till they reached the opposite bank my mother was crying and moaning. She did not think they would ever make it, and thought they would lose the wagon, horses and possibly Al, Elmo and my father.

After they got the first wagon across, they took my mother's wagon across. She had a lighter load consisting of bedding, bedsteads, clothing, boxes and trunks. Adjusting the load in an attempt to keep it dry, they started across. Nevertheless, everything was soaked, even though my father used four teams besides two saddle-horses to pull the wagon.

Then, I had to get on one of the wagons and take it across. We turned Nell loose with the young horses and cattle and then unharnessed the other man's yoke oxen and swam the stock across. The man helping my father

harnessed his mules to his wagon and my father hooked on ahead of him, and they pulled the man's two wagons across; however, they were not as heavily loaded as ours.

Al drove the wagon that contained the cook-stove and heating-stove along with the heavier furniture. It did not hurt the stoves to get wet, but my mother also had her ducks and chickens on her spring-wagon and when that wagon hit the water it brought those ducks right up against the floor of the crate and they were really flying around, fluttering and squawking. Above all the commotion, you could hear my father yelling to the boys, "Hold'em upstream! Hold'em upstream!"

It took us all day to get the five wagons and all the loose stock across the Arkansas River, and we camped on the other side that night. However, we could not sleep in the bedding because it was wet. Everything was soaked, and large fires were built to dry out the bed clothes and other things.

A sight I will never forget is the old homestead, appearing in the afternoon sun when we rounded a small knoll. Our place was on the west side of the hill and you could not see the cabin until you drove around the knoll. Rounding the hill, suddenly you could see the entire homestead—the small, one-room log cabin that my father had built next to the east and west road bordering the place, the log barn and corral for the stock, and the well. Even to a child it did not appear like much. It was awful small, and did not resemble the farm we had left in Kansas, where we were surrounded by neighbors, fields and good roads.

My mother had not said much about my father's idea of homesteading until then, but when we rounded the knoll and she saw the place and became excited "Come to a place like this!" she exclaimed, followed by a lot more feelings of how long she was going to live in such a wild looking home.

However, after she was there two or three years, the only way you could ever get her off that homestead was to bury her, which they did when she died in 1916. Though later the homestead would become as dear to her as our Kansas home, that first sight was rather a shock.

Nonetheless, my father, Elmo and I began gathering materials to build a real house. We cut logs and hauled them about two and one-half miles to a saw mill, operated by Charley Green. My father had the logs sawed into two-by-fours and two-by-sixes, and also he had all the sheeting for the shingles and for the sides of the house cut. We found lime necessary for the construction near the homestead, but we had to drive wagons to the Cimarron River for sand.

Jennings was our closest trading center. Old Crystal was located one mile south of Meramec, which was one mile east and one mile south of the southeast corner of the section. Later, a German farmer homesteaded the

site on the east side of the north-south road and on the north side of the east-west road.

The first well my father dug caved in before we could wall it, so we had to haul water from a spring, about three-quarters of a mile away. We would load three barrels on a stone-boat and pull it with a team of horses or yoke of oxen. One day, the hired help and I carried three barrels of water up the hill, two pails at a time, to fill the containers on the stone-boat. It required a lot of carrying to fill three barrels, but we filled them and had gone about a quarter of a mile from the spring when the oxen bolted. They tipped the barrels over, and I was running on my hands and knees ahead of the water barrels while the oxen returned home. We had to go home, get the oxen, come back and refill those barrels—three more barrels of water to be carried up that hill, and I was just a child. That was one trouble with working oxen, they would run away and you could not stop them, unless you had a good lead team.

These oxen were younger than the wheel-oxen and they were lighter, and more prone to become frightened. Finally, my father put a set of rings in their noses. He joined the rings with a rope and put a line from the middle of it to the wagon. Thus all he had to do was pull on the rope, which put pressure on the rings and forced the oxen to stop. They would not stampede when they were on a lead of other oxen, but if you hooked them up alone, often they would run.

A stone-boat was a sled made of heavy slabs on each side, and a runner in the form of a regular sled, only longer, and was made for hauling rocks or water. The stone-boat was parked near the kitchen door where the water was handy, and when the barrels were empty, you simply hitched onto the stone-boat and went for more water, filling the barrels from pails carried from the spring.

Soon my father had another well dug and walled. From then on, we had a water supply near the house. There was also a creek which provided plentiful water for the stock.

Three miles north of us, there was a German couple named Schmidt, with a little boy about four or five years old named Adolph. They had met us when they passed our place one day and saw my mother's big Peking ducks. Stopping to visit they asked if they could have some duck eggs for a setting.

My father hired a man named Al Moon to aid him in building fence. I was helping and driving the team while they were making the postholes and driving the posts, when the German couple appeared. They began talking to my father but he could not understand them. "Well, I don't know what you're talking about," my father said, and they replied "We speak no English." My father knew then that they were German. As my mother was

German, he told me to take them over to a neighbor's where my mother was visiting a sick woman, so we could find out what they wanted.

I drove ahead of them to our neighbor's and knowing they couldn't understand me, I just motioned for them to drive to the front of the cabin. Then I called for my mother. As my mother came out to see what was the matter, the other woman said to her, "I speak no English." My mother replied in German, "Maybe you can talk German." That woman just raised up and left that rig like a buzzard leaving a fence post! She grabbed my mother and hugged her and kissed her, and, well, I thought she was crazy. I did not know what was going on, but I soon learned, and from then on, my mother accompanied that woman everywhere to interpret for her.

This continued until finally my mother told them, "If you're going to live in the United States, you've got to learn to talk or you aren't going to get by. And I'm not going to go with you to interpret all the time. I've got something else to do. I'm quitting." She added, "You've just got to paddle your own canoe. I'll visit with you, and all that, but I won't go with you to the stores and interpret for you." Thus the Schmidts learned to speak enough English to get by, but they always enjoyed it when my mother would talk with them in their native language.

It was about two years after my father established his claim that the new house was ready for the finishing material. There was another German couple living nearby named Pappenfuf. He was a carpenter, and had a son named Frank. My father employed Pappenfuf to draw the plans for our windows and doors.

To get the finishing materials—shingles, siding, hair for plaster, flooring, windows and some pine lumber for the new house—my father had to drive 100 miles to Arkansas City, Kansas. I was a little over eight years old then, but I went along to help. My father drove a wagon with four head of horses, Al took another wagon, and I drove a team with a wagon box and a double box for carrying the lighter material. My father and Al just had running gears on their wagons to haul the heavy loads.

The load on my team probably was not over 1,500 pounds for I was carrying large bundle of shingles which were wired down. It took us about three days to travel to Arkansas City and about the same number to return. We averaged thirty-two to thirty-five miles a day. Besides some pine lumber, shingles, lathe and hair for plaster, we brought back the siding, flooring and windows which included the glass and sash but not the outside frames and the doors.

When we returned home, Pappenfuf made all the door and window frames. We had big windows, and it was the first real house in that part of the country. We had a large kitchen where we ate, a big front room and a

Pawnee County School holding a picnic and reunion in the early 1900s.

large bedroom downstairs. The upstairs was not partitioned and was the length of the front room and bedroom downstairs. It reached across the front of the house, and had a door opening onto a portice surrounded by a bannister which was above the front porch. It was a solid house and is still standing though it is not in very good shape now. Nonetheless, it was fine for those days and my parents held many dances in our living room, which all the young people of the county attended.

The land owners provided property for the first school, which was a log house built in 1894–1895. It was constructed by the settlers who donated the materials and provided the labor. The older pupils had to build their own seats and benches, and the black boards were simply pine boards painted black. The students had to furnish their own erasers. I began my school days in that school.

That little log school house was used until 1901 when Pawnee County built a stone school, located about one-half mile from my father's home. Mrs. Ernie Cravens was the first teacher and my father served on the board

of directors for many years. The new school accommodated up to seventy pupils.

In those days, the building served as a school by day, a church on Sunday, and a place for community entertainment at night. Many box suppers were held there so the young people could meet each other. There were also "speakings," a big Christmas tree on holidays, and a lot of picnics.

About four years after we constructed our new house, Schmidt was taken ill with chills which progressed into congestive chills and eventually his death. Mrs. Schmidt and Adolph lived on their farm for nearly a year after his death. Eventually two German men, both bachelors, arrived. One was about her age, the other a little older, and, after they were acquainted, they told her that she either had to sell them the place or marry one of them. She said: "I'm going to sell you the place and I'm going back to Germany." So, she sold the farm and returned to Germany where she married her first husband's brother. She wrote to my mother, but always in German, which my mother could not read. However, she would get Mrs. Pappenfuf to translate the letters for her.

When Frank Pappenfuf was old enough, he took a job, probably in the harvest, and got lousy. That fall he returned home with graybacks and they got on his step-mother who went to the family doctor—old Doctor Seniff. He treated her for "prairie itch," but she kept getting worse, just itching and scratching, and nothing seemed to help. My mother was always helping ill neighbors and she knew a lot of old German remedies. One day, Mrs. Pappenfuf visited my mother and told her about the "prairie itch." She wanted to know what could be done about it. Mother said, "Mrs. Pappenfuf, you're lousy." Mrs. Pappenfuf really exploded. She began to tongue-lash my mother who finally said, "Now, just wait a minute, Mrs. Pappenfuf. Let me look in your clothes and if I can't find a grayback, I'll take it all back," but she added, "I'm pretty sure I can find one."

Mrs. Pappenfuf argued with my mother, but finally opened her clothes—underwear and all. My mother inspected everything and picked out a large grayback which she placed on a piece of paper and said, "Well, what do you think now?" Then, Mrs. Pappenfuf began cursing the doctor, calling him everything she could think of for treating her for "prairie itch" while she had lice. After she had finished, my mother said, "Now, wait a minute, Mrs. Pappenfuf. Just keep your mouth shut. If Dr. Seniff had told you you were lousy, you'd a-talked to him just like you are talking to me and you wouldn't a-let him look to see if you was lousy. The graybacks are eating you up and the chances are the old doc knew it, but he was afraid to tell you."

"Now, what'll I do?" Mrs. Pappenfuf wanted to know, and my mother

told her to go home, boil everything that she could get in the wash boiler. In this way, Mrs. Pappenfuf finally got rid of the lice.

When I was fourteen, there were no railroads closer to us than Sapulpa, Stillwater or Perry and we had to freight everything. My father and another man were partners in a freight line and that fall, my father became too ill to make the trip. I told him I would go and drive his team. My father thought for a while and finally said "Well, I guess it would be alright."

My mother exclaimed, "send the kid out on a freight wagon and he'll fall off and they will run over him and it will kill him!" She discussed everything that could possibly happen to me on that trip, while my father did not say anything. Finally, I declared, "Dad, if you say I can go, I'm going to go." "Well," he replied, "you can go."

I started driving the freight team and continued throughout the fall to make the trip to Stillwater, Perry, Sapulpa and Stroud. I also hauled cotton from Jennings to Stillwater, a distance of thirty-five miles, and the next year, I drove a span of mules. We had the contract for moving the cotton with a neighbor across the road. The neighbor hired a driver for his wagon, and I drove for my father.

In the fall of 1903, when I was sixteen, my father asked, "will I get the contract to move the cotton from Jennings to Stillwater?" I replied, "Yes, Dad, as far as I'm concerned." Then I said, "I'm getting up now to where I have to buy my own clothes and I like to have a little money and I can earn money picking cotton on my own. I'm not going to drive unless you give me half after all expenses are paid. You furnish the team and wagon and board me. And I'll drive." My father replied, "You've got a job."

I do not remember exactly what I made driving the freight wagon, but it was less than I could have earned picking cotton. You were paid six bits a hundred for cotton picking, but I acquired a lot of good experience freighting.

In the fall of 1904, the Katy railroad was built through the area, and I worked on it until the following summer. In the fall, however, I returned to picking cotton. The railroad from Jennings continued to Guthrie and hauled the cotton. That forced me out of the freight business, but it did not make me unhappy.

While driving the freight wagon, I was exposed to all kinds of weather—rain, snow, heat or whatever the weather happened to be. When I hauled flour, groceries or anything perishable I put bows on the wagon and stretched a water-repellent sheet over it to protect the goods.

Once I started with a pair of big mares weighing nearly 1,700 pounds each. I was hauling about two tons of goods, eighty sacks of Pride of Perry flour.

Bud Branden, my father's partner was with me, and he was driving three horses. There had been a heavy rain, which had continued throughout the night. We crossed a small creek between Perry and Pawnee, and made camp for the night. About 11:00 p.m. or midnight, the storm woke up Branden. He got up and then woke me. "Get up," he yelled, "We've got to get these wagons up on higher ground. The water's already a foot deep here."

We still had to cross Long Branch Creek, but had not yet reached it. A quarter-of-a-mile beyond this little creek, was another dry creek which had to be forded. We had to wait until the water receded before we could continue the trip.

It rained all that night, the next day and the next night before it quit. We could not light a fire because there was no dry wood. Thus we could not cook our food or make coffee. We ate bread, until it was gone, and then for nearly two days and nights, we lived off raw corn which we picked in a field. We did not even have salt for it. By the time the water receded, so we could start home, we had been on the road eight days, from the time we loaded our wagons to the time we unloaded.

We pulled through the mud by hooking several teams together. The strain was so great that one horse, Tops, was bleeding at the nose. We were within three and one-half miles of Jennings when we met a man driving a wagon pulled by a span of mules. These mules knew that someone would help them up a hill if they balked, and they were stuck in the mud. We returned to help the man, but it would take three people to take my team off their wagon and hook them to the other wagon—one man on the head, one at the line and one to put the double-tree on the end of the tongue.

After I got my team unhitched, I told that man to get out and put the double-tree on. He said, "I ain't a-gittin' any muddier than I am, or wetter." I turned around and said to Branden, "Get out of the way, I'm going to Jennings with this load of flour." I put my team back on my wagon and left.

I arrived in town, unloaded my flour, put the team in the barn, and unharnessed them. After feeding the team, I left to find some food for myself. When I was nearly finished eating, the man stuck in the mud arrived in town. I do not know how, but there had been several wagons behind me so I guess someone helped him. He pulled up to the store, but the mud was so deep that the mules could not pull the wagon to the platform at the back to unload. Climbing down from the wagon, he came to the door of the hotel and asked my father to pull him to the porch. My father said, "Well, I'll get old Tops." I replied, "No, Dad, you're not hookin' Tops up. She's bleeding at the nose. I've pulled her so hard the last week or ten days, shes a-dropping blood." "Well," he said, "I'll take Maud." "Dad," I declared,

"Leave Maud right where she is. She is just as tired as Tops, but she ain't bleeding at the nose."

At that, my father turned around and said, "Why?" In those days, a man never refused to help another, especially when he was asked, and you never refused to help someone out of the mud. So my father could not understand my attitude. "Why not pull him up there?" he asked me.

"When we were out to Chappell's place," I explained, "I was going to help that man through the mud. I asked him to put the double-trees on but he wasn't going to get any wetter or muddier than he was, it didn't make any difference if I did. And I was so doggone wet and muddy that you couldn't tell whether I had on clothes or mud, and I came on to town and left him." "So, he wouldn't put the double-trees on!" my father replied, "Well, let him sit there."

So that man had to go out on the street and get a farmer's team to come around and pull his wagon the ten or twenty steps to the porch.

When I was a child, my mother used Lion Head coffee most of the time. Sometimes, when the store was out, she would buy Arbuckle coffee, but she always preferred Lion Head. You could cut out the Lion Head, or cut the slip from the package that it came in and send them in for wonderful gifts. I got the pleasure of cutting them out.

She used that coffee for years. It was roasted, but you had to grind it. Because they had no grinders in the grocery store, you had to use your own coffee mill at home. I have seen pound after pound of it. I only wish I had a few pounds of either Arbuckle or Lion Head, now—that was real coffee!

Sometimes when my mother purchased supplies, all the freight wagon had brought was Arbuckle coffee. So she would say, "Well, that's alright," and buy a package of Arbuckle. However, when the store had Lion Head, she always bought two packages at a time.

The Canfield brothers were prominent merchants in Jennings. One had a general store, and the other owned a drug store. I traded and unloaded my freight in Jennings, and I hauled for the Canfield brothers.

If you went into the Canfield store and asked for something which they did not have, their stock answer was always, "We're just out. There'll be plenty on the next freight wagon—when it gets in." Maybe it would be three days, four days or a week before the freight wagon arrived, but you had a team and a wagon to get to town, so you would take anything you could to replace what you were wanting until the supplies arrived.

The other grocerymen in Jennings, when they were out of an item, would say, "Well, I'm just out, and I don't know just how long it'll be before I have some more." Then they would add, "Canfield always has some more coming in on the next wagon."

Another thing the Canfields did was issue coupons called Canfield Script. When you sold them produce, they would give you this script in payment. Canfield Script was a simple square piece of paper with their name on it. They would note on it how much the script was worth. If you had freighted, and they owed you $3.00, $4.00 or $5.00, and so many cents, it was written on there, but your name did not appear on the script. As long as you had the coupons, you could use it at the Canfield store.

Once a man hauled a load of freight for the Canfield brothers and he was desperate for cash money, but when he went to collect, they paid him in Canfield Script. The process continued until the fall, and during that time he was trading with them on credit and had created a good-sized bill, which he was expected to settle after harvest. That fall, he visited all his friends and neighbors and paid cash for all their Canfield Script. He acquired enough to pay his entire bill at the Canfield grocery. Then, he paid the Canfield brothers off in their own script. They just "fussed and hollered to beat thunder," but he told them, "Well, when I worked for you and I freighted for you, I needed a little money—you gave me script instead. Now, there's your doggone script. What are you going to do about it?" He added, "I'm quittin' you. I'm goin' down the street to another merchant to do my trading."

One day when I was a young boy, I was in a grocery store in Jennings, and a man arrived in town with a load of firewood already split, and ready for the stove. The groceryman paid him $1.50, and the man said he wanted some groceries with the money. The merchant asked, "What do you want?" "Well," the man said, "give me a pound of Horshoe Tobacco." The groceryman laid the tobacco on the counter and asked "What else?" "Well," the man answered, "give me a pound of Arbuckle coffee." Again the groceryman inquired "What else do you want?" "Give me a quarter's worth of sugar," the man replied. "Well, now what?" the groceryman asked. The man thought for a moment and then said, "Oh, just give me the rest of it in tobacco."

You could buy five pounds of sugar for a quarter; a pound of Horshoe chewing tobacco for forty cents, and Arbuckle coffee cost a quarter for two pounds. There was a pound of tobacco in a plug which contained four ten cent cuts. You could buy ten cents worth, or on the other side of the plug, there were nickle cuts marked off. The marks were pressed into the tobacco to indicate where to slice it. Thus you could buy chewing tobacco by a nickle, dime, half-pound or pound. This man purchased thirty-seven cents worth of groceries and the rest in plug tobacco.

In our area in those days, almost everyone used Snowdrift lard—Cottalene, made out of cottonseed. You could buy natural hog lard, but Cottalene was

cheaper and came in five pound pails. Pride of Perry flour sold for seventy-five cents a sack, about the same as Ponca City's Best. The women used the sacks to make many of their garments, curtains, etc. Then, of course, the most popular tobacco was the Horshoe Plug, and the best coffee was Arbuckle and Lion Head.

I hauled a lot of cotton to the gin in Meramec. To unload the wagon it was necessary to pull it under a large suction pipe, which sucked out the cotton and carried it into the gin. When the wagon was empty, the pipe was raised and the wagon driven away.

In those days, the air suction had to be shut off by hand when too much cotton was in the stands for the gin to take care of; otherwise, the overflow cotton would spill on the floor. When the air was turned off from the outside, it would suck the cotton back up the stands and gin it out. Later when an automatic suction pipe was acquired at the gin, it would cut off automatically when it had sucked up as much cotton as the stands could take care of.

Once I went to town with two neighbor boys, one of them named Luther Emory, who had purchased a new hat. The new automatic suction pipe had been installed in the gin, but we did not know about it. Just as Emory got his wagon cleaned out, he raised the pipe and it cut off. He thought somebody had cut it off in the gin, so he stuck his head inside the pipe. Of course, about the time he got his head in the pipe, the air came back on and away went his new hat. He threw both hands against the pipe and pulled his head out with his hair standing on ends and the funniest look on his face. He said, "Well, by golly, boys, she's gone!"

We ran to the gin and told the man who was operating the stand that Emory's new hat had been sucked up the chute. There were four stands and the man told each of us to watch one and try to catch the hat when it came through. There was glass before the stands and you could see the cotton coming into the gin where there were saws to remove the lint.

We were standing there watching, but never did see the hat, until it entered the saws. We stood there gawking as Emory's new hat was cut into quarter-inch strips and went down with the seed. "Well," Emory declared, "there goes my hat, but I don't think I want it."

The next spring Emory bought a pair of gauntlet gloves. The next day I went over to his house and as we were walking I picked up a stick about the size of a cane, with a small fork on its end. Later, we found a bull snake, and Emory said, "Bob, I believe I'm a snake charmer. Give me that stick you have there."

He pinned the snake down with the stick and seized it in his hand. Talking to the snake, Emory told it how nice it was and that he would not hurt

it. At the same time he was squeezing the snake's neck, and soon it started wrapping around his wrist. It had nearly made two circles around his arm when he held it to me and said, "Bob, take this off me." I replied, "you're the snake charmer, I ain't got no gloves. I ain't no snake charmer; you're handling the snake."

His eyes popped out and he asked, "How am I gonna get loose?" "Well," I said, "Luther, if you'll just straighten your hand down, and open it up, the snake will fall off just as dead as a doornail." He looked at me and said, "Do you reckon?" I replied "Well, I know it." He opened his hand and that snake fell off and never moved—never even twisted his tail—Emory had choked it to death.

Some of us call those early years in Oklahoma Territory "the good old days." I don't think they were better than now, but they were my happiest ones. I was young, my appetite was sharp and I could taste the goodness of Lion Head coffee and home-smoked ham.

The wind off the prairie was not full of gas fumes and smoke. There was dust sometimes, but I could smell the fresh plowed earth in spring, young alfalfa fields, wild flowers on green hills, brush fires, grass smoke and saddle leather mellowed by hard wear. Neighbors and friends were closer then—they had to be—they needed each other.

COUNTRY KITCHEN

*By Marj D. Bennett**

Today's country kitchen, or elite dining emporium, is a world away from one on a central Oklahoma farm in the first decades of the Twentieth century. Then country kitchen meant purely utilitarian—necessities, no esthetics. The only useless item recalled is a bouquet—peach or pear blossoms, or perhaps sunflowers. These were plopped abruptly in the middle of the large dining table, and were in the way when it came time to light the coal-oil lamp, or later, the Aladdin lamp.

In truth, the kitchen was our home. Bedrooms were an icy or heat-blasted tunnel away, depending on the time of year. The parlor was used so seldom it remains a misty blur. In winter, fire was made in the living room only for special company. But in memory, the kitchen remains brighter than its Aladdin lamp, boon to anyone who read, if only the Sears or Montgomery Ward catalog.

Our kitchen was a twenty foot square room, with tan walls, and a ten foot high ceiling. It was large enough for anything or everything. One corner might accommodate a pallet for a sick child, or a pen for peeping chicks during a spring cold snap. In winter, one could get a modicum of privacy behind the stove for a bath in the wash tub. Blankets draped over chairs served to protect one's modesty, but who cared?

Stark walls were relieved by five doors and three windows. The latter were tall with two square panes, green roll shades and, sometimes, skimpy curtains. The floor was splintering boards. One had to care for bare toes, especially on Saturday, scrubbing day.

Beside the front door, on the south wall was the medicine cabinet. Made by an uncle, it was oversize, sturdy, stained dark brown, then varnished. From it suspended the towel rack with its ominous razor strop. Inside were straight-edged razor, soap cup, brush, comb and even rouge and powder. Also on the shelves were aspirin and a few patent medicines. Fortunately, there was greater need for the chest than the medicines.

The square mirror on the cabinet door was used when applying nightly beauty (?) aids—rubbing alcohol and boric acid powder. Teamed with the lamp, it was a home beauty shop. By heating the curling iron in the lamp

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A country kitchen with all its trappings, which played such an important role in the early twentieth century.

chimney, one might achieve instant curls. The temperature of the iron was right if it turned newsprint a delicate brown. Avoiding singed hair (whew!), burned forehead and/or fingers was an art never quite mastered.

Beside the front window stood the sewing machine. Sewing there afforded a sweeping view of the yard. The thump of a thimble on the pane could be heard surprisingly far. Whatever one was doing at that particular time, he stopped—no questions asked.

The big black range, its pipe running to the chimney on the west wall, dominated the room. The odor when first used after an application of stove polish was unique. The stove was used for heating—for heating water in the oval copper wash boiler on Mondays; for heating sadirons on Tuesdays; for heating bath water—as well as cooking and baking. Mothers and ranges had a special bond. Without a thermostat and with only the fine touch of proper stoking, light tender cakes and perfectly browned bread were baked.

The smell of the baking could send even an unhungry child to Elysium. If the bread were placed sidewise in the black four-loaf pans, there were eight heels. If placed end to end, there were four ears and four heels. Who could decide which was better—ear or heel? The eternal childrens' quarrel, whose turn is it, was often centered around who was to have the end pieces. Not to mention the buttered slices. It seems incredible that a child would be happy to trade his sandwich made of these for one of ersatz bakery bread.

When the range was replaced by the fiery dwarf monkey stove, the room became lop-sided. However, this stove could become red hot in a matter of minutes and usually provided adequate heat. Of course, it had no oven. So a table—oilcloth-covered boards on painted sewing machine base, used for dishwashing and which held water pail and dipper—was moved over. This made room for that monstrosity—the coal-oil stove. True, it did not give off so much heat in summer and doubtlessly convenience made up for its flaws. A glass tank on one end fed fuel to the burners. The little mica window in the lower end of the granite-ware flue was opened to light the round wick. The portable oven covering two of the burners baked very well, but a strong petroleum odor permeated the room, even when the stove was not in use. One felt the fumes entering his pores and affecting the taste of food.

On the north wall stood the kitchen cabinet, awkward forerunner of our built-ins. With angular features, it was no "thing of beauty." It had bins for sugar and flour; above were a spice shelf and storage space. Its counter top afforded only a minimum of work space. Beside the cabinet was the pantry door. The pantry was long with a rear window, and along both sides were shelves. Perhaps it was the one really convenient feature.

On the east wall were doors to the stairs and to the living room. Between them was a shelf, higher than eye level, on which sat the mantel clock. Beside it were kept its key, important papers, a few small items and a half-smoked cigar, symbol of frugality. Beneath the shelf hung the large calendar from the Citizens National Bank.

It was the center of the room which came alive. There, at the oilcloth-covered table all meals were served. These were of home-produced eggs, milk, meat and vegetables, supplemented by home-canned jars from the cellar. A weekly trip to Oklahoma City was made to trade chickens, eggs and butter for staples, and sometimes a few frills. We ate royally in our austere setting.

When chores and dishes were done, homework prevailed—at the multi-purpose table. Or, especially on week-ends, games. One who did not like games would not have felt at home in our kitchen. Who knows how many Flinch, Rook or Pinochle decks were worn out? Also there were games with spinners, dice, checkers, pachisi and mah jong. Who remembers Pit and

Touring? There were heated pitch games. The high ceiling echoed to many an argument. Sometimes puzzles were spread upon the table. It was the perfect place to pore over mail order catalogs, peruse the *Farmer-Stockman*, *Capper's Weekly*, *Comfort Magazine*, work the crossword puzzle, or read the funnies in the *Daily Oklahoman*. What did it matter that it was delivered by Rural Free Delivery a day late?

Much culinary activity could be accomplished on limited and inconvenient work space. At butchering time all else had to make way for the cutting and canning of meat, the grinding of sausage and headcheese. In summer, canning time came in the hottest weather, and bushel baskets emptied slowly. Hands and arms ached; the ever-present steam added to the other miseries. If there be a purgatory, canning in the country kitchen is a suggested pattern. At threshing time the crew was served at the kitchen table, extended full length. Likewise, when relatives came for Sunday dinner. This necessitated two shifts. Why did the children always have to wait?

Today, no one would light a large room with one small lamp. Then, alternatives as exist today were unknown to us, and our eyes adjusted. No one required glasses, as the soft yellow glow of the coal-oil wick was kind to our eyes. Also to our kitchen, mellowing its simplicity.

MERCENARY HEROES: THE SCOUTING DETACHMENT OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY EXPEDITION 1874–1875

*By Robert C. Carriker**

The Southern Plains were ripe for war in the spring of 1874. Post commanders at Fort Dodge, Kansas, and Camp Supply, Indian Territory, had forecast impending trouble throughout the recent cold months and increasing Indian activity in March proved the accuracy of their forebodings. Comanche and Kiowa-Apache bands were gathering recruits in the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho camps and a full scale war seemed imminent. The War Department and Interior Department, however, hesitated to confirm the increasing Indian restlessness as proof of future trouble and so the tribesmen continued unchecked as they smouldered in resentment.

Buffeted from one reservation to another, harrassed by white buffalo hunters, debilitated by whiskey peddlers and tired of their land being divided by railroad surveyors the Southern Plains tribes began to strike back at their enemies in the early spring of 1874. At Adobe Walls on the South Canadian River in the Panhandle of Texas on June 27, they attacked, and nearly destroyed a band of buffalo hunters. In the weeks following, the Indians moved against isolated camps of whites and forced Agent John D. Miles out of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency. When at last the Indian actions took on the character of a general outbreak, the Federal government called for a co-ordinated military attack. On July 21, 1874, General of the Army William T. Sherman ordered the hostiles punished wherever found, even on the reservations.

General John Pope of the Department of the Missouri and General C. C. Augur of the Department of Texas were ordered to co-ordinate a plan. Each commander subsequently placed three columns in the field, one of which, the Indian Territory Expedition, under Pope, was led by Colonel Nelson A. Miles. The task of this force was to move south of Fort Dodge toward the Red River, then sweep the Panhandle of Texas clear of hostiles and at the same time push them toward the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in Indian Territory.

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Nelson A. Miles, the leader of the Indian Territory Expedition.

When ordered to lead the Indian Territory Expedition, Brevet Brigadier General Miles, young and ambitious, envisioned a dramatic victory by his troops that would catapult him to higher rank. One thing was clear to Miles —he must have officers he could trust. This was especially true of his chief of scouts. The man who spearheaded his forces must be the best of the lot. A review of the qualities necessary for the position brought one man's name to mind. The selection was made and a priority directive was telegraphed to Newport Barracks, Kentucky, on July 26, 1874, ordering the commander of the recruiting service there to release Second Lieutenant Frank D. Baldwin

to field operations at Fort Dodge for duty as Chief of Scouts for the Indian Territory Expedition.[1]

Miles had first met Baldwin during the spring of 1869, when both were recently transferred Fifth Infantry officers stationed at Fort Hays, Kansas. The two men meshed in personality and a casual attachment soon became a lifetime bond. Both were veterans of the Civil War in the East and had been transferred to the West. Miles never regretted calling to his side this man he knew he could trust.[2]

Following a tedious two-day train trip to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Baldwin assumed his new post and immediately began organizing his new command. Miles desired a number of Indian scouts, complimented by white frontiersmen and a few troops. The Delaware Reservation south of Fort Leavenworth was recommended as a good place to locate experienced Indian scouts, while the best white guides were said to be near Dodge City, Kansas. As Fort Dodge was the jump-off spot for the expedition, Baldwin began his recruitment with the Delawares, and promised to join the main command at that post later.

Operating out of Coffeyville, Kansas, Baldwin sent word of employment possibilities to all interested Delawares. When no applicants appeared the first day, Baldwin enlisted the aid of John Austin, General Philip Sheridan's chief of scouts in the Winter Campaign of 1868, and moved his headquarters to Bartlet's Training Post, thirty-eight miles south on the reservation. By mid-afternoon nearly 100 Indians had assembled and Falling Leaf, the seventy-one year old chief, stepped forward to negotiate.

Baldwin offered several positions for a probable period of three months; however, the Indian scouts were not to be released until approved by the expedition commander. Monthly pay ranged from $30.00 to $40.00 depending on whether or not they furnished their own equipment and horses. Transportation to Fort Dodge and guaranteed return to Coffeyville would be paid by the government. Falling Leaf, because of his position and previous experience with John C. Fremont, would receive $5.00 a day and have everything furnished him. The tribesmen held out for $3.00 per day plus equip-

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[1] Recruiting duty should have lasted to October 1, 1874. Appointments, Commissions and Personnel File, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[2] Baldwin entered the Civil War with the Nineteenth Michigan Infantry as a nineteen year old second lieutenant. He rose quickly through the ranks and four years, seventeen battles, two terms as prisoner of war and one Congressional Medal of Honor later, he was mustered out as lieutenant colonel. Joining the Regular Army as a second lieutenant in 1866, Baldwin's brief experience in frontier Kansas prior to recruitment detail in Kentucky included guarding stages and making vast reconnaissance trips. See Frank D. Baldwin, "Autobiography," unpublished manuscript, Baldwin Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

ment, but by dusk twenty had capitulated to his original terms and Baldwin began his return to Coffeyville and eventually Fort Dodge.[3]

All was bustle and energy at Fort Dodge by the time Baldwin and the Delawares arrived. The Indians were temporarily assigned to camp with the Fifth Infantry and Baldwin resumed his talent search. There were still places for fifteen white guides and interpreters in his ranks.

Thirty applicants presented themselves on August 6, 1874, and the selection process was carefully conducted. Baldwin indicated, "It was more difficult to select the right kind of white men." Stating "there were a great many buffalo hunters in the country and mostly it was from this class that I made my selections," Baldwin declared "I would not have a loud mouthed braggert [*sic*] nor a habitual drunkard."[4] Eventually, fifteen men were approved and wages of $2.50 per day plus horses and supplies were acceded to.[5]

Captain Ezra B. Kirk, who served as quartermaster, did his best to locate proper equipment for the scouts. Company commanders were allowed seventy carbines, slings, belts and pouches, plus thirty rounds of ammunition; all excesses were placed at the scouts' disposal. The scouts were mounted, given their choice of a Sharps long gun or a Winchester carbine, allocated between 100 and 500 cartridges per man and allowed to dress as they pleased. However, most of the Indians had contracted to furnish their own trappings.

Baldwin, like his superior, Miles, expected a lot from his men. Instantaneous obedience was the understood prerequisite, and intelligence and courage were the next most valuable attributes. It was important to Baldwin that both he and his men take pride in their unit, and it was not long before he considered his detachment "as staunch and reliable a lot of men, both collectively and individually, as ever rode the plains."[6]

Though Baldwin hoped for equal pride in the unit from his men, it was slow in forthcoming. Universally, the men respected him, for Baldwin proved his valor in combat, but there was a natural dislike by the former buffalo hunters for regimentation—and Indians. They were here to fight, not

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[3] Miles wanted only ten or twelve Indian guides, but Baldwin had no choice but to sign twenty, fearing a smaller number would cause none to come. Those who became scouts were: Falling Leaf, Ice Wilson, Fred Falling Leaf, Charles Washington, John Kiney, Jim Coon, Elk Hair, Jacob Parker, Sam Williams, Lenowesa, John Silas, George Falling Leaf, Young Morten, John Swannock, Yellow Jacket, French Wilson, Jackson Simon, George Swannock, Calvin Evert and George Wilson, *Ibid.*

[4] Frank D. Baldwin, "The Scouts," unpublished manuscript, Baldwin Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

[5] The selected men were: J. C. Leach, John Kirley, C. B. Nichols, A. C. Coburn, J. G. Dunlap, J. C. Frederick, J. H. Plummer, C. E. Jones, Thomson McFadden, David B. Shultz, David Campbell, W. F. Schmalsle, J. I. Marshall, J. A. McGinty and A. J. Martin.

[6] Baldwin, "The Scouts."

befriend, the red man. A small measure of white superiority was demonstrated when the frontiersmen were paid $75.00 a month with everything furnished while the Delawares drew only $40.00 with nothing supplied by the government. In other less subtle manifestations the Indians were kept "in their place." The tribesmen, for example, regularly formed the first wave in every attack, taking the brunt of combat in their ranks. Moreover, they were expected to chase retreating hostiles the greatest distance, partly because the mounts they wore out were not government owned. Finally, on September 25, fourteen of the twenty Delawares made known their dissatisfaction and asked for transportation back to Coffeyville.[7]

The departure of the Delawares midway through the campaign did not reduce the effectiveness of the command. By September, there were more than enough white scouts, several more having been added in the first movements of the campaign. In fact, the addition of these whites may have caused the abrupt resignation of the Indians. Bat Masterson saw little loss in the Indian departure for it was his assessment that "Miles might as well have had so many wooden Indians." Though he found the Indians intelligent enough, "All they seemed to think about was eating and sleeping." It was distressing to him that the Indians would eat all their rations overnight, then beg from the others:[8]

> I remember, while we were camped on the Washita River, General Miles issued an order that ten days' rations be issued to the command, which, of course, included the scouts.
>
> After Fall Leaf and his band got their supplies, which consisted of hard tack, bacon and coffee, the Indians promptly built a big log fire and proceeded to fry bacon and make coffee.
>
> They started in early in the evening, and when I rolled out of my blankets the following morning they were still cooking and eating.
>
> It is needless to add that when night came on not a vestige of their ten days' rations was left.
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> They, of course, were forced to hustle for their grub from that time until next ration day, but they managed somehow to get along by killing and eating birds, prairie dogs and groundhogs, which abounded in that country.

Three of the original white scouts, J. H. Plummer, C. E. Jones and A. C. Coburn, were fired by Baldwin, "the two former for surliness and not promptly obeying my orders, and the latter for incompetency as a guide."[9]

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[7] Baldwin, "Autobiography."

[8] W. B. Masterson, "Thirty-Fifth Anniversary of the Bloodless Battle of Red River," New York *Morning Telegraph*, August 29, 1909.

[9] Baldwin, "Autobiography."

These men were replaced, without proper authorization, by members of the Adobe Walls party who had held off the consolidated Comanche-Cheyenne attack of June 27, 1874, and then remained at their post until Baldwin and the scouts arrived August 19, and escorted them out. Ira G. Wing, Tobe Robinson, Lemal T. Wilson, Fred Schmalsle, Bat Masterson and Billy Dixon joined the Indian Territory Expedition scouts; however, seventeen more of the beleagured band refused the invitation to serve. In addition, the scouts received the aid of the famous frontier scouts Ben Clark and Amos Chapman when they were transferred from duty at Camp Supply.[10]

The basic job of the scouting detachment was to fan out before the command, seeking the best trails, and, at the same time, keeping alert to Indian movements. In the seven month campaign waged by Miles, the scouts, usually in groups, daily performed this routine. An auxiliary duty was to locate water supplies for the thirsty troops. This was not easy in the Panhandle-Plains region for frequently the water contained minerals and alkali whose effect was not known until several hours later. Thompson McFadden discovered one such spring on August 30, 1874, after spending the previous night in a dry camp:[11]

> While riding up a ravine this morning on the left flank of the column, I came across a beautiful little spring of water bubbling out from under the roots of a cedar tree and sinking into the sandy soil within a few feet of its source. I gave a little cry of delight which was answered by a friendly nicker from my horse. Springing from my saddle, I laid aside my sombrero and, flopping flat on my belly with a 'Thank God' for the blessing, I gulped down about a gallon of water which was quite cold. I only desisted when out of breath, when, horror upon horrors, I found it more salty than the stream upon which we had camped, with the addition of something as bitter as quinine and puckering my mouth like a green persimmon. These bitter springs are a peculiar feature of the country. I don't think I've uttered another prayer today.

Another time McFadden located a "stream of clear water, coursing through the little valley, but unfortunately the water is so strongly impregnated with alkali, salt, and gypsum, as to be barely fit to use and is having a very deleterious effect on both man and beast."[12]

In their ever widening search for creek crossings, camping spots, water holes, Indian trails and the like, it was not unusual for the scouts to run headlong into the slowly retreating or deliberately charging hostiles. Such was the case on August 30, 1874, when the advancing guides, two or three

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[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Thompson McFadden, "Diary of an Indian Campaign, 1874," Robert Carriker, ed., *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LXXV, No. 2 (October, 1971), p. 204.

[12] *Ibid.*, 206.

miles in front of Miles' main command, opened the Battle of Red River by exchanging gunfire with the rear guard of the hostiles. McFadden recalled "we were charged upon with no previous warning by about two hundred fifty of the Red Devils, who came swooping over the hill like a Kansas cyclone, with the evident intention of riding us down and killing us all before the soldiers could reach us."[13] As was the custom, the Delawares moved out 200 yards to engage the enemy and they "made a beautiful stand and for several minutes the fight was hand to hand."[14] In the meantime, the other scouts opened fire and a message was sent back to Miles for reinforcements.

Arriving with 400 cavalry and 3 howitzers, Miles allowed the scouts to continue the pursuit of the hostiles from ridge to ridge. For most of the battle, the scouts remained in the advance position, only later joining the concentrated forces. Baldwin confided to his diary: "I cannot speak in too complimentary terms of the brave acts of my scouts. In no manner did they flinch. The only trouble I had was in restraining them so that they would not run in danger of being cut-off or the troops mistaking them for Indians."

In another engagement on November 8, 1874, Baldwin's scouts were approximately five miles in advance of the main column when they suddenly discovered Grey Beard's encampment of several hundred warriors on the North Fork of Red River. Rather than lose the element of surprise the scouts assembled all available men, horses and wagons and charged the village. The scouts continued to pursue the stunned Indians who quickly abandoned their homes, and Miles never did catch up in time to fight. Notwithstanding the natural pride in their victory, the scouts were overjoyed and touched to have at the same time accomplished the rescue of two young white girls from the camp.[15]

An additional duty of the scouts was the performance of selected reconnaissance patrols. The objective of each patrol varied with circumstances, but they ordinarily were either to make sure Indians remained out of a previously cleared zone, or to form a small, mobile link between two major commands. Gathering as many scouts as possible from trail duty, and usually supported by a company of cavalry who immediately became subordinate to the Chief of Scouts, the scouts operated as a single unit during these expeditions. It was on such a reconnaissance that the Adobe Walls party

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[13] *Ibid.*, 204.

[14] Baldwin, "Autobiography."

[15] Julia and Adelaide German, ages five and seven, were part of a family from Georgia that had been attacked by the Cheyennes on September 11, 1874, on the Smoky Hill Route. Five members of the family were killed and two sets of girls taken captive. The older girls were returned on March 6, 1875, at the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency.

was relieved and the scouts' first skirmish of the Indian Territory Expedition occurred. Another principal duty of the scouting detachment was the delivery of messages. A day seldom passed when the scouts were not carrying messages between the various commanders.

Bringing dispatches to the departmental authorities or the local military post, which for the Indian Territory Expedition was Camp Supply, was a dangerous occupation for the scouts. Also, because of the frequency involved, the duty often seriously drained the manpower of Baldwin's command. Scouts generally traveled in pairs on such assignments for a duo could move faster and with less risk of discovery than three or more. When an assignment was made the names of two men were taken from the top of the roster in regular order; no volunteers were accepted and no excuses were approved. If the message was important, an additional pair would be sent on the same mission within twenty-four hours. Should the message be of vital concern to the success of the expedition several parties would be sent, one of which would carry extra fighting strength in the form of four or more men.

It is not surprising that the most exciting adventures and tales of individual heroism in the Indian Territory Expedition came from the scouts while delivering dispatches. For Baldwin, the most horrendous three and one-half days of his life occurred in early September, 1874, as he traveled with important personal messages from Miles.

Leaving Miles on Battle Creek in the Panhandle of Texas at dark on September 6, Baldwin and three companions, Ira Wing, Lem Wilson and Fred Schmalsle, hastened to bring news to department headquarters at Leavenworth via Camp Supply. The group traveled all night, then stopped at dawn on September 7, for a coffee break. However, before the water could boil, a roving band of hostiles discovered the party and attacked. Realizing they were in an untenable position and not wanting to wait until they were completely surrounded, the scouts had to make a decision:[16]

> It was difficult to decide what to do; if we remained where we were without water and with but little to eat more Indians would join them and our fate would be sealed. To die fighting was the determination of my escort as well as myself. No feeling of fright was manifested, but in the face of each could be read the firm determination to sell our lives as dearly as possible.

Mounting under fire the men braced themselves and charged directly at their opponents. In almost unbelievable style they escaped without loss to themselves, and headed for the flat plains where defense was easier. Throughout the entire day, and until rain clouds brought an early dusk, the

[16] Baldwin, "Autobiography."

Camp Supply, near the North Fork of the Canadian River, which served as a base for the troops participating in the Indian Territory Expedition.

scouts alternately rode for their lives, stopped to fire at their pursuers and rode again. Darkness finally ended the chase.

The following morning at 4:00 a.m., the men remounted and renewed their journey. The rains of the previous day had swelled the streams, and the horses were more dead than alive, nevertheless they pushed on. Soon a camp was discovered and all assumed it to be Major Wyllys Lyman's wagon train. Moving toward the camp, Baldwin's men suddenly realized it belonged to hostile Indians! Spurring their jaded mounts forward, the scouts attempted a diversion in a ravine, but unluckily it led to a hostile guardpost, and beyond that the village. With no thought of getting through the men dashed forward, captured the sentry and galloped directly through the center of the camp. Fortunately the rain kept all but a few old women inside their lodges. The sentry was too frightened to sound the alarm, and the fact that the scouts were wearing blankets as protection from the rain allowed them to pass through the encampment appearing to be only a few more braves looking for white scalps. That night, after swimming the Washita River several times, the actual Lyman wagon train was located on Oasis

Creek. The captive was turned over to Lyman and, at last, the men could sleep secure.

At this same camp were scouts C. B. Nichols, David Shultz and J. C. Frederick. These men had been sent to Adobe Walls on August 26, 1874, to find Major William Price and the Eighth Cavalry but spent the next ten days eluding hostile war parties. Thomson McFadden had met them on September 6, and then found them in:[17]

a sorrowful plight; had not seen anything of Price's Cavalry, but had been harassed by savages night and day for almost a fortnight, having been driven hither and thither in all directions. They said it seemed as though the entire country was full of Indians and they would no sooner elude one band until they would encounter another; they had ridden their horses until completely broken down and were compelled to abandon them. Unable to proceed further in the direction of General Miles, they had headed for Camp Supply until met by the train [of Captain Charles W. Holsenfrillen out of Camp Supply] on Wolf Creek. They were nearly starved, feet blistered, and worn to the quick, badly sunburned, and almost exhausted.

The Baldwin party spent September 9, 1874, in a sand pit. Lyman continued his march and took Schmalsle, one of Baldwin's men with him. Baldwin waited until dark when twilight would provide comparative safety.[18] The reorganized party—Nichols and company were now returning to Camp Supply with Baldwin—then set out on the last leg of the journey. By 11 a.m., on September 10, with 180 torturous miles behind him, Baldwin arrived at Camp Supply.[19]

When Baldwin reached the post he found two other scouts, J. I. Marshall and Thompson McFadden, also present. They had left Miles' camp on

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[17] McFadden, "Diary of an Indian Campaign, 1874," Robert Carriker, ed., *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LXXV, p. 209.

[18] The following day Lyman's wagon train would be attacked by Indians and Schmalsle would be delegated to rush news of the crippled party to Camp Supply. Eluding the Indians by wildly galloping into a milling buffalo herd in the dead of night, Schmalsle was to suffer a reverse of fortune and shortly be thrown from his horse, losing his weapons. Undaunted, he completed the trip to the post which was eighty miles distant. That same day, September 12, Lieutenant Henry Kingsbury and some sixty men, including a half-dozen scouts, left Camp Supply on an ultimately successful rescue mission. See Ernest R. Archambeau, ed., "The Battle of Lyman's Wagon Train," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, Vol. XXXVI (1963), pp. 89–101.

[19] For more detailed accounts of this ride, see Frank Baldwin, "Daring Deeds of Army Scouts in Early Days," unpublished manuscript, Baldwin Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Frank Baldwin, "Official Report of Trip as Bearer of Dispatches from General Miles Command, Butler County, Texas to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, September 6 to 14, 1874," *ibid.*; W. C. Brown, "General Baldwin's Scout in Panhandle of Texas, September 6 to 9, 1874," unpublished manuscript, W. C. Brown Collection, University of Colorado Library, Boulder, Colorado.

September 2, with basically the same dispatches as Baldwin. Two days later, Marshall and McFadden discovered unmistakable Indian signs, but with luck, and travelling through carefully selected ravines, they were unmolested. Then cresting a hill:[20]

> lo—here they come—five of them—with a yell and worse than all the sixth one [rode] off up the creek in the direction of the main body. All is explained in an instant. Those five will engage us until that devil can come with reinforcements and then they will have a picnic. 'Tis no use to run, our horses are nearly worn out and the country in front is sand hills. We halt, dismount, and in sheer desperation, I take off my hat and wave it over my head, answering back their menace as though as eager for a scrap as they. This proved to be the best that could have been done for it cooled their ardor and caused them to change their minds as to riding us down and killing us like turkeys.

When the Indians temporarily moved out of view, Marshall and McFadden rushed to the nearby sand hills and escaped.

Scouts took great personal pride in their campaign adventures. Bat Masterson later used some of his tales as newspaper features for the New York *Morning Telegraph*, while Billy Dixon and Frank Baldwin had wives who published books and articles concerning their exploits. McFadden kept a diary detailing eight scrapes with Indians but the volume remained hidden in a trunk until 1969 and has only recently become public. A few other scouts jotted down their experiences many years after the facts for General W. C. Brown of Denver, Colorado, who served as a clearing board and spokesman for forgotten members of the "Old Army" seeking government pensions for military service.[21]

In addition to a standard of pay several times exceeding that of a regular enlisted man, scouts had certain special benefits. Extremely hazardous assignments such as accompanying Baldwin to Camp Supply earned the scout a standard $50.00 bonus. They could quit at any time, for they were not bound by an oath and their pay was drawn on a daily, rather than monthly basis. Uniforms were non-existent as was drill, and they were privileged to take whatever spoils they desired from the battlefield, whereas regular soldiers were punished for looting.

Some white scouts, noticeably Thompson McFadden, did not believe in taking articles from dead Indians, but the majority of the former buffalo hunters, plus the Delawares, regarded the acquisition of Indian parapher-

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[20] McFadden, "Diary of an Indian Campaign, 1874," Robert Carriker, ed., *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LXXV, p. 207.

[21] Olive Dixon, *Life of "Billy" Dixon; Plainsman, Scout and Pioneer* (Dallas: P. L. Turner Company, 1927); Alice Baldwin, *Memoirs of the Late Frank D. Baldwin major general, U.S.A.* (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Company, 1929).

nalia as a form of incentive pay. Lem Wilson, for example, demanded his spoils even to the point of conflict with his commanding officer.

According to Wilson, while searching for water just after he had joined the scouts at Adobe Walls, he spotted an open campfire:[22]

I'd just got two or three feet from th' fire when a big, fine lookin' Indian comes into sight just a few feet away. He had been sittin' behind a big stump whettin' a long butcher knife, and I suppose came out to take a look at th' roast.

I knew instantly it was me or him! Just as soon as he saw me, he made a jump forward raisin' his knife and lettin' th' whetstone fall from his other hand. And I let him have it, th' bullet hittin' him just above th' chin and comin' out th' back of his head. He dropped in his tracks, never knowin' what struck him.

He only kicked once or twice as I took a look at him. I took his knife and scalped him, takin' a much bigger hunk of his scalp than Indians usually took, makin' it almost big enough for a wig. It was th' happiest moment of my life.

Baldwin heard th' shots and came up on the double quick, . . . I was like a wild man. I was wavin' th' bloody scalp in one hand and th' Indian's knife in th' other. All th' hatred I had for them cusses that had been tryin' to kill me for years was turned loose inside of me and outside.

Th' lieutenant was pretty mad when he saw what I'd done. He was afraid I might start a general attack, just as though them Indians needed anything to make an attack exceptin' what they thought was a good chance. They wasn't waitin' for any excuse to kill and scalp a white man—that excuse came when Columbus discovered American. But Baldwin lit into me like a house afire. When he was through ravin' I says:

'Lieutenant, I don't give a damn what you think about it! You can talk all you please about orders! I ain't in th' army! But if I was it wouldn't change me . . . ! Whenever I sees a wild Indian I'm goin' to shoot him if I'm quick enough, and I'm goin' to shoot to kill. And if I can I'm goin' to scalp him, too—don't you forget that, lieutenant!

He took it, too. I knew all th' hunters was with me and I knew th' soldiers thought th' same, although they would have been loyal to Baldwin if it had come to a showdown. Still, down in his heart Baldwin knew I was right.

But while we was chewin' th' rag th' friendly Indians with Baldwin, who were enemies of th' Cheyennes, were cuttin' off th' fingers of th' dead buck to get th' brass and silver rings he was wearin'. That boiled me all over. I made a run for them and pushed and kicked 'em away from th' corpse.

'Get the hell outta here!' I yelled. 'This is my Indian!'

On this score Lieutenant Baldwin was with me. I ordered his Indians away, telling them that, as I had killed this warrior, his belongings were mine, according to rules of civilized warfare on th' plains. So I helped myself to th' rings—they were easy to take off by this time—and all th' other stuff th' dead buck had

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[22] David W. Hazen, "He Scalped an Indian," *Oregonian* (Portland), June 3, 1934.

left, includin' that sheath knife or butcher knife, whichever it was, with which he would have been most pleased to have scalped me and then out my heart.

For whatever privileges they may have received, the scouts paid their dues. Employed for the purpose of risking their lives, they were always on call. Together they logged more miles in the campaign than any other military unit.

Inclement weather was extremely hard on the scouts. Rain or snow could keep a large command in camp, but never the guides. They were expected to do their duty no matter what the elements. Because the Indian Territory Expedition began in August and ended the following February all of the worst features of the capricious weather of the Great Plains hampered the campaign. August produced hot winds and high temperatures, and September and October brought mud producing rains that turned to snow on Halloween night. November brought the first of several below zero temperatures. Thus the troops suffered through the worst possible weather.

One particular phenomenon of the Great Plains that continually baffled Baldwin was the absolute darkness of the night when the moon and stars failed to appear. Frequently forced to travel at night, Baldwin found it extremely difficult to navigate in a country all bisected by canyons and ravines if he could not see. Once he described the experience to his wife:[23]

I returned to my camp this morning arriving here at 2 a.m. Had a very tedious journey as it rained and was very dark, so much so that often we had to get down on our hands and knees to find the trail. I actually did this and found the trail where my guides had given up and I think you would suppose from the looks of my clothes that I had been crawling on my belly, for I was covered from head to foot with mud and to top this I went off a bank about ten feet deep, but fortunately my horse (a new one) hit on all fours, and the only thing I got was a severe jolt when he hit.

Among the many discomforts experienced by the scouts was the lack of shelter. Because they were a mobile unit, the excess baggage of tents was not permitted, and when they were with the main command no lodging was provided. Ordinarily the scouts could occupy an unused hospital tent in a large camp, and when "on the road" with a small detail, they would sleep beneath wagons or in dug-outs covered with wagon sheets.

By the same token the scouts were not always anticipated for dinner. As their schedule was flexible no command allotted food for them, and only if they happened to be around on ration day were they provided for. This was of slight concern to the scouts; however, for they were resourceful men

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[23] Frank Baldwin to Alice Baldwin, October 5, 1874, Baldwin Collection.

capable of living off the land. The white scouts were fortunate enough to benefit from a double standard. The Delawares were quite generous with their feasts of wild game, even though the white scouts were reluctant givers to the Indian "beggars." Baldwin described a typical menu to his wife: "In the first place we take breakfast at nine and dinner at four, fashionable, you see, in the extreme. We had broiled antelope, boiled rice, which was very good, and government light bread with mustard. How is that?"[24]

A regrettable disadvantage for the scout was that they were not eligible for a pension in later years. Nevertheless, many scouts applied. Moreover, there was no official recognition for heroism. In fact, three Congressional Medals of Honor were awarded the scouting detachment, one each to Billy Dixon and Amos Chapman for their part in the famous Buffalo Wallow Fight of September, 1874, and one to Baldwin for the rescue of the German girls from Grey Beard's camp in November, 1874.[25] However, only the officer could accept the commendation as the Secretary of War ruled that non-military personnel were ineligible for the nation's highest military award.

The grim occupation of making war on a vicious, yet somehow pathetically destitute foe, left few moments for humor. Yet there were pet names galore and sometimes an embarrassing moment for one would provide a spirit of brotherhood among the scouts. Naturally a tale on the commanding officer was the zenith in hilarity and Baldwin unwittingly furnished a classic mistake for the memorable enjoyment of his troops.[26]

It was the latter part of November 1874. After completing my duties at Camp Supply I started on my return trip to the headwaters of the Indian Territory Expedition, supposed to be somewhere in the Canadian River sixty-eight miles distant. The first day was with a large supply train, escorted by a troop of cavalry under command of Lieutenant Hanry Kingsbury. The snow was a foot deep and progress necessarily slow, and it was only by the hardest work that the train made upwards of thirty miles before going into camp. Left the train early, with one man, with intention of overhauling the main camp sometime during the night, at least before daylight the following morning, that region being infested by hostile Indians making it very hazardous for small parties to travel in daylight.

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[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Dixon and Chapman plus enlisted men Zach Woodall, Peter Rath, John Harrington and George Smith had left Miles on McClellan Creek on September 10, to carry dispatches. On September 12, they were attacked by Kiowas and Comanches and for two rainy days held off their attackers by heroic means. Only Dixon was untouched by the hundreds of bullets directed toward the men lying flat in a depression in the plains. Lonnie J. White, "Indian Battles in the Texas Panhandle, 1874," *Journal of the West*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (April, 1967), pp. 294–299; and Robert C. Carriker, *Fort Supply, Indian Territory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), pp. 98–100.

[26] Frank D. Baldwin, "My Experience," unpublished manuscript, Baldwin Collection, Henry E. Hunington Library, San Marino, California.

We traveled rather slowly and had probably covered fifteen miles, during which time had gotten off the course, and we were more intent on getting back onto the trail than anything else, little dreaming that we were almost in close vicinity of a large Indian camp. Any doubt of that fact was soon dispelled when our horses shied off an object secreted in the underbrush which rose up, a sure enough Indian. Not a sound was uttered. Looking about, lights were discovered through the canvas of many tepees (there were no campfires burning). There was no time to be lost. That it was a hostile camp we had no doubts. We had been discovered by their outpost. To turn and attempt to escape was not possible, as the camp would be aroused at once when all the young warriors mounted on fresh ponies would be in hot pursuit with every advantage in their favor as we could not cover our trail in the snow.

The saying that a white man once inside of an Indian camp of his own volition was not murdered or tortured so long as he remained with them and adopted their habits and customs induced us to try this as our last chance. Spurring out animals to their utmost speed we rode headlong into the camp pulling up at the largest tepee in which a bright fire was burning, dismounted, turned the horses loose, dashed through the opening of the tipi, and into the midst of a dozen or fifteen warriors.

So completely surprised were they that for a minute not a sound was made. Finally a white man spoke up exclaiming, 'Who in thunder are you?' when the same question was repeated to him by me. It only took him long enough to gather himself together when he said, 'This camp is a band of Pawnee Indians from the Republican River in Kansas. They are here under authority of their agent to hunt buffalo.' He produced an official pass from their agent.

Excitement having quieted down we began to anticipate a bountiful repast off the huge ribs of buffalo which were braced up by willow sticks surrounding the fire. The savory smell from the meat as it neared the eatable condition whetted our appetites to the keenest condition of hunger. While waiting a squaw came in with a pot of meat that looked very much like that of a turkey; in fact it looked good and tempting. She put it on the bed of coals and went out. When she left the old chief turned to me with pipe in his mouth, and without the slightest expression on his face asked, 'You like dog?' I shook my head and quite emphatically answered, 'No!' The subject was dropped as abruptly as it had been introduced, the proposition entirely passing from my mind as we were served, each occupant of the tipi alike, with a huge rib of buffalo thirty inches long. The Indians used their teeth and fingers, we our pocket knife, in parting the meat from the bone.

Having scraped the last fiber of eatable meat from the ribs, the squaw came into the tent with four tin plates, and commenced to dish out the contents of the kettle, which has been referred to, onto the plates. The first dish was handed to me, the next one to the chief, then my companion, the interpreter coming in last. We were the only ones in the tent that were served. We started in and without hesitation very soon I had consumed all of the first helping. Expressing my satis-

faction, besides the physical demonstration that it was 'good, very good,' before I had time to decline a second helping had been put on my plate the most of which was soon consumed with relish but with an already somewhat gorged appetite.

The pipes were lighted and the customary smoke began. Having already explained to the chief that the section of country in which he was camped had been occupied by hostile Indians for several months and that if the troops should happen to discover his band they would attack them without hesitation and his only safety would be to leave at once for the north, arrangements were made that he send one of his young men to the train guard with a note telling the commander of the whereabouts of this friendly camp of Pawnees. Also arrangements were made to send a strong number of his young warriors to guide and protect me enroute to our camp on the Canadian River.

It was now 3 a.m. and the final pipe of peace was lighted. As the chief passed his pipe to me after having gone through ceremonious signals of friendship, he turned, looking me square in the face as expressionless as on the first occasion and remarked, 'You no like dog?' pointing to my plate. 'Heap dog, heap dog,' he said, with a broad grin on his face, then resumed his pipe in perfect composure.

When the Indian Territory Expedition was disbanded in February, 1875, one of the finest organizations of frontiersmen and Indians in the history of the Southern Plains was broken up. Perhaps only the "Beecher Island" scouts of Major Sandy Forsyth in 1867 could rival the experience, bravery and resourcefulness of this group. Nonetheless, the close of the campaign did not necessarily mean the final part played in the West by many of these frontier figures. Ben Clark and Amos Chapman continued for many years to be identified with the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribe and reservation; Billy Dixon scouted for another dozen years; Bat Masterson headed for notoriety in Dodge City, Kansas; Thompson McFadden, Lem Wilson and Fred Schmalsle all returned to the ranks of the scouting profession in the Sioux War of 1876; Frank Baldwin remained a career soldier in the Fifth Infantry participating in several engagements of the Sioux War and eventually rising to rank of Major General. All that is known of the six Delawares who completed the full expedition is that they returned to their reservation homes.

Though several of the scouts made public their individual tales of adventure, none combined his actions with those of others. Chief of Scouts Baldwin scribbled an introduction to such a story once, but never completed the task. This opening statement for the proposed piece best described their experiences: "To give in detail and at length a narrative of the many deeds of unexcelled daring would fill a volume, but I must in justice to the memory of these daring men recite a few instances that will make ones hair stand on end as he reads the tale."[27]

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[27] Baldwin, "The Scouts."

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE CREEK NATION, 1865–1871

*By Helga H. Harriman**

The change in the economic life of the Creek Nation during the immediate years after the close of the Civil War, from 1865 to 1871, reached revolutionary proportions.

When the war ended, the Creek people were deeply divided on political issues and widely scattered outside of their own borders. Their location in Indian Territory was south and west of the Cherokee Nation, principally between the Arkansas and Canadian rivers, an area that became a veritable no-man's land during the hostilities. With the existence of dangerous wartime conditions, many Creeks were forced to flee from their homes. Those loyal to the United States were led to the North by Opothleyahola in 1861. Estimated at 6,000, or roughly half of the total Creek Nation, the group settled in squalid refugee camps in Kansas for most of the war. The Creek citizens with Southern sympathies spent those dire years on Confederate soil in the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations. Calculated at 6,500 strong, this band fared relatively well under refugee circumstances.

Repatriation of the Creeks occurred gradually throughout 1865. In February, the Northern members of the tribe began to reoccupy their homeland. Largely fullblooded and conservative in outlook, they preferred to retreat into the isolated blackjack hills of their country. Many former slaves, who had been attached to both the Northern and Southern contingents, constructed settlements in the valley between the Arkansas and Verdigris rivers. The return of the Southern Creeks was facilitated by the preliminary peace conference at Fort Smith, Arkansas, in September, 1865. The Northern delegation was led by Ok-tor-how-sos-har-cho, known as Sands. Assured by the conciliatory speeches of this delegation, the Southern Creeks undertook their resettlement near North Fork Town on the Canadian river during the following winter months. Characterized by their mixed blood and their progressive attitudes, they were led by Colonel Samuel Checote.

Abandoned property in the Creek Nation fared poorly during the four years of war. The Northern Creeks alone estimated their losses at more than $5,000,000.[1] Several examples indicate the extent of the damage to

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[1] Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), p. 189.

homes and public buildings. Nothing was left of the Creek Agency, situated south of the Arkansas River ten miles west of Fort Gibson, "except lonely, dilapidated chimneys, and here and there, solitary pairs of gate-posts."[2] The council house at Wekiwa Hulwe—High Spring—was completely destroyed. The two mission schools, Tullahassee across the Arkansas River from the agency and Asbury near North Fork Town, were gutted. Not only were the Creeks inadequately housed in 1865, but they also had to begin anew the preparation of farmlands. In 1859, an estimated 1 in 5,000 acres of Creek land was under cultivation.[3] As the lands then totalled 6,501,120 acres, approximately 1,300 acres were being farmed when the Civil War abruptly interrupted Creek life. All now lay in ruins from prolonged neglect.

More sinister in its implications than the fate of farm lands was the destruction of the Creek cattle herds, which constituted the main wealth of the tribe in ante-bellum days. Left untended, the herds were easy prey for marauders. Fully 300,000 head of cattle, valued at $4,000,000, were driven from Indian Territory during the Civil War. A band of cattle operators, complete with sentinels, scouts and herdsmen drove herds to Kansas in a highly organized fashion.[4] Apparently, some military and civil authorities considered the cattle contraband and condoned the plunder. Major George A. Reynolds, an Indian agent deputized to break up the raiding parties, lamented that theft of Indian cattle was "a profitable and semi-respectable business."[5] By the end of 1864, the Creek Nation had been completely stripped of livestock.

Under these circumstances, the Creeks were an utterly impoverished people in 1865. When the guns were silenced at the close of the war, they were dependent upon the government for subsistence rations. They needed to rebuild their mills and replace their destroyed agricultural implements, seeds and breeding stock. Many Creeks were obliged to break ground with hoes during the first year of reconstruction. Major James W. Dunn, Creek agent at the time, also requested wearing apparel for them in a report to the Southern Superintendent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, who had jurisdiction over the entire Indian Territory. "My people . . . are nearly destitute

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[2] James W. Dunn to Elijah Sells, September 20, 1865, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865*, 1st Session, 39th Congress, Executive Document 1248 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), p. 475.

[3] Elias Rector to A. B. Greenwood, October 25, 1859, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1859*, 1st Session, 36th Congress, Senate Executive Document 1023 (Washington: George W. Bowman, 1860), p. 528.

[4] Elijah Sells to D. N. Cooley, October 16, 1865, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865*, pp. 436–437.

[5] George A. Reynolds to Elijah Sells, June 28, 1865, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865*, p. 447.

of clothing of any kind," he emphasized. "I earnestly call your attention to the fact; if neglected, I shall not wish to remain here to witness the consequent suffering."[6]

Just six years later, the material status of the Creek people was radically changed for the better. To clarify the growth of the Creek economy between 1865 and 1871, it is necessary to consider first certain questions of population and geography. Then statistical information, which so eloquently tells the tale of Creek advancement in the interval, will be presented and interpreted. Figures, however, do not reveal the forces behind them. Because they were pivotal officers in tribal economic affairs, the several Creek agents who served in the period must be judged. The picture of the Creek economy in the first crucial years of the reconstruction era will thereby be rounded out.

A reliable census figure for the Creek Nation before the end of the nineteenth century is impossible to find. From 1832 to 1859, the Creeks numbered between 20,000 and 25,000 and the census of 1859 revealed a population of 13,550, which is accepted here as including slaves. After a careful roll call in 1867, Dunn enumerated 11,815 Creeks, of whom 1,700 were Negroes. Creek deaths resulting from the Civil War, in the light of this data, amounted to 1,735.[7] In the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1868*, the Creek population was listed variously as 12,294, 12,003 and 14,396.[8] In spite of fluctuations, the figure of 12,294 appeared most frequently in the official reports between 1867 and 1870. It was increased to an estimated 13,000 in 1871. Thus, the Creek population was relatively stable and stood at something over 12,000 between 1865 and 1871.

The Negroes had formed an important element in the Creek Nation since the eighteenth century. Most Creeks felt little prejudice against intermarriage with Negroes, even as slaves, and accepted them as free citizens at the conclusion of the war. Major General John B. Sandborn, Commissioner for Regulating Relations between Freedmen in the Indian Territory and their Former Masters, spoke for many government officials when he judged that the Negroes were "the most industrious, economical and, in many re-

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[6] James W. Dunn to Elijah Sells, September 20, 1865, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865*, p. 475.

[7] James W. Dunn to James Wortham, August 25, 1867, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. 320; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, pp. 177–178; John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors: Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 73* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), pp. 438–439.

[8] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1868*, 3rd Session, 40th Congress, Executive Document 1366. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), pp. 813, 815, 505.

spects, the more intelligent portion of the population of the Indian territory."[9]

Under the Treaty of 1866, the Creeks were forced to sell the unsettled western half of the domain granted to them in 1832, when they were removed from Alabama and Georgia. The huge secession of 3,250,560 acres did not affect trading patterns established before the Civil War. Such disruption was left to the railroads, which began to push through the Creek Nation in 1871. In the 1865–1871 period, Creek trade was still dependent upon two overland wagon routes: the Texas Road, leading from Fort Gibson down the eastern edge of the Nation to North Fork Town, and the California Road, running just below the Creek Nation's southern frontier. Proximity to these roads, as well as to rivers navigable during the spring, caused two sites to continue as flourishing trading centers—the Creek Agency and North Fork Town.

The Creek Agency was the more important of the two communities. Its river trade was handled at a landing near Three Forks, where the Arkansas, Verdigris and Grand rivers converge. The landing and the Texas Road were connected to the trading center, which was located near Fern Mountain several miles to the west, by a well-used road. After the interruption of the war, business resumed officially at the site when the post office was reinstated in May, 1867.[10]

At least fifty Indian and Negro families lived at the agency in the post-bellum period. Dunn erected a double log house, situated some distance from the square in a field, for his office. James A. Patterson's store became the principal emporium at the agency. Called the "Picket Store," it was constructed of blackjack posts stuck in the ground and daubed with red clay. Patterson was associated in the business with George W. Stidham, a resident of North Fork Town who had been a merchant in the area before the war. Other stores were operated by J. S. Atkinson and a Mr. Parkinson. Sopha Canard ran a cake shop, while her husband sold whiskey. An inn kept by a Negress, Aunt Sarah Davis, was famous for clean accomodations and good food. It was typical of the frontier taverns of the time. Inside a fenced yard were several log cabins: one for a kitchen, one for a dining room and the others for bedrooms. Joseph Sondheimer, a German, based his fur trading

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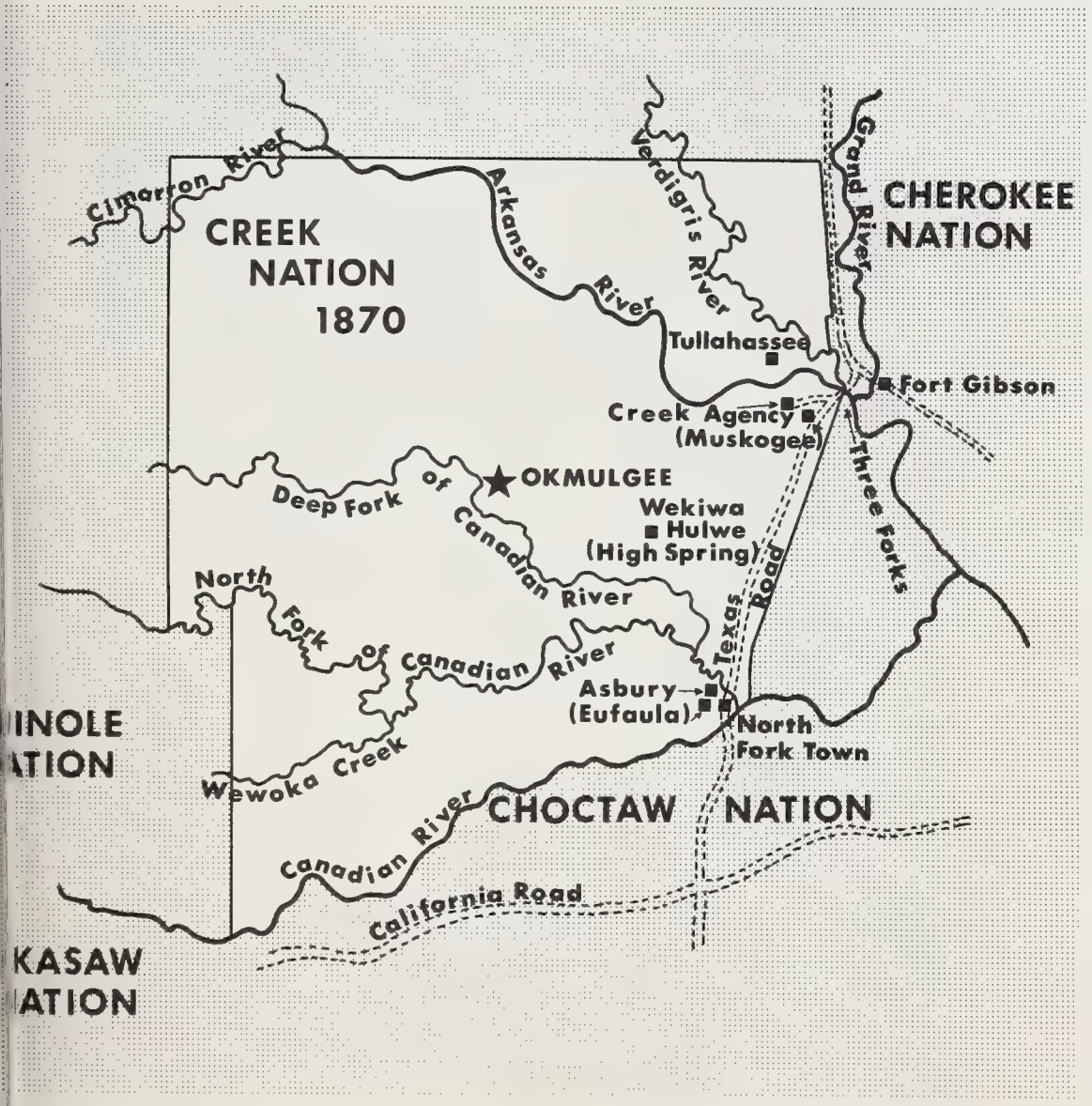
[9] John B. Sandborn to James Harlan, January 5, 1866, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1866* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), p. 283.

[10] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 236; Grant Foreman, *Muskogee, the Biography of an Oklahoma Town* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943), p. 13.



Map of the Creek Nation in 1870 showing the important towns, rivers and roads.

activities at the agency.[11] The Southern Superintendency was even located there for a year prior to the dissolution of the office in 1869. With the coming of the railroad, business at the agency gravitated to the new town of Muskogee, which was rapidly developing nearby, and the post office was closed in 1872. The Creek Agency itself was amalgamated into the Union Agency established at Muskogee shortly thereafter.

Not only did the Texas Road run through North Fork Town, but it was built at the confluence of the Canadian and the North Fork rivers not far from the California Road. It had a natural location for trading. After the war, the community had been rebuilt to include several stores, a saw mill, a boarding house and a number of homes. Mercantile establishments were operated by Stidham, Gray Eagle Scales and William Nero, a Negro. The post office was reinstated in service in April, 1867. North Fork Town was designated as one of three Negro towns among the forty-six settlements in the Creek Nation. Perhaps this explains why a Negro citizen of the period, the Reverend Sugar T. George, served as town king for twenty-two years.[12] The railroad brought doom to the town as it had to the agency, but a year later. Businesses were moved to the new community of Eufaula, and the post office was largely unused after 1873.

As the principal Indian meeting place, the Creek capital was a potential trading center. After the war, the Creeks selected a new location for their capital in the geographical heart of their country, named it Okmulgee and constructed a two-story log council house there in 1868. Okmulgee then was situated on a lonely prairie thirty-five miles from the nearest post office and hampered by a lack of suitable drinking water. Nevertheless, a post office was opened at the site the following year. John E. Turner, Captain Frederick Ballard Severs, a Captain Sanger and a Captain Belcher carried on trade there by the end of the decade. Turner found a brisk market for fancy saddles, which he offered in exchange for buffalo hides, and issued goods to the Creeks during the winter months in return for promises of cattle to be delivered in the spring. Regardless of much conversation about moving the

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[11] Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, p. 289; C. W. Turner, "Events Among the Muskogees during Sixty Years," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 1 (March, 1932), p. 22; Ella Robinson, "History of the Patterson Mercantile Company," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1958), p. 54; L. M. S. Wilson, "Reminiscences of Jim Tomm," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIV, No. 4 (Autumn, 1966), p. 296. Parkinson may have been James Parkinson who opened a store in Muskogee in 1877 with John E. Turner.

[12] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *North Fork Town* (Muskogee: Hoffman Printing Company, 1963), pp. 9, 29; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Two Notable Women of the Creek Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1957), p. 327; Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, p. 237.

agency to Okmulgee, these plans never came to fruition, and the Creek capital remained an isolated village.[13]

Creek progress in agricultural output during early reconstruction was spectacular. Even in the difficult days of 1865, the tribe more than doubled cultivated acreage over the 1,300 acres reported in 1859. Within a two-year span, acreage was doubled yet again to 6,000. Captain Francis Almon Field, the Creek agent, reported in 1870 that there were "more acres of ground cultivated this year than were ever known before."[14] He was guilty of a marked understatement. In 1871, fully 28,600 acres were tilled.

A study of corn, the great dependence of the people, corroborates the conclusion that the Creeks became an agricultural people after the Civil War to an extent unknown in their previous history. In 1836, they had 30,000 bushels of surplus corn to sell. During the 1840s, corn yields reached the highest levels of the pre-war period. In 1846, for example, over 100,000 bushels were exported. The 1850s were years of agricultural depression caused by severe drought and consequently years of food shortages.[15] From 1865 to 1871, a surge in corn production beyond the high levels reported in the 1840s can readily be seen. In 1866, the Creeks raised 125,000 bushels of corn. Because government relief was discontinued in that year, the figure of 125,000 bushels presumably represents domestic consumption for the 12,000 citizens of the Creek Nation. In 1871, the Creeks raised 625,000 bushels of corn or an export crop of 500,000 bushels. Not only did the corn surplus increase five times over that of 1846, but a much smaller population existed to produce it.

An unprecedented use of the plow can also be noted in other Creek harvests. While under 10,000 bushels of potatoes were grown annually between 1865 and 1868, the 1871 potato yield was 100,000 bushels. Turnip crops grew in size. Wheat and oat harvest decreased in the years under study, but they were not an important item in the Creek diet. The Creek agent also reported in 1871 that the Creeks had produced: 1,200 bushels of peanuts worth $1,200;

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[13] L. N. Robinson to N. G. Taylor, November 16, 1868. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1868*, p. 735; Turner, "Events Among the Muskogees during Sixty Years," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, pp. 23, 27–28.

[14] F. A. Field to E. S. Parker, September 1, 1870, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 297.

[15] Norman Arthur Graebner, "Pioneer Indian Agriculture in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1945), pp. 234, 238, 245; James Logan to W. Medill, November 9, 1847, United States War Department, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1847*, 1st Session, 30th Congress, Senate Executive Document 503 (Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1847), p. 887.

700 bushels of pecans valued at $1,400; 7,000 pounds of cotton worth $1,250; and 1,200 pounds of tobacco valued at $3,600. Obviously, the Creeks were assimilated into the white man's economy on an agrarian base. Dunn observed, "They have surrendered the spoils of the chase for the fruits of agriculture."[16]

Although the Creeks increased livestock holdings in the 1865–1871 period, they had not regained their eminence in this area. Vigorous measures were taken by the Southern Superintendent to limit the illegal cattle thefts. The depletion of cattle herds compelled the chiefs to prohibit cattle sales in 1866.[17] Both federal and local policies seemed to be beneficial, for the number of cattle in the Nation grew from 1,000 to 25,000. Strides in ownership of horses and swine were also made.

Construction was hindered by a lack of saw mills. Dunn reported in 1868 that no one appeared "enterprising or courageous enough" to supply the demand.[18] The 1,000 homes built between 1865 and 1871 were log ones. However, in the latter year, 250,000 feet of lumber were sawed and six saw mills were in operation.[19] Ten blacksmiths, obvious assets to building activities, were supported by the Creek government after 1867. Progress seemed to be the watchword in construction following a slow start.

The agents assigned to the Creeks were in a position to influence economic development more than any other single individuals. They administered the considerable financial obligations of the United States government to the Creek Nation. The Creeks, as most Indians, were dependent upon federal annuity and other payments. These may or may not have hindered self-sufficiency; nevertheless, much money passed through the hands of the Creek agents. For example, in 1867, $200,000 in cash was distributed by the agent under the terms of the Treaty of 1866, and in 1868, $142,890 was paid out to surviving orphans or their descendents as stipulated in the Treaty of 1832. The great trust reposed in all Indian agents was recognized in the highest office of the Indian Bureau. Commissioner Dennis N. Cooley stressed the necessity of obtaining services of "a class of men who may be expected to keep aloof from . . . reprehensible conduct." Commissioner N. G. Taylor mentioned "the heavy bond" under which agents were

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[16] James W. Dunn to James Wortham, August 25, 1867, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867*, p. 321.

[17] James W. Dunn to Elijah Sells, October, 1866, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1866*, p. 320.

[18] James W. Dunn to L. N. Robinson, October 12, 1868, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1868*, p. 744.

[19] F. S. Lyon to H. R. Clum, October 20, 1871, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1871*, p. 577.

placed.[20] Not only did the agents serve as responsible financial officers, but they could advise the Indians in their struggle for survival in the white man's world. F. S. Lyon, the agent in 1871, suggested a model farm at the agency for this very purpose.[21]

Four men functioned as Creek agents in the years 1865 to 1871. Major George A. Cutler was agent for the Northern Creeks from 1861 to July, 1865. At that time, James W. Dunn took over the office, which he held until July, 1869. Francis A. Field succeeded Dunn for a period of fifteen months. After a vacancy of six months, the agency was filled by Lyon in April, 1871. This civilian appointment resulted from a law prohibiting the employment of Army officers outside military positions.[22] Because their tenure was longest and spanned the years most crucial to this discussion, Cutler and Dunn were the most important men to evaluate.

There were indications that Cutler was implicated in the notorious cattle raids. Colonel William A. Phillips, who led the First Regiment of the Indian Home Guards during the war, apparently embarked on a personal crusade on behalf of the Indians during 1864. In January, 1865, he charged Colonel William G. Coffin, then in charge of the Southern Superintendency, and the agents under him of irregular acts. Cutler was forced to defend himself in April, 1865. "I have never made gains or speculated in any way with cattle in the Indian territory," he wrote.[23] There were some indications that Superintendent Coffin's administration was riddled with misdeeds, and Cutler must have known about this situation, if not guilty of outright dishonesty himself.[24] Dunn met Cutler in Kansas to take over the Creek Agency, and after Cutler had relinquished books, papers and a few bank vouchers, he alleged that there was no more government property in his hands. Dunn did not find any additional vouchers at the temporary Creek Agency, then located at Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation. Making no accusations, Dunn nonetheless saw fit to report these details to his superior officer.[25]

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[20] D. N. Cooley to James Harlan, October 31, 1865, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865*, p. 170; N. G. Taylor to O. H. Browning, November 23, 1868, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1868*, p. 482.

[21] F. S. Lyon to H. R. Clum, October 20, 1871, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1871*, pp. 577–578.

[22] E. S. Parker to J. D. Cox, October 31, 1870, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1870*, p. 10.

[23] George A. Cutler to William G. Coffin, April 16, 1865, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865*, p. 458.

[24] Angie Debo, *The American Indian under Reconstruction* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1925), pp. 43, 91, 93.

[25] James W. Dunn to Elijah Sells, September 20, 1865, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865*, p. 474.

While Cutler's work lies under the shadow of suspicion, Dunn's record deserves much credit. His thorough reports speak volumes for his efficiency and reliability. He wished to isolate the Indians on reservations, restrict their association with white men and develop their self-sufficiency. However Dunn's views on Creek reconstruction are judged, they were motivated by a genuine affection for the people in his care. Dunn strongly believed that promises made to Indians should be kept, and he championed the cause of the Creek orphans, whose claims under the Treaty of 1832 were ignored for over thirty years. He also worked in vain for a revision of the Treaty of 1866 to benefit the Creeks.[26] At a time when the dearth of good Indian agents was loudly lamented, the Creeks were fortunate to have Dunn in their midst.

A reappraisal of economic conditions in the Creek Nation just after the close of the Civil War reveals giant strides in many directions. Whether in crop production, in animal husbandry or in housing starts, the accent was on advancement. Underneath all of these manifestations of progress lay a revolutionary change in Creek life. The Creek was no longer primarily a wandering hunter out of step with the modern world developing so rapidly around him, but a peaceful farmer who belonged to his environment. There were within the Creek Nation elements which called for a "restoration of the old laws, manners and customs, drifting back toward the dark past," but the old means of livelihood could not be disinterred.[27] Assimilation into the white man's economy was inevitable. That the path was made easier by representatives of the United States government is significant. Whatever accusations can be leveled against the white man for his abuse of the Creeks, among them is not the alteration of Creek economic life.

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[26] James W. Dunn to Elijah Sells, October, 1866, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1866*, p. 319; James W. Dunn to James Wortham, August 25, 1867, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867*, p. 321; James W. Dunn to L. N. Robinson, July 6, 1869, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1869*, pp. 413, 414; Berlin B. Chapman, "Unratified Treaty with the Creeks, 1868," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (September, 1938), pp. 342–345.

[27] F. S. Lyon to H. R. Clum, October 20, 1871, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1871*, p. 574.

NEW LIGHT ON AN OLD ENIGMA: SAM HOUSTON AND THE GRAND SALINE

*By Kermit L. Hall**

Sam Houston's three and one-half year period among the Western Cherokee Indians leaves a mystery. From 1829 to 1833 the former governor of Tennessee lived among the Cherokees in present-day Oklahoma. Indeed, such was the enigma of Houston while living among the Cherokees that a full length study has attempted to unravel the threads of his motives and actions.[1] While this and other studies have illuminated these shadowy years of Houston's career, questions remain. One of these unanswered propositions involves Houston's speculative ventures in the land encompassing Auguste Pierre Chouteau's Grand Saline on the Neosho River, twenty-five miles north of Fort Gibson, in Arkansas Territory, present-day Salina, Oklahoma. New evidence suggests that Houston's attempt at personal aggrandizement through manipulation of these lands was somewhat more involved than originally supposed.

Houston's relationship with Chouteau was central to the acquisition of the Grand Saline.[2] Chouteau, son of one of the founding families of St. Louis, Missouri, administered a portion of the family fur trading empire near Fort Gibson. Houston and Chouteau profited by a unique relationship with the American Indians of the old Southwest. During the late 1820s and the early 1830s they were among the few white men who received the trust of the Cherokee and Osage Indians.[3] Moreover, Chouteau and Houston

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* The author is an Assistant Professor of History at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. The article is based on newly discovered manuscripts located in the Library of Congress and the Davidson County, Tennessee, Court House.

[1] Jack Gregory and Rennard Strickland, *Sam Houston with the Cherokee Indians, 1829–1833* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967). On the activities of Houston around the Grand Saline see esp. *ibid.*, pp. 126–129; Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, Company, 1926), pp. 188, 195, 260; and Foreman, "Some New Light on Houston's Life Among the Cherokee Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (June, 1931), pp. 143–148.

[2] Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, p. 195.

[3] Wayne Morris, "Auguste Pierre Chouteau, Merchant Prince at the Three Forks of the Arkansas," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1970), pp. 155–163; Gregory and Strickland, *Sam Houston with the Cherokee Indians, 1829–1833*, pp. 61–62; Robert L. Jones and Pauline H. Jones, "Houston's Politics and the Cherokees, 1829–1833," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVI, No. 4 (Winter, 1968–1969), pp. 418–432; and Marquis James, *The Raven: A Biography of Sam Houston* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1929), pp. 98–117.

were friends, so much so that Chouteau offered one of his Indian daughters to his Tennessee comrade as a "wife."[4] An 1825 treaty between the United States and the Osage Indians reserved several sections of land to Chouteau's mixed-blood children by two Indian wives, She-me-hunga and Mi-hun-ga.[5] In September, 1830, Chouteau sold the reserves of two of his mixed-blood children, Anthony and Amelia, daughter of She-me-hunga, to Sam Houston for $3,200; half payment in cash and half in the form of provisions and one Negro slave.[6]

Houston, doubtlessly, hoped to turn a handsome profit on the investment by exploiting the salt works, which on the unsettled frontier held the potential for quick profits.[7] Houston's holdings around the Grand Saline, however, constituted a portion of the lands ceded to the Cherokee Nation West by treaty in 1828.[8] This and subsequent treaties through 1835 between the Cherokees and the United States provided that the reserve lands held by the mixed-blood Osages would be given over to the Cherokees. Indeed, part of Houston's purpose in journeying with the Cherokees to Washington in January, 1830, was to persuade the Federal government to enforce the provision of the 1828 treaty calling for removal of the Osages from the Cherokee lands.[9] Perhaps Houston believed his special relationship with the Cherokees would assure a dispensation for him to operate the salt works. In this regard, Houston never operated the salt works himself, but his brother-in-law John Rogers did successfully manage the operation. Rogers had been a boyhood

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[4] Gregory and Strickland, *Sam Houston with the Cherokee Indians, 1829–1833*, p. 86, 13.

[5] Charles J. Kappler, comp., *Indian Treaties 1778–1883* (New York: Interland Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 217–221. By terms of the treaty, the United States agreed to pay Chouteau $1,000 for debts owed him by the Osage Indians.

[6] Gregory and Strickland, *Sam Houston with the Cherokee Indians, 1829–1833*, p. 127; Foreman, "Some New Light on Houston's Life Among the Cherokee Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, p. 143; Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, p. 195, 260. There is some doubt as to who indeed bought the land from Chouteau. Gregory and Strickland concluded that Houston was joined in the purchase by John Drennan and David Thompson, former Tennesseans who were partners in their own trading business in Indian Territory. Grant Foreman, whom Gregory and Strickland cite, argues that only Houston and Drennan were the purchasers. However, the letter from Governor Montford Stokes which Foreman cites suggests that Houston was the sole purchaser. A deed or bill of sale has yet to be produced to prove the validity of any argument.

[7] Sam Houston to John Van Fossen, August 22, 1830, in Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker, eds., *The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813–1863* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1943), Vol. I, pp. 187–188; Grant Foreman, "Salt Works in Early Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 4 (December, 1932), pp. 474–500.

[8] Kappler, *Indian Treaties 1778–1883*, pp. 288–291.

[9] Foreman, "Some New Light on Houston's Life Among the Cherokee Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, pp. 143–144; Gregory and Strickland, *Sam Houston with the Cherokee Indians, 1829–1833*, pp. 98–99.

friend of Houston, and his half-sister Tiana (Diana) Rogers was Houston's Cherokee wife.[10] In 1835, however, Rogers was forced to abandon operation of the works.

Apparently, Houston quickly became discouraged with the prospects of immediate return on his investment. In July, 1831, he sold one-third of his holdings to John C. McLemore and Memucan Hunt Howard, both of Nashville, Tennessee. They paid Houston $6,500, nearly twice the original price for all the land transferred from Chouteau to Houston.[11] According to Grant Foreman, Houston "made a tidy profit from his investment."[12] Yet doubts can be raised about this conclusion for at the same time Houston sold a one-third interest in the Amelia reserve to McLemore and Howard, he was buying a small section of land in the city of Nashville from Howard. According to the deed, Houston paid Howard $4,000.[13] This does not, of course, preclude the possibility that Houston did make a profit on the sale or on future sales to other investors, but it does suggest that Houston's land dealings were considerably more complex than originally supposed. It seems doubtful that the full $6,500 ever came into Houston's hands. Rather, given the proximity in time of the two land sales, it appears that a considerably smaller amount of cash actually came to Houston. Nevertheless, an equally intriguing question is the ultimate disposition of the remaining two-thirds of Houston's holdings around the salt works.[14]

It is generally assumed that Houston sold his remaining interest in the Osage lands to David Thompson and John Drennan, who were traders in Indian Territory.[15] As with McLemore and Howard, the other buyers were Nashville residents. An 1836 letter by Governor Montford Stokes of North Carolina, the commissioner to the Indians west of the Mississippi River, is cited to support the contention that Drennan and Thompson were the

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[10] James, *The Raven: A Biography of Sam Houston*, p. 150.

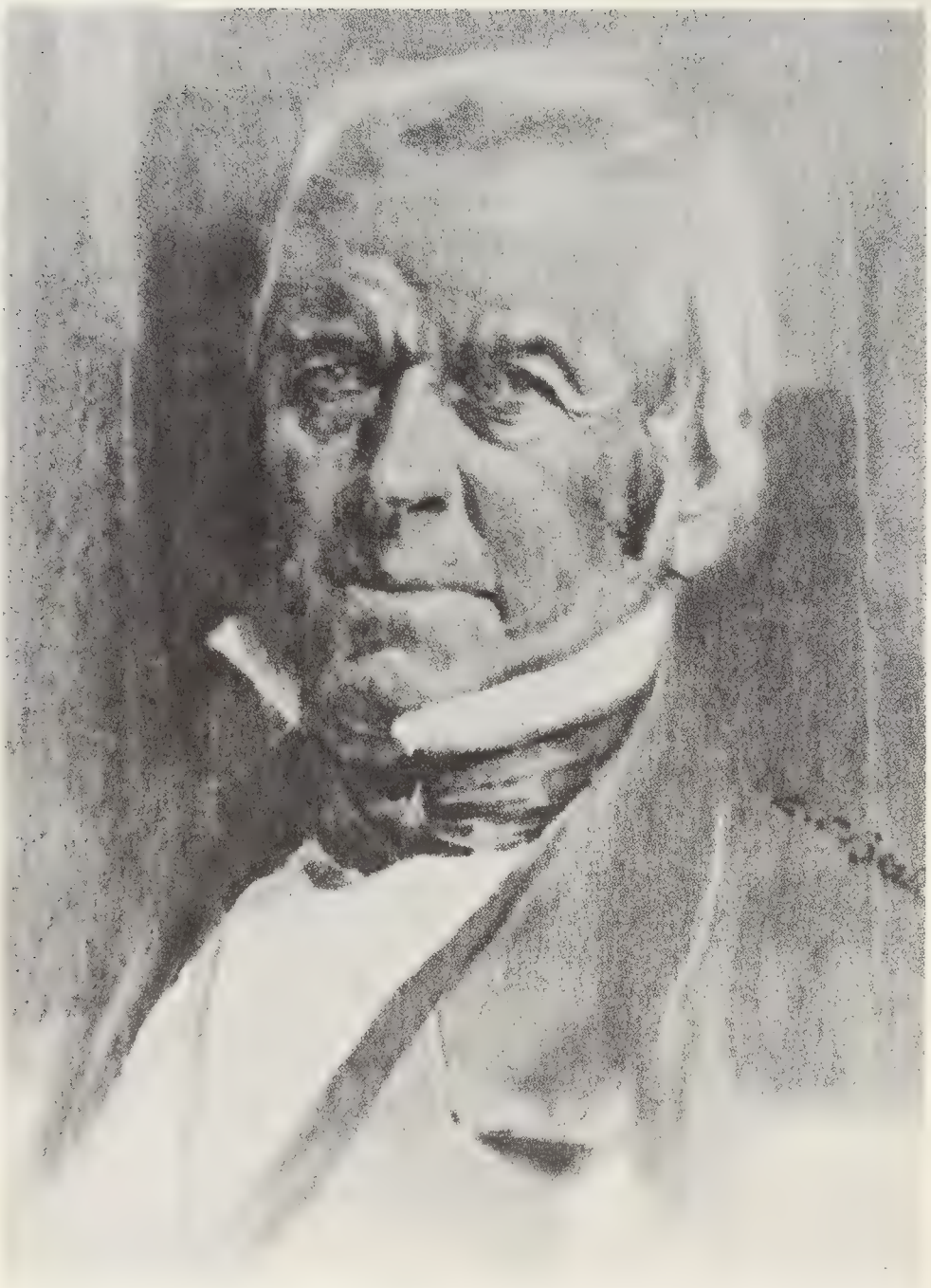
[11] The deed and sale were recorded in a Nashville court. See Foreman, "Some New Light on Houston's Life Among the Cherokee Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, pp. 144–145.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Warranty Land Deed, M. M. Howard to Sam Houston, Filed July 6, 1831, Warranty Land Deeds of Davidson County, Tennessee, Book "U," p. 96, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[14] The basic assumption is that at this point Houston owned two-thirds of the property and McLemore and Howard the other third. The evidence to support the conclusion that Thompson and Drennan, or only Drennan, were original partners is, as indicated above, not wholly convincing. It is an academic question as subsequent evidence presented below indicates a more complex arrangement among the speculators than previously supposed.

[15] Gregory and Strickland, *Sam Houston with the Cherokee Indians, 1829–1833*, p. 128; Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, p. 260.



Sam Houston, who played a controversial role in the land speculation around the Grand Saline.

buyers of the remaining portion of the Houston holdings.[16] The Stokes letter suggests that Houston sold the lands only to Thompson and Drennan. Stokes seems correct, in so far as he went. Houston apparently did sell to Thompson and Drennan, although the deed has never been produced to establish this fact. However, were Thompson and Drennan the only buyers? Was Houston, as a result of the sale, finally divested of his ownership in the Osage lands? The answers appear to be negative. Before establishing the basis for this conclusion it is necessary to understand the role played by James K. Polk.

Historians have noted the efforts of the future president in attempting to aid the Grand Saline speculators.[17] Polk received letters from two of the investors soliciting his assistance in selling the land or in securing government compensation. By late 1834, the speculators had grown anxious over the demands of the Cherokees for full control of the salt works. In December, 1834, Howard expressed his concern, solicited Polk's assistance, and provided the Tennessee congressman with a power of attorney to act in his behalf. It should be noted that Grant Foreman brought Howard's correspondence with Polk to light thirty-five years ago.[18] Howard outlined his problems in gaining clear title to the land because of the Treaty of 1828, and urged Polk to make "whatever arrangement you think proper . . . about the matter . . . so far as I am concerned as I am desirious of disposing of my part of the property or of endeavoring to turn it to some profitable account."[19]

On January 31, 1835, McLemore, Howard's partner, also wrote Polk seeking assistance. This letter, and the accompanying power of attorney seems not to have been previously used by historians. It is this document that casts a new light on the actions of Houston and the entire process of land speculation around the Grand Saline.

McLemore was a close friend of Andrew Jackson, and married one of Rachel Jackson's nieces, Elizabeth Donelson. A well-to-do land jobber, McLemore formed a partnership with Howard in 1818, and initially the com-

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[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 260, 84; "Auguste Pierre Chouteau, Merchant Prince at the Three Forks of the Arkansas," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 163; Williams and Barker, *The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813–1863*, Vol. I, p. 205.

[17] Foreman, "Some New Light on Houston's Life Among the Cherokee Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, pp. 147–148; Gregory and Strickland, *Sam Houston with the Cherokee Indians, 1829–1833*, p. 128.

[18] Memucan H. Howard to James K. Polk, December 13, 1834, in Foreman, "Some New Light on Houston's Life Among the Cherokee Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, p. 147.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 146–148. Gregory and Strickland contended that Howard dispatched two powers of attorney, citing Foreman for support. It is clear, however, from a reading of Foreman, that there was only one power of attorney sent by Howard to Polk.

bination proved profitable for both men, but by the late 1830s the enterprise began to fall on hard times. Howard, for his part, recovered sufficiently and later became a wealthy man.[20] McLemore, however, in spite of his wide and important connections with Jacksonian Democrats in Tennessee, saw his speculative empire crumble in the late 1840s.[21]

The McLemore letter to Polk challenged some of the earlier assumptions about Houston's activities around the Grand Saline. Describing the general problems confronting the investors, McLemore informed Polk that "Genl. Ric. Dunlap, Genl. Sam Houston, Thompson and Drenning [Drennan] and M. H. Howard are the owners of the other Five Sixths of the valuable property, all of whom have sent you a similar Power to act for them." McLemore noted that "the reservation under which we claim is included in the late Cession by the Osage Nation to the United States, with a stipulation (as I learn) on part of the Government to extinguish the title to all reservations within the ceded Territory." McLemore suggested that the six owners who claimed "the reservation of Amelia the daughter of Shemahunga . . . would much prefer to hold the property, provided we could be privileged by the Government & Indians to work it and manufacture salt, as it would in that case be a large fortune and could be made with a small capital to produce an emense [sic] income." Recognizing that the treaty with the Cherokees in 1828 precluded title to the salt springs in fee simple, McLemore concluded that "we are willing to throw ourselves on the liberality of the government and submit to such price as it may think just under the circumstances."[22]

The investors in the salt works turned to others for assistance. McLemore advised Polk that "the Honble. Mr. Dunlap of this state, is fully advised by his brother of the nature of our claim, and will aid you in the sale—have the kindness to confer with him on the subject and do the best you can for us."[23] The "Mr. Dunlap" was William C. Dunlap, Congressman from Tennessee and a member of the House Committee on Public Lands. Houston and his

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[20] Memucan H. Howard, "The Recollections of Memucan Hunt Howard," *American Historical Magazine*, Vol. VII (1902), pp. 55–68. The original full-length manuscript prepared by Howard treating his land business in Tennessee fails to note the Houston transaction. It is excellent, however, on Howard's relationship with McLemore. See Folder J–103, Miscellaneous, Manuscripts, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

[21] On John C. McLemore, see Samuel Cole Williams, *Beginnings of West Tennessee* (Johnson City, Tennessee: The Watuga Press, 1930), pp. 129–130, 173n.

[22] John C. McLemore to James K. Polk, January 31, 1835, The Papers of James K. Polk, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The power of attorney was dated January 3, 1835, although it is filed in the Polk Papers under February 2, 1835.

[23] *Ibid.*

fellow investors, therefore, apparently had not only Polk but his Democratic colleague from Tennessee working to secure the interests of the apprehensive speculators.

The McLemore letter is significant for three reasons: It clearly indicates the presence of one investor, Richard G. Dunlap, not heretofore noted by historians. Dunlap followed Houston into Texas in 1836, where he became the Texas Secretary of the Treasury, and later in 1839 the Texas Minister to the United States.[24] As with Houston, Dunlap, who ran for governor of Tennessee in 1832, suddenly dropped out because of "illness," and looked to the new Texas frontier to boost his political fortunes. Also the McLemore letter indicates that Houston retained a one-sixth interest in the land. As a result, McLemore's correspondence casts additional suspicion on the credibility of Governor Stokes's conclusion that Houston sold his entire holdings in the salt works to Thompson and Drennan. The letter provides further credence to earlier historical guesswork that the purchasers of the land may have hoped the government would save their financial investment, if not their right to the Osage reserves. For the most part these men were familiar with the procedures of trading and land speculation on the frontier. Thompson and Drennan were traders with the Indians, while Houston, Howard and McLemore were accomplished land jobbers. Of the six, only Dunlap seems to have been uninitiated in the business of speculation. It is difficult, therefore, to accept the lament of McLemore over the provisions of the Treaty of 1828 when he, and most likely the other investors, knew that securing a bona fide deed to the lands would be a difficult if not impossible undertaking.

Polk wasted little time seeking assistance for the investors. He dispatched the McLemore power of attorney and the claim of the investors to the Department of Indian Affairs, headed by Secretary of War Lewis Cass. Unfortunately, for the investors, Cass informed Polk in late February, 1835, that "it will be perceived that a valid conveyance of the land granted by the Osage treaty of 1825 to Amelia, Daughter of She-me-hunga, cannot be made."[25] McLemore and the other speculators would receive no restitution from the government. Nevertheless, Polk's petitioners continued to press for assistance, but he could offer no relief. Howard, for example, informed

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[24] On Dunlap, see Walter Prescott Webb, ed., *Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1953), Vol. I, p. 526; Williams and Barker, eds., *Writings of Sam Houston, 1813–1863*, Vol. I, p. 432.

[25] Lewis Cass to James K. Polk, February 24, 1835, R. G. 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent, Vol. 15, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Polk on July 9, 1835, that "my Sixth part of the salt spring having cost me $3,250 which is too much for me to lose entirely."[26]

The eventual fate of the investments of the six speculators is unclear. Houston probably did realize a profit from his initial investment of $3,200. Yet it is obvious that Houston also was investing heavily in property in Nashville sold to him by Howard. Moreover, the fact that Houston apparently did not sell all of his holdings, but retained a one-sixth portion of the reserve, would suggest that his net profit may not have been as great as has been assumed. The other five speculators appear not to have fared as well as Houston. Of the five, Thompson is the only one who seems to have received compensation. Relying on Governor Stokes once again, it appears that Thompson did acquire six Negroes from the estate of Chouteau in 1838.[27] However, there is no evidence the government ever provided relief for the other speculators. Moreover, Houston seems to have done nothing to reimburse his fellow speculators, regardless of the fact that he undoubtedly profited directly from their speculation.

The full story of the Grand Saline speculation and its importance for the career of Sam Houston remains to be written. The new evidence presented above, however, clearly suggests that Houston's dealings were significantly more complex than originally supposed. It seems apparent from the Howard deed and the McLemore letter that historians have too readily accepted the notion that Houston made a "tidy profit" by unloading his holdings in the Grand Saline to a group of unsuspecting investors.

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[26] Memucan H. Howard to James K. Polk, July 9, 1935, The Papers of James K. Polk. This prompted another rejection by Secretary of War Cass. See Lewis Cass to James K. Polk, July 19, 1835, The Papers of James K. Polk.

[27] Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, p. 260.

EDWARD P. McCABE AND THE LANGSTON EXPERIMENT

*By Jere W. Roberson**

Feeling politically and economically impotent during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, many Americans decided to improve their condition. To some this meant political and labor reform where they already were. To others, it meant leaving the life they had grown to dislike or mistrust and seeking new lands in the West, where they could start over again. With the opening of Oklahoma Territory to settlement in 1889, many Americans saw this as their last land of opportunity and they rushed there by the thousands. Among them were many black families, with more than a normal interest in Oklahoma Territory. They came not only for the same reasons as white families, but had the added incentive of fleeing racism.

Settling in Oklahoma Territory was by no means a new idea to blacks; for over fifty years they had come as slaves, runaways, soldiers and citizens of the Indian nations. Many families had arrived to settle on unclaimed lands during the historic "Great Migration of 1879." The prospect of a large black population in Oklahoma Territory was enough to frighten some Indian leaders such as the editor of the *Vinita Indian Chieftain*. However, opportunities in Indian Territory were limited; most black emigrants to the West chose to reside in Republican dominated states such as Kansas. Thus, when the rush to Oklahoma Territory began, Kansas provided the majority of black settlers and leaders for Oklahoma Territory.[1]

Black settlement in Kansas had not been haphazard. Many communities were founded to promote and protect settlers. In this way, it was hoped that they would never again suffer from a lack of organization. One of the most important black communities was Nicodemus, near Topeka, Kansas. Nicodemus was not without effective leadership nor a newspaper, as it had both Edward P. McCabe and *The Western Cyclone*.[2]

McCabe arrived in Kansas in April, 1878, nearly a year before Nicodemus

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[1] *Vinita Indian Chieftain*, September 14, 1883; Solon J. Buck, "The Settlement of Oklahoma," reprint from Vol. XV, Part 2, *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* (Madison, Wisconsin: Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, 1907), p. 373, said that 15.9 percent of Oklahoma's original settlers came from Kansas, but if the census reports can be trusted, most black families in central Oklahoma came from Kansas.

[2] The *Western Cyclone* (Nicodemus) became the *Nicodemus Cyclone* in 1888.

was formally established.[3] Moving to seek new opportunity, and finding it, was nothing new for McCabe. Sometime after his birth in Troy, New York, on October 10, 1850, his family had moved to Falls River, Massachusetts, then to Newport, Rhode Island. During the 1860s, he moved to Chicago, where he evidently completed his education in law. Driven by a desire for independence and advancement, McCabe traveled to Kansas and soon became a prosperous lawyer, farmer and Republican activist. He also found time to marry.[4] His first success was his election as clerk of Graham County, in which Nicodemus was located. McCabe's climb up the political ladder was astronomical. By the age of thirty-three, he was elected state auditor of Kansas—the first black man to achieve such a high office outside the South.[5]

McCabe was closely identified with the ebb and flow of the Nicodemus colony, and the movement for black political power in Kansas. As the colony started crumbling and his political fortunes faded, McCabe decided to join with black and white leaders in Kansas who suggested a migration of black families to Oklahoma Territory. Perhaps he reasoned that if a series of new colonies were established in Oklahoma Territory, and they became as politically active in the Republican party as Nicodemus had, perpetual peace could be found for black Americans.

According to one of the founders of Nicodemus, the destruction of the colony and others like it was both political and natural. The terrible blizzard of 1885–1886 wiped out many settlers and forced them to seek refuge in larger cities. According to contemporary newspapers, the steady immigration of blacks and the success of the Democrats increased racial hostilities in Kansas. Regardless of efforts by blacks and whites, the position of the black man steadily eroded. McCabe's third attempt to become state auditor failed in 1886. Nevertheless, the Nicodemus Colony struggled on, but more and more its settlers joined in the movement to emigrate to Oklahoma Territory and try again.[6]

McCabe, however, was not yet ready to leave Kansas. In the elections of

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[3] F. G. Adams to E. P. McCabe, July 29, 1894, in F. G. Adams Papers, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

[4] *1890 Census Report*, Oklahoma Records Division, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Edward McCabe, Negro History Collection, Library, Oklahoma State Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[5] "Fragmentary Notes Concerning The Nickodemus Colony, as Given by Rev. Daniel Hickman, One of the Promoters of the Colony," 1913, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; John S. Dawson to George W. Martin, December 7, 1906, *ibid.*

[6] "Fragmentary Notes Concerning The Nickodemus Colony as Given by Rev. Daniel Hickman, One of the Promoters of the Colony," *ibid*; *Republic Bureau* (Washington, D.C.), February 13, 1890.

1888, he supported the state and national Republican tickets, and again offered himself for state office. In the process, he indebted Senators John Ingalls and Preston Plumb to himself. Returning the favor, Ingalls encouraged President-elect Benjamin Harrison to take a stand for the black voter.[7] Still hoping to regain lost ground, McCabe ran for register of the Kansas Treasury in 1889, with support from Plumb and H. W. Rolfe, editor of the influential black newspaper, the Topeka *American Citizen*.[8] But McCabe failed again. Still, he thought he could find a friend in Harrison and the leaders of the Republican party in Washington, D.C. Leaving for Washington to confer with both, McCabe assumed the role of spokesman for all blacks in Kansas. It has been claimed, however, that he was actually soliciting Harrison to make him governor of Oklahoma Territory.[9]

It is not certain that McCabe had an audience with Harrison, or what he said to Republican leaders. He did write Harrison thanking him for his first annual message which encouraged civil rights for blacks, and advised him that such statements would "stimulate our people to a position of possible republicanism," especially if Plumb were made a United States Supreme Court Justice as it was rumored. Harrison apparently was not impressed, as he added a note to the back of the letter stating that McCabe was "a colored man."[10]

McCabe did not linger in Washington long. Evidently he concluded that the best future for the black man was to reject encouragements for colonization in Africa and instead migrate to Oklahoma Territory. Others had already left for places like Guthrie and Kingfisher, Oklahoma Territory, under the leadership of the Topeka based Oklahoma Immigration Association headed by President Rolfe and Secretary W. L. Eagleson, both personal friends of McCabe.[11]

No sooner had McCabe planned to depart for Oklahoma Territory than reports began to circulate that he intended to make the area a "Negro State." As early as 1888, the *Vinita Indian Chieftain* seized on this charge and continued to oppose black migration. It was alleged that the plan was to control Congress and force it to admit Oklahoma Territory as a black state.[12]

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[7] John Ingalls to Benjamin Harrison, November 17, 1888, Benjamin Harrison Presidential Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[8] *American Citizen* (Topeka), March 29, April 19 and May 10, 1889.

[9] Interview with *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* cited in *American Citizen*, June 7, 1889.

[10] McCabe to Harrison, December 6, 1889, Harrison Presidential Papers.

[11] Kaye M. Teall, ed., *Black History in Oklahoma: A Resource Book* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1971), pp. 150–151; *Republican Bureau*, March 3, 1890; unidentified clipping dated July 7, 1889, Barde Collection, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[12] *Vinita Indian Chieftain*, January 26, 1888.

Actually, there seemed to be no foundation for the claim, although McCabe's followers never tried to stop the rumor. A more plausible explanation was that McCabe and his supporters hoped to gain enough power in Oklahoma Territory not to control it and make it a black state, but to guarantee their social justice. If he should become governor, however, McCabe promised to rule fairly and fearlessly.[13] Perhaps the First Grand Independent Brotherhood, a secret black organization, had the black state in mind, but not McCabe.

The First Grand Independent Brotherhood and talk of electing McCabe governor was simply too much for many whites in Oklahoma Territory—whatever their political beliefs.[14] One Republican angrily declared, "I am told that 'dead niggers make an excellent fertilizer,' and if the negroes try to Africanize Oklahoma they will find that we will enrich our soil with them."[15] Another warned that if McCabe were appointed governor and attempted to make a black state, he "would not give five cents for his life."[16]

The *Norman Transcript* and *Vinita Indian Chieftain* were the leading newspapers opposed to black migration and they spread the black-state rumor. The *Vinita Indian Chieftain* needed no encouragement, but Senator Plumb's visit to Guthrie in November, 1889, must have started its editor thinking.[17] After all, Plumb was supposed to have been in favor of the scheme to colonize Oklahoma Territory and he was certainly a supporter of McCabe. While he was in Guthrie, Plumb discussed the prospect of statehood. According to the *Vinita Indian Chieftain* and the *Norman Transcript*, the plot originated at the black settlement of Lincoln, near Kingfisher, under the direction of a secret society headquartered in Topeka.[18] Although the editor of the *Vinita Indian Chieftain* did not project success for McCabe and the scheme, he could not pass up the opportunity to take a jab at the white man either. With tongue in cheek, he declared, "It seems a hard joke on the Oklahomaists to get the land from the Indians and then have the negroes take it away from them."[19]

The claim that McCabe planned to take over Oklahoma Territory was given national coverage through several eastern newspapers. The editor of the *New York Times* seized the story and through his actions convinced

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[13] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 5, 1890.

[14] Teall, *Black History In Oklahoma: A Resource Book*, pp. 152–153.

[15] *Republican Bureau*, March 2, 1890.

[16] Teall, *Black History In Oklahoma: A Resource Book*, p. 154.

[17] *Indian Journal* (Muskogee), November 14, 1889.

[18] *Norman Transcript*, November 9, December 7, 28, 1889; *Vinita Indian Chieftain*, February 27, April 24, 1890.

[19] *Ibid.*, March 6, 1890.

Edward P. McCabe, an early leader in the black movement to colonize Oklahoma Territory, and the Assistant Chief Clerk of the 1895 Oklahoma Territorial Legislature.

many that the charges were true. A favorite target of the *New York Times* was Senator Ingalls, who the editor accused of promoting the McCabe scheme to deplete the black population in Kansas. He cautioned the white population of Oklahoma Territory to be wary of Ingalls and attempts by blacks to gain political power. If they did not, he warned, the whites would never live in peace.[20]

A number of white settlers were more than willing to engage in violence to keep black men out of the area and some official encouragement was given to white resistance at the Democratic convention in Guthrie in the spring of 1890. When the issue of black colonization was proposed, the delegates became quite angry. The convention agreed to accept blacks in Oklahoma Territory, but not an attempt by blacks to seize power. Shortly after the convention, violence increased as masked riders roamed the country attacking black colonists. Even McCabe became a victim when on on one occasion he visited the Sac and Fox cession, near the Cimarron River, to observe black settlers and was fired on by three white men.[21] Advocates of violence must have been somewhat satisfied with the results, as many black families around Guthrie sold their homes and fled.[22]

It is true that many black settlers fled Oklahoma Territory but not all left because of violence. According to supporters of colonization, many black and white migrants had not prepared themselves to survive the lean years before prosperity. Then too, the late season at which land was opened prevented crop planting during the first year.[23] Surely starvation and the threat of it prompted as many settlers to leave as did the violence.

McCabe wanted to avoid the problems of starvation and prove that black colonization could work. In this way, he could not only increase the number of blacks in Oklahoma Territory, but perhaps also secure the $500,000 that Murat Halstead said William Waldorf Astor had promised to establish a black university.[24] Shortly after arriving at Guthrie in May, 1890, McCabe established a law office specializing in land claims and founded the city of

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[20] Mozell Hill, "The All-Negro Communities of Oklahoma: The Natural History of a Social Movement," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXI (July, 1946), p. 261; *New York Times*, March 1, 1890.

[21] *Ibid.*, September 20, 22 and 23, 1890.

[22] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 12, 14, 1890.

[23] See, for example, an unidentified newspaper clipping dated December 2, 1889, in the Barde Collection, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, quoting a letter from Frank Dorsey to Charles T. Grinsted of St. Louis asking for supplies to see colonizers through the winter of 1889–1890.

[24] Unidentified clipping, the Barde Collection, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society.

Langston. He started the *Langston City Herald* on October 22, and designed the newspaper to promote migration. However, McCabe insisted that the paper also expose frauds and instruct prospective settlers on what preparations they should make before migrating to the area.[25] Contrary to popular charges, McCabe did not own Langston; instead, as all other citizens, he acquired land from the developer, Charles H. Robbins, a white man. True, he owned a number of lots, perhaps as many as seventy, but he probably did not make much money from his holdings. He seemed more interested in establishing new colonies, using them as bases for further expansion, and supporting organizations such as the Afro-American Colonization Company of Guthrie. McCabe's interest in black migration is evident; however, little is known of his activities outside of his Langston promotional scheme.[26]

McCabe's early activities in Oklahoma Territory brightened his future. His political activism began to pay when he was made Logan County's first treasurer.[27] With friendly encouragement, McCabe might have found life enjoyable in Oklahoma Territory, but the area was becoming a battleground between Democrats and Republicans and whites and blacks over the plans McCabe seemed to personify.

With an organization in Guthrie, an active newspaper, and agents throughout the South, McCabe and his associates flooded the country with invitations to migrate to Oklahoma Territory. Blacks came from all over the South—generally by way of earlier migration to Kansas. Most of the new black settlers were Republicans, but so were the majority of whites. The response was good, but by no means what the opposition press feared or claimed. In West Guthrie, where McCabe lived, whites outnumbered blacks 3,187 to 272 in 1890. Slightly over one-half of the white voters in the area were Republicans, and only 2 of the 41 black voters of the county did not support the Republican party. In Logan County, the center of McCabe's activities, only 5.7 percent of the citizens were black in 1890, while Kingfisher County

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[25] *Langston City Herald*, November 12, 1891.

[26] According to *Plat Book 1*, p. 7, in the Logan County Clerk's office, Langston's major property holder and developer was Robbins who filed his survey and plat on August 6, 1891. Sara (or Sarah) and Edward McCabe jointly owned the property in Langston, but it is difficult to tell how much they owned. According to the *New York Times*, October 5, 1891, he owned 320 acres at one time, but this hardly seems likely, as an entire city block in Langston measured only 90,000 square feet and each lot was only 25 by 140 feet. The deed books in the County Clerk's office show little exchange of property. In 1891, the McCabes sold 3 lots (*Plat Book 10*, p. 117), and in 1893, they purchased an unspecified amount of land (*Plat Book 7*, new series, p. 477).

[27] Marion Tuttle Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma, 1890* (Topeka, Kansas: C. B. Hamilton and Son, 1890), pp. 271–272.

had 15.6 percent. Indeed, in all of Oklahoma Territory, the black population constituted but 8.4 percent of the citizens.[28]

With only 8.4 percent of the population, it was impossible for the black man to control Oklahoma Territory; nonetheless, the opposition wanted to make sure blacks remained in the minority. The *Norman Transcript* continued its warnings to white citizens to beware of the intents of the blacks and their secret organizations.[29] The Oklahoma City *Daily Times-Journal* declared McCabe a fraud and demanded his exposure.[30] David Harvey, delegate to the United States Congress from Oklahoma Territory, also discouraged black migration. For a while, blacks used racial fears to their advantage by buying land near whites, waiting for their neighbors to flee, and then purchasing the vacated land.[31]

In the heat of controversy, when he was needed most, McCabe changed tactics. He sold the *Langston City Herald* to a group of men from Guthrie; however, he secured a continuation of policy and recognition of his leadership from his old political ally and the new editor, Eagleson.[32] McCabe may have decided to devote more time to his business and to his position as secretary to the legislature of Oklahoma Territory, to which he had been appointed in 1890.[33] However, this was not how others viewed his actions, and even friendly newspaper editors voiced concern. The *Kingfisher Free Press*, generally a staunch supporter, suspected that McCabe had decided to move politically in 1890, and perhaps intended to have his close friend, Eagleson, chosen governor. According to this account, such action could only increase racial hostility and McCabe was encouraged to delay political activism.[34] Eagleson did not help alleviate the tension when he said that if President Harrison actually wanted to show his concern for blacks, he should appoint "Mac" governor.[35] However, Harrison was rapidly losing interest.

By the end of 1891, the situation in Washington and throughout the

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[28] *1890 Census Report*, Oklahoma Records Division; Nathaniel Jason Washington, *Historical Development of the Negro In Oklahoma* (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Dexter Publishing Company, 1948), pp. 37–39; United States Government, Department of Commerce, *Negro Population*, 1790–1915 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), pp. 51, 786–787; United States Government, Department of Commerce, *Population of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, 1907* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), pp. 8–9.

[29] *Norman Transcript*, March 7, August 29, 1891.

[30] *Oklahoma Times-Journal* (Oklahoma City), July 15, 1891.

[31] *New York Times*, April 9, October 5, 1891.

[32] *Langston City Herald*, September 3, 1892.

[33] *Journal of the 1st Session of the Legislative Assembly of Oklahoma Territory* (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Oklahoma News Publishing Company, 1890), p. 4.

[34] F. R. McKinaly to the editor of the *Kingfisher Free Press*, October 25, 1891.

[35] *Langston City Herald*, December 19, 1891.

country looked discouraging for McCabe's plans and his old supporters were disappearing. Ingalls had been appointed the American Minister to Germany and no longer supported black colonization, and on December 21, 1891, McCabe's political patron, Plumb, died.[36] The mood of the nation was shifting away from concern for helping black men, and, by 1892, many Republicans considered political support from the blacks a liability. Accordingly, Harrison appointed Abraham J. Seay governor of Oklahoma Territory.

McCabe's irritations increased in 1892, as Democrats, always on the verge of controlling Oklahoma Territory, officially declared their intentions and clarified the racial issue along party lines. At Kingfisher, which was heavily black and the home of Governor Seay, the Democratic convention clearly labeled its party one of white supremacy. A vote for a Republican, the delegates charged, was a vote for "negro domination," racial mixing, and race war.[37] Racial mixing in schools was an explosive issue even in 1892, and a black convention previously declared itself opposed to separate schools, because "Separate schools mean better schools for white children." The delegates had tried to blunt the growing racial problems, but their school stand and their insistance that blacks be given a proportionate share of offices only angered the Democrats and racists.[38]

The political ambitions of the blacks suffered several disasters in 1892. Grover Cleveland was elected president, and, in 1893, he selected William C. Renfrow as governor of Oklahoma Territory. Renfrow was no friend of the black man or colonization, and race-oriented Oklahomans also identified Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson with white supremacy. John H. Havighorst, county clerk of Logan County, approached Stevenson on this idea of having Senator Leslie P. Ross of Norman appointed Associate Justice of the Oklahoma Supreme Court. In turn, Havighorst promised Stevenson "the everlasting friendship of all the Whites, [and] most of the Indians."[39]

Unfortunately for McCabe and his colonization efforts, problems arose not only from political circles, but from unscrupulous blacks who tried to take advantage of the movement and from newspaper accounts of violence and exploitation of blacks who desired to migrate to Oklahoma Territory. A number of blacks misrepresented themselves as agents of one of the Guthrie based colonization societies, or of some other like group, to defraud black settlers. The most notorious frauds took place in 1892, in Memphis,

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[36] Ingalls Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; *Kingfisher Free Press*, December 24, 1891.

[37] *Kingfisher Times*, October 1, 1892.

[38] *Kingfisher Free Press*, August 18, 1892.

[39] John H. Havighorst to A. E. Stevenson, March 9, 1893, Leslie P. Ross Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Territory, after the Sac and Fox lands had been opened.[40] On one occasion, those who had been defrauded decided to take direct action. Tom Holland, a black, had collected between $10.00 and $35.00 per family head for land claims around Kingfisher. Sending the men ahead, Holland promised to follow with the women and children—instead he absconded with the money. Learning that they had been cheated, the men overtook Holland and attempted to hang him. Only the timely arrival of his wife, the sheriff and others saved his life.[41]

Eagleson and McCabe used the *Langston City Herald* to expose frauds, but the cases seemed to proliferate, especially in anticipation of new land being opened to settlement. Prospective settlers were advised to beware of bogus agents, and they were given specific instructions on how to make a claim. Such information and advice was passed on by word of mouth and black-owned newspapers, such as the *Topeka Capitol*.[42] Often though, the main source of information, the *Langston City Herald*, never reached the public as local postal workers blocked delivery.[43]

By 1892, the Langston experiment, like black political power, showed signs of failing. Cheap new lands had drawn the settlers away; however, McCabe continued to encourage settlement and promised his devotion to the future of Langston and black land ownership.[44] As proof, he called on Frederick Douglass, who encouraged McCabe to persist. The aging leader regretted that age forced him to remain inactive, but Douglass declared that under the leadership of men like McCabe, Oklahoma Territory could be a black man's blessing. In carefully measured words, Douglass philosophically proclaimed, "It [the land] has no prejudice against color. It yields its treasures as readily to the plow of the black man as to the plow of the white man."[45] Nevertheless, such encouragement did not help Langston.

Perhaps McCabe realized there was little hope that Langston would develop into the city he hoped it would. In spite of encouragement, the town continued to decline, and McCabe lost interest. He had other projects in mind, such as the settlement of Liberty, near Perry in Oklahoma Territory and the development of black political power.[46]

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[40] *Langston City Herald*, January 16, 1892.

[41] *Kingfisher Free Press*, June 23, 1892; *Langston City Herald*, February 20, March 12, April 2, 1892.

[42] *Langston City Herald*, November 14, December 19, 1891, January 2, 1892; *Topeka Capitol*, March 22, 1891.

[43] *Langston City Herald*, January 16, 1892.

[44] *Ibid.*, February 6, 1892.

[45] *Ibid.*, January 30, 1892.

[46] *Oklahoma State Capitol* (Guthrie), September 27, 1893; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, October 18, November 8, 1893.

In spite of his lack of interest in Langston, McCabe was constantly identified with the town, even after he ceased publicizing the effort in 1893. McCabe left the welfare of the town in the hands of A. Lee, J. Meriwether, A. J. Alston and R. Emmitt Stewart, the new owners and editors of the *Langston City Herald*. The new editors, especially Stewart, continued to promote Langston and Oklahoma Territory, but they drifted more and more towards racial conservatism and accommodation. Regardless of their claim that by comparison to other sections of the country, Oklahoma Territory was "the negro paradise and asylum of the world," the area was no paradise for black men.[47]

Life under the Democrats, especially Renfrow, was proving increasingly difficult.[48] Hoping for national recognition by the Republican party, black efforts were shattered when they were denied seats at the national convention of the Republicans in 1892.[49] Still, McCabe thought that the only future for black men was with the party of Lincoln.

Surely aware of the decrease in black migration, McCabe continued to work for the unification of the Republican party and the black voter. In this way, he planned to salvage something for the black man through the spoils system. The white citizens of Oklahoma Territory assumed blacks accepted McCabe as their leader, and the Republican party in Oklahoma Territory was rapidly becoming a minority party. Thus any Republican seeking office in Oklahoma Territory would have to grant favors to McCabe, but not in a way that would anger the white voters.

McCabe's new political activism began to produce results. In 1894, the Republican Territorial League elected him secretary.[50] How much the national depression under Cleveland helped is uncertain, but the Republican party began to make a political comeback. It was easy for grateful Republicans to believe that McCabe had some influence on their success. Therefore when the Territorial Legislature assembled in 1895, he was chosen assistant chief clerk.[51]

In 1896, McCabe identified himself with powerful Republicans such as Cassius M. Barnes, and both men gave much attention to the election of

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47 *Langston City Herald*, January 5, 1893.

48 *Oklahoma State Capitol*, November 25, 1893.

49 *Langston City Herald*, February 20, 1892. Among the list of delegates were Green I. Currin, a member of the first territorial assembly, and H. W. Rolfe, former editor of the *American Citizen*. Currin was from Kingfisher County and Rolfe was from Oklahoma County.

50 *Oklahoma State Capitol*, February 1, 20, 21, March 19, 1894.

51 *Journal of Council Proceedings of the Third Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma, January 8, 1895–March 8, 1895* (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Oklahoma News Publishing Company, 1895), p. 4.

national and local party members. For their efforts, both were rewarded when President William McKinley chose Barnes governor of Oklahoma Territory. Anxious to heal old wounds and unite progressive Oklahomans, Barnes dispensed the patronage with skill—this included giving blacks the college they had demanded. At the same time, he satisfied white voters by abiding by the separate but equal doctrine and designing the school to follow the Tuskegee plan. Accordingly, the legislature of Oklahoma Territory passed a bill on March 12, 1897, to establish the Colored Agricultural and Normal University of the Territory of Oklahoma. What better way to pay off McCabe, and save money, than to locate it on land donated by Langston?[52] Barnes still believed McCabe was deserving of a more tangible reward and in July he was appointed deputy auditor of Oklahoma Territory.[53]

By helping make the decision to locate the "C. A. and N. University" at Langston, McCabe probably saved the town from extinction. Its population had been dwindling for some time, and there were no encouraging signs that the trend would be reversed. Langston was an all black town, but like blacks everywhere, it had very little power. As time passed, black citizens of Oklahoma Territory realized the disadvantage of such failures. Violence and segregation patterns made Oklahoma Territory appear uninviting to black settlers, and without black voters to protect their civil rights, they would become less and less secure.

The census reports for 1900 illustrated how successful white resistance was, and how ineffective McCabe and his followers had been. In 1890, there had been nearly 22,000 blacks in both Oklahoma and Indian Territory. By 1900, this figure had grown to only about 56,000, while the percentage shrank from 8.4 to 7. The black population of Logan County increased from 5.7 to 23 percent, but a great number of blacks were below the age of 10 and lived in Guthrie. As for Langston, its population dipped from perhaps nearly 2,000 to just over 250.[54] Although blacks charged that the 1900 census report was inaccurate, they could hardly avoid the fact that they were losing ground.

Nevertheless, McCabe retained his position in the government while violence and party politics were destroying other black citizens. He was reappointed assistant auditor under Barnes, Thompson B. Ferguson, Wil-

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[52] Teall, *Black History In Oklahoma: A Resource Book*, p. 188.

[53] *Edmond Sun-Democrat*, July 2, 1897.

[54] United States Government, *Negro Population, 1790–1915*, pp. 44, 51, 786–787; Washington, *Historical Development of the Negro in Oklahoma*, pp. 37–39; United States Government, *Population of Oklahoma Territory, 1907*, pp. 8–9.

liam M. Jenkins and Frank Frantz, but was removed from office when the Democrats came to power at statehood. Black leaders opposed statehood and even carried their case to President Theodore Roosevelt, but their efforts failed as violence, race wars and Roosevelt's disinterest reduced their influence.[55] In the end, even McCabe became a casualty.

After becoming assistant auditor in 1897, McCabe was a phantom figure and his power continued to decline as time passed. The Langston *Western Age*, which took over the duties of the *Langston City Herald*, mentioned him only briefly, and McCabe's name did not appear among those who attended social functions at Langston University. In 1908, McCabe filed a suit against segregation legislation in Oklahoma, but had no success.[56] McCabe suffered badly at the hands of those he had trusted in politics, and by September, 1908, he had had enough. With bitterness and emotional strain, he sold his holdings and moved to Chicago, Illinois.[57] He died there in 1920, but his body was returned to Topeka for burial. Tragically, few people took notice because, after statehood, McCabe had drifted into obscurity.[58]

It seems doubtful that McCabe planned to create a black state out of Oklahoma Territory. There simply was no way to move enough black voters into the area. More likely, McCabe hoped to have enough blacks in Oklahoma Territory to guarantee their security, and colonization was a means of accomplishing his goal. To succeed, McCabe counted on white support, but disinterest, dishonesty and violence denied him the needed aid. Thus, the colonization effort, if it were designed to control Oklahoma Territory was doomed to failure from the start.

Nevertheless McCabe benefited from his efforts. He had a good business in Guthrie and his political power increased for awhile; however, there was no evidence that McCabe ever made much money from the movement by illegal means. His action, though, may have played an important part in the failure of the colonization movement. McCabe was the spirit of Langston, and yet when the town was in difficulty, he virtually abandoned it. However, in fairness to McCabe he may have thought that political action would save it and other black communities. It might have, but the talk of making him governor did not help. Nonetheless, McCabe was one of the early leaders of the black colonization effort in Oklahoma Territory and one of the principle reasons for the creation of Langston University.

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[55] Teall, *Black History in Oklahoma: A Resource Book*, pp. 174–184, 203–204; *Western Age* (Langston), March 9, 1906.

[56] *Western Age*, February 28, 1908.

[57] *Western Age*, September 4, October 28, 1908.

[58] E. P. McCabe, Negro History Collection, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society.

☆ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE WILL ROGERS PROJECT

Joe A. Stout, Jr., Assistant Professor and Director of the Will Rogers Project

It was summer in the frozen land of Alaska that fateful day in 1935. A red, low-winged monoplane struggled to become airborne. Suddenly the engine sputtered, and quickly as if plucked from the sky by a powerful silent weapon, the ship plunged awkwardly toward the earth. No sign of life existed in the wreckage, for so destroyed by the impact was the once brightly decorated aeroship that no one could have survived the crash. Thus, on August 15, 1935, died Will Rogers, perhaps the best loved prince of wit and wisdom in the country.

Born in Indian Territory on November 4, 1879, Rogers never forgot his origins; and, he referred constantly in speaking engagements and performances to his native state and Cherokee ancestry. Since his death Rogers has not been forgotten either, for since 1938, 15,000,000 people have visited the Will Rogers Memorial at Claremore, Oklahoma. The late Paula McSpadden Love, curator of the Memorial until 1973, wrote that "75 per cent of the people who visit the memorial were not born at the time of Will Rogers' death, but he is known in each succeeding generation as evidenced by the references to him in papers, magazines and books." She stated "We have calls and written requests from writers, politicians, news commentators, radio and TV producers, business men, advertising agencies and the average citizen who finds in Will Rogers that common sense philosophy and faith in our country that is needed today. I cannot emphasize adequately the importance of making the Will Rogers material available to the public."

Responding to the interest of individuals who have asked that Rogers'

Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society and Will Rogers, Jr., at the presentation of the first volume of the Will Rogers series—*Ether and Me.* Left to right, first row—H. Milt Phillips, George H. Shirk, Genevieve Seger, Mildred Frizzell and Fisher Muldrow. Second row—E. Moses Frye, W. D. Finney, Will Rogers, Jr., Jordan Reaves, V. R. Easterling and LeRoy H. Fischer.

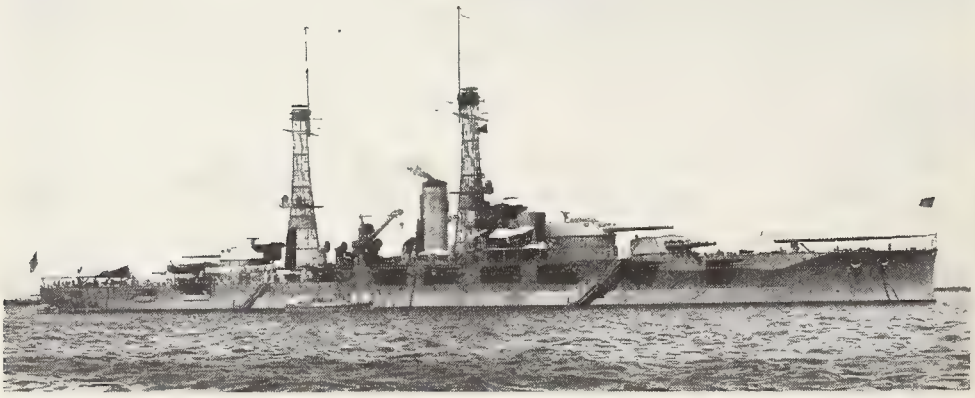
writings be made available, the Will Rogers Memorial Commission and Oklahoma State University have undertaken to publish all of the known writings of the great Oklahoman. The six books that Rogers wrote are being reprinted first, then his other writings, edited in accordance with the rigid standards recommended by scholarly organizations both in history and literature.

Three thousand daily telegrams and seven hundred weekly articles, written between 1922 and 1935 on subjects as varied as Rogers' own curiosity, and aggregating more than 1,000,000 words will be presented in seven volumes. From 1922 through 1932, Rogers attended and wrote about the Presidential Nominating Conventions. His 40,000 words of "gags" or articles will be published as a single volume.

There are more than 500 Rogers' short articles entitled "The Worst Story I've Heard Today." Rogers credited each to a friend, who often was famous, sometimes obscure; typically Rogers added a thought-provoking and timely "moral." These will be published in a single volume.

More than sixty broadcasts which Rogers made between 1930 and 1935 for two sponsored radio programs will be published in one volume. Finally, a rich variety of speeches, interviews, letters and other materials will be presented in one volume.

Thus, the Will Rogers Project at Oklahoma State University is well underway. Volume one, *Ether and Me or "Just Relax,"* was published in May, 1973, and volume two, *There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia and Other Bare Facts*, will be available in November, 1973. Successive volumes will follow each spring and fall until the series is completed. With an undertaking of such magnitude as this publication project, financial and moral support are crucial. The Rogers family, the late Paula M. Love and her husband Robert W. Love, the Will Rogers Commission, members of advisory boards both local and national, and the Oklahoma Historical Society have provided much of the assistance necessary. Individual members of the Historical Society, its president, George H. Shirk, Executive Director, V. R. Easterling, and board of directors have supported this project completely. It is only through the efforts of these individuals and organizations that publication of the *Writings of Will Rogers* can be completed. The support and interest that the Oklahoma Historical Society has given the project is greatly appreciated by all of us working with the Rogers Project.



The *U.S.S. Oklahoma* as it appeared in 1917.

ORDERED HOME

I have heard the bullets whistle; I have seen the bolo kill;
I have seen the war-tribes chanting, from their outposts on the hill;
I know the plague smell of Manila, and the Chino's wily way
And what it means to be a soldier here for fifty cents a day;
But my heart is sad and weary and I wish someone would say:
"There's a transport in the harbor and you're ordered home today."

I've seen the Moro in the palm-grove with murder in his eye,
Heard my "bunkie" calling "Mother" as he's laying down to die,
Seen the fateful mark of "Black-death" on the man just gone along,
Felt the hot breath of a leper in a panic-stricken throng;
So the wanderlust has left me, and I wish that I could say:
"There's a transport in the harbor and I'm ordered home today."

I have seen the Pasig boatman, in his casco floating by,
And the muddy, reeking waters, where the Spanish war-ships lie.
I have slept in running rivers, I have hiked up burning hills.
I have sat and shook and shivered with the fever and the chills;
All the Oriental Jewels for these simple words I'd pay;
"There's a transport in the harbor and I'm ordered home today."

Hark! I hear a siren moaning out beyond Corregidor,
It's a grey old army troop-ship coming from the home-land shore,
And it's calling, softly calling, me to come across the sea,
Where a mother and a sweetheart long and look and wait for me,
And my soldier days are over and I need no longer stay—
"There's a transport in the harbor and I'm ordered home today."

Oklahoma's the magazine of the *U.S.S. Oklahoma*, February, 1917

HAIR AND PAINT MUST BE SHED BY THE INDIAN, SAYS SECRETARY HITCHCOCK

Beauty doctors will be in demand on reservations, when civilized Lo assumes his boiled shirt and attempts to look pretty.

The Secretary of the Interior has issued an edict ordering all Indians to submit to an official hair cut, and to forswear the use of any colored cosmetics, which do not blend in pleasing harmony, with Lo's natural beauty.

The decision of the Secretary was reached after an exhaustive study of the relative influences of the missionaries and barbers.

He advises, that the shears, have never received proper recognition as agents of civilization, and that the only way to consummate the civilization of Lo, is to work from "without" and not from "within."

His reasoning is interesting. He says that while the Indian cannot see the mystic evolution, that is being wrought within him, through the agency of the missionaries, that the polished top of a baking powder can, would put him in touch, with the improvement in his personal appearance, wrought by the barbers.

He thinks that the average brave after a few operations on his hirsute adornment, would become so enamored of himself, that he would soon forget the joys of the festive warpath.

The Secretary, however, has a subsequent course in his scheme of civilization that he thinks will assure its success.

Following the army of barbers, will be a legion of manicurists and masseuses. All of the soil primeval, that has rested secure, under the neglected nails attached to Lo's digits, will be removed, by skilled operators, and his wind roughened cheeks, will respond to the velvety touch of the masseuses.

This, it is averred, will result in Lo blowing in all of his coin on boiled shirts and toilet water instead of gunpowder and fire water.

Vinita, *Indian Chieftain*, January 23, 1902

THE BIG FLOOD

THE RISE UNPRECEDENTED—THOUSANDS OF ACRES SUBMERGED—
STOCK DROWNED AND THE POTATO CROP ALMOST RUINED.

The *Checota Enquirer* of the 6th says:

"A rise of about fifteen feet came down the South Canadian Wednesday night, leaving ruin and desolation in its wake. People living near the treacherous stream fled for their lives and left their earthly possessions to be washed away by the mad and unruly waves. Among the number who were sent to watery graves were the wife and two children of Mr. W. P. Langfitt, who formerly lived at Brush Hill, and was well known in Checotah. The house in which Mr. Langfitt lived is on the highest point in the bottom, but the water came down with such force and velocity that his premises looked as if they would soon be washed away. He gathered his family up and in a skiff he attempted to get out of danger, but the night being dark he lost his way and got tangled in some barbed wire, the mother and children being drowned.

"Other families no doubt were drowned, but as the wires are down and no trains running, it is impossible to learn full particulars. News from there early Thursday morning stated that the river was three miles wide and the people living on both sides of the stream were then seeking safety in the tree tops and had spent the night before there.

Business in Eufaula was suspended and the good people of that town were working with all possible haste constructing skiffs and sending down there to be used in rescuing the unfortunate ones.

"Up to late last night many women and children were still in the tree tops, though the people from Eufaula and points near there were working manfully to rescue them. One party yesterday morning rescued a lady and her twin babies who had spent almost the entire night in a tree. The children were only three weeks old and when relief came the woman was almost prostrated. The railroad bridge across the Canadian is badly damaged—one span being washed away—and no news can be had from that side.

"The North Fork bridge is also supposed to be damaged slightly, besides the track being badly washed at various places."

Dispatches from Wagoner say the whole country around that place has been flooded. Grand River is ten miles wide in places and many families are in their houses in the bottom, surrounded by water and in imminent danger of their lives. As the drift is very bad and the current strong, hundreds of cattle and hogs have been drowned. Cotton, corn and wheat fields have been washed away and many houses have been torn to pieces by the flood.

Fort Smith Elevator, circa 1898

PAULA McSPADDEN LOVE

Paula McSpadden Love
Curator—Will Rogers Memorial for thirty-five years
Born September 13, 1901—Died April 28, 1973

The death of Paula McSpadden Love, Curator of the Will Rogers Memorial at Claremore, Oklahoma, after such a brief illness, came as a shock to those who knew and loved her. Her fragile appearance belied the moral strength, and single-minded iron will that sustained her through the thirty-five years of tiring and often trying service at the Will Rogers Memorial.

Because of her, the memory of her famed "Uncle Will" is still strong and alive nearly thirty-eight years after his death. Paula devoted her life to this purpose.

Everyone called her "Paula"—not out of disrespect, but in recognition of her eternal youth and enthusiasm. Happiness to her was finding a new piece of Will Rogers memorabilia; helping a serious researcher seek out facts; seeing young people "discover" Will Rogers for the first time; hosting the Pocahontas Club tea on November 4, following the annual memorial ceremony; enjoying baseball games or experiencing a quiet evening at home with her husband, Robert.

Through the years, she shunned publicity for herself. "Don't waste your time on me—you just write about Will Rogers," she told more than one person who tried to interview the colorful curator for an article about her life and work.

She had happy memories of her childhood home in Chelsea, Oklahoma—"Maplewood," the big home where Paula and her sisters and her brother grew up, her mother, Sallie, Will's sister who helped raise him and always welcomed him back to Oklahoma with good home cooked meals and all the family gathered around, activities of the Memorial Methodist Church and her student days at Chelsea High School.

Paula attended college at Chickasha, Oklahoma, where she graduated from Oklahoma College for Women in 1926. Later, in 1930, she completed the requirements for a Master of Arts degree from the University of Missouri. She taught English, Music and Speech at highschools in Chelsea and Vinita, Oklahoma, and English at Northeastern State College in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, before being named curator of the Will Rogers Memorial in 1938. She authored numerous articles and one book, *The Will Rogers Book*, published in 1961 and reprinted ten years later.

She was a member of P.E.O. and the Pocahontas Club, Lieutenant Colonel Walter Chiles Chapter of Daughters of American Colonists, a life member of the Claremore Book Club, a member of the Memorial Methodist Church of Chelsea and active on the Library Board for many years.

She was hostess to thousands of noted persons in her home on the grounds of the Memorial—including Hollywood greats Eddie Cantor, Bob Hope, Joel McCrea and many more, as well as big names from the world of business, finance, publishing and education.

Paula weighed them all on the same scales: How sincere were they about their love for Will Rogers? That was all that mattered. And if you were a lowly student, seriously searching for facts, you "weighed" just as much as the V.I.P.'s, and Paula gave as generously of her time and energy.

For her keen mind, her vast store of knowledge, her unselfish determination to foster that unique phenomenon, Will Rogers, she will be remembered. As a result of her friendship, her encouragement and her assistance to other researchers, her work will continue and the memory of Will Rogers will be perpetuated. That is as it should be. That is all Paula ever asked.

Reba Collins
Central State University
Edmond, Oklahoma

ETHER AND ME OR JUST RELAX. By Will Rogers. Edited with an Introduction by Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Will Rogers Memorial Commission and Oklahoma State University, 1973. Pp. 64. Illustrations. $6.50.)

Not every book is worthy of reissue. However, *Ether and Me or Just Relax*, one in an eventual series of six books, is imminently worthy of this distinction. Not only does it focus attention on one of America's great humorists and common-sense philosophers, but it does so at a time when America is going through a curious period of nostalgia and a yearning to "just relax."

The book itself is the story of Will Rogers' gall bladder operation related in a blow by blow account by the patient himself. Although the operation proved to be a serious one for Rogers, he preferred to see the humor of it all and decided to put it down in print and show us the "practical side of humor" by making his operation pay its own way. Of course, as Will Rogers says, "It's hard to be funny when you know the check will only pass through your hands." And so, in his own inimitable style, Rogers traces his illness from the first signs and old-fashioned cures to the final diagnosis with the doctor's gleeful "It's the Gall Bladder—just what I was afraid of." And finally, the illusions he experienced under ether which manifested themselves in a confusion of national and international political satire which hits home even to this day.

Ether and Me was originally serialized in the *Saturday Evening Post* of November 5 and 12, 1927. The story was well received and was later published in book form by G. P. Putnam's Sons. The book was reprinted twelve times, beginning in 1935 with the memorial edition. This new edition presents the original manuscript as sent to the *Saturday Evening Post* with Rogers' corrections and annotations plus the original illustrations and drawings which all add to the value of the book.

Dr. Stout and the committee have done an excellent job in this first book of Will Rogers' to be reprinted under their supervision and that of the Oklahoma State University Press. Will Rogers' wit and humor which was so popular in the 1920s and 1930s is again available, and this book should be of great interest to scholars and of great enjoyment to the general public.

Patricia Lester
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

THE CATTLE-TRAILING INDUSTRY: BETWEEN SUPPLY AND DEMAND, 1866–1890. By Jimmy M. Skaggs. (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1973. Pp. v, 173. Charts. Map. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $8.00.)

When the average reader picks an economic history book off of a library shelf, he usually replaces it instantly in its nook, heaves a sigh of disgust and walks away. This will not be the case with this book. Dr. Skaggs tells the activities of those transportation agents who contracted the delivery of cattle from Texas to northern markets and who acted as middlemen in the process of supply and demand. A transportation agent was a hip-pocket businessman who exemplified the American genius to improvise and innovate. Their motivation was pure and simple profit. From 1866 to 1890, Texans ignored the railways and chose to hire contractors to herd their beeves to market because it was cheaper and relieved them of the responsibility of the drive. Some contractors would speculate and buy the beeves from their owners in Texas and then drive the cattle northward in hopes of higher profits, while others simply drove them and upon delivery received a percentage of the owner's profit. There were many problems encountered in these drives—Indians, farmers and quarantines. Texas longhorns were immune to the fever but the cattle met along the drive were not; thus ranchers in Missouri and even Kansas would call for or maintain quarantines. Often when this was allowed to occur, it would be the death blow to many of those states' towns which had grown chiefly because of the Texan cattle drives. This is one economic impact of trailing which historians often brush over.

Trail traffic was the basis of the economy for many frontier villages. Small towns competed for the business from the thirsty, lonely and trail battered drovers who were never known to be tight fisted with their money. Although Texans such as John Lytle, Eugene Millet and Ike Pryor established personal fortunes as contractors while providing jobs for drovers, services for ranchers and a fluid economic base for frontier cattle towns, they also prolonged the establishment of the meat packing industry in Texas which would have brought even greater profits. Dr. Skaggs states that the quarantines had the most dramatic effect in closing the cattle trails but admits that eventually barbed wire, irate farmers or improved and more reasonably priced rail transportation would have led to the same end.

Although Dr. Skaggs is a young historian, he has published profusely and with this work, the reader can see why editors accept his work. His approach towards writing economic history is artistic and scientific. With the skill of a maestro conducting an orchestra, he leads the reader carefully through a symphony of movements which systematically support his basic

thesis. His usage of alliteration and humor were most enjoyable to this reader. Myths about cattle driving are refuted which is good, for too many novelists or motion picture producers have ignored fact and elevated the drover to a romanticized superhuman. This is the first study of the trailing contractor to be written and, as his footnotes and bibliography demonstrate, Dr. Skaggs did not approach his work flippantly. All students of western history should read this book and it would be a good example for other economic historians to follow if they want people to purchase and read their books.

Cheryl Haun Morris
Enid, Oklahoma

MISSION TO THE CHEROKEES. By O. B. Campbell. (Oklahoma City: Metro Press, Inc., 1973. Pp. x, 142. Photographs, Map, Sources, $5.00.)

In the wilderness of Arkansas four dedicated missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions founded Dwight mission in the fall of 1819. Thus began over one hundred years of service to the Cherokees. The primary purpose of the undertaking was conversion of the Indians, but it was in educational activities that Dwight left its greatest impact on Cherokee history. In 1829, the missionaries moved their work to the new Cherokee lands in present-day eastern Oklahoma. From then until 1948, the schools of Dwight educated hundreds of Indian children. Dwight school provided elementary education for both boys and girls until 1841, when the Cherokee Council set up a system of common schools for boys. From 1841 until 1895 with an interruption caused by the Civil War, Dwight operated as a boarding school for girls. This work ended in 1895, and only a day school remained in operation. In 1900, the Dwight Indian Training School was opened. This was a boarding school for both boys and girls and provided manual training. However, this era in the history of the Mission ended in tragedy in a series of fires including a fire in 1918 that killed thirteen boys in the boys' dormitory. After another building was burned in 1919, the school was closed until 1922 when a school was reopened, producing in 1927 Dwight's only high school graduating class. After 1930, only elementary education was continued, and in 1948, Dwight finally closed its doors. In addition to its work as a school, Dwight was also the sight of a printing press that published literature in the Cherokee language.

Mr. Campbell has done the student of Oklahoma and Indian history a very valuable service in producing this work. He has conducted research in

original source documents and has told the story well. The addition of photographs gives the reader an important aid in understanding the history of the mission. However, the book does suffer from several stylistic and technical errors. The most serious flaw is the usage of long quotes without detailed indication as to their source. Stylistically, the book could be improved, but despite these marrs on the surface of an otherwise important work, *Mission To The Cherokees* is of great interest to the student of Indian history, for it shows that not all white men who dealt with the Red Man were guilty of the injustice now being emphasized in some popular works on Indian history. The book is also of great value to the student of Oklahoma history, because of the attention given to the earliest phases of settlement in the eastern part of the state.

Warren B. Morris, Jr.
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

ANATOMY OF FOUR RACE RIOTS: RACIAL CONFLICT IN KNOXVILLE, ELAINE (ARKANSAS), TULSA AND CHICAGO, 1919–1921. By Lee E. Williams and Lee E. Williams II. (Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1972. Pp. xv, 128. Bibliography. Index. Appendix. $5.95.)

For many reasons, World War I made neither the world nor America "safe" for democracy. Perhaps no one knew this better than black Americans. They returned home from their military duty in this "moral" war or looked back at their newly-acquired positions in American society and speculated that the future offered them promise. But they were caught in the vice of racial hate, economic discrimination, fear and mistrust. The racists had to "put them in their place." The pressure and Black resistance to it resulted in numerous race riots in the post-war period. The tragedy is that these disorders, discussed in *Anatomy of Four Race Riots*, are still pertinent today.

Lee Williams and Lee Williams II construct an interesting and judiciously-balanced narrative of race riots in Knoxville, Tennessee; Phillips County, Arkansas; Chicago, Illinois and; Tulsa, Oklahoma. The story of these riots has been covered by numerous scholars before, so the authors of this work traverse familiar ground. In this very brief summary, there is little opportunity for substansive evaluation of the riot atmosphere. Thus the major criticism—this treatment raises far too many questions and offers too little material for answers. Perhaps more thorough research—and there is no indication that new and extensive digging was done here—would have

provided some answers. The questions are begging for answers. What were the general and specific attitudes of the local police agencies, businessmen, clergymen, academia, politicians and labor leaders that would help one understand cause and effect? There are parallels between the fundamental and immediate causes behind the riots of 1919 and 1921, and those of more than forty years later. What were they? Are they still relevant? Are such disorders inevitable as lower socio-economic groups climb? The story is far from complete.

Anatomy of Four Race Riots has merit. The authors bring together and compare, in readable form, four of the most tragic race riots in American history. The work is brief, but it is a convenient summary of some important information that should serve to stimulate the inquisitive to explore the causes of race riots. And this, after all, is most crucial. What can we learn about our racial bigotry today from the riots of 1919–1921? With such a demanding question, it is indeed unfortunate that the authors chose to write so little. The text did not live up to the promises of the "Foreword." White violence and black resistance to this form of racism is still in need of in-depth analysis.

Jere W. Roberson
Edmond, Oklahoma

CASE OF MARCUS A. RENO. By Barry C. Johnson. (London: English Westerners' Society, 1969. Pp. 92. Illustrations. Notes. $5.50.)

This book's appearance indicates that any remaining public appetite for additional information surrounding George Armstrong Custer will inevitably be satisfied. The controversial cavalryman's "Last Stand" has attracted the attention of dozens of authors, who have not neglected his fellow participants in the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Among the more significant of the secondary figures was Marcus A. Reno. Regardless of the existence of several biographies dealing with Major Reno, the English Westerners' Society has seen fit to add this present study to the list.

Mr. Johnson does not claim to have written a full scale biography, choosing instead to concentrate on his subject's career following the association with Custer. Essentially the book is divided into three parts: the Reno Courts-Martial of 1877 and 1879, attempts to reinstate Reno after dismissal from the army and the 1967 Correction Board Hearing to change the record of dishonorable discharge. The author strives to clarify and correct previous Reno biographers whose work he condemns in one case as "appallingly bad" and in others as "pathologically biased."

Students of western history are already familiar with Major Reno's actions at the Little Bighorn and their contradictory explanations. They will enjoy this account of an army officer, seemingly dogged by bad luck through two court martials based on flimsy grounds, dismissal from the service and unsuccessful attempts to regain his commission. Defenders of Reno will gladly note the 1967 hearing before a government board which exonerated the unhappy officer and posthumously awarded him an honorable discharge. The story while frequently intriguing as a commentary on army life in the Victorian period is pedestrian and contains far too many quotes.

Terry Wilson
Oklahoma State University

WHERE THE WAGON LED: ONE MAN'S MEMORIES OF THE COWBOY'S LIFE IN THE OLD WEST. By R. D. Symons. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1973. Pp. xxxii, 343. Illustrations. Glossary. $8.95.)

R. D. Symons' experiences as a ranch hand began for the English youth of sixteen when he arrived in the Cypress Hills area of southwestern Saskatchewan in 1914. For the next fifty years he was never far from horses—which he loved—and cattle, which it appears he tolerated primarily because they contributed to the utility of his equine friends. He is an artist of considerable talent and has enriched his work with several sketches and carefully detailed observations in the text which evince the trained eye.

The livestock lore which has been included, and there is a considerable amount, is not new. The strength and uniqueness of the story is gained from the legitimate source—the wealth of experiences recounted by an articulate, sharply aware author-cowhand with a keen sense of humor who overtly expresses great admiration for horses and, with more subtlety, a deep concern and compassion for his fellow man. Perceptive and skillful biographical sketches and vignettes of Canadian cowboys appear with regularity in *Where the Wagon Led*.

There are neither footnotes, maps, photographs, nor bibliography. Regardless of the absence of these accoutrements, and Symons' tendency to digress, there is adequate cohesion and unity to portray the cowboy's life in Canada's Old West. Somewhat more questionable is his concluding nostalgic argument, on an ecological basis, for a return to the pre-technological society and the days when horsemen could roam the fenceless prairies.

Gail E. Balman
Edmond, Oklahoma

THE MAGIC WORLD: AMERICAN INDIAN SONGS AND POEMS. Edited by William Brandon. (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1971. Pp. xiv, 145. Introduction. Postface. $6.00.)

With the pioneering scholarship of Christoph Meiners, Gustav Klemm and Theodor Waitz, modern anthropology began to develop during the nineteenth century. Since that time, most scholars have valued American Indian songs and poems for mainly ethnological information. Yet the poetry and lyrics of any culture has an artistic value which is inherent in any form of literature. Attempting to express the esthetic worth of the poetry of the American Indian, William Brandon has compiled this anthology of American Indian songs and poems. In selecting these eighty pieces of Indian literature, his "only criterion has been, do the lines feel good, moving?" In this effort to capture the literary spirit, Brandon had admirably succeeded.

The unifying theme for this collection is that of magic, hence the title *The Magic World*. Rather than narrowly defining "magic" as merely sorcery or artificially created illusions, Brandon claims that all Indian poetry comes from a magic world which is "simply that which can not be understood in prose." For Brandon, then, the magic world is the Indian conception of reality which only poetry can adequately express. In this sense, Brandon's world of magic is similar to Friedrick Albert Lange's "world of posey" which is the union of the spiritual and physical realities.

An example of this poetically conveyed reality is the place death has assumed in these Indian songs which display a deep, abiding respect for nature. The end of the life of all individual living things is necessary for the unending process of nature. As such, quiet resignation, not sadness, accompanies death.

This anthology of Indian poetry and lyrics suffers from the same affliction which plagues any translation of verse. While the English wording may be an accurate translation from the original tongue, the process can not capture the rhythm of the native language. To minimize this problem, Brandon has creatively spaced the poetry across the printed page to convey this lost sense of linguistic movement. While the selections come from such geographically diverse tribes as the Mayas, the Eskimos and the Iroquois, those interested in Oklahoma history will be disappointed that the choice of poems has emphasized the Indians of the southwestern United States and northern Mexico. Eight selections come from the Nahuatl tribe, six from the Pima, five from the Navajo, and three come from the Five Civilized tribes.

Regardless, most readers will be more than satisfied with this brief, succinct collection of lyrics and poetry of the American Indians.

Thomas Elton Brown
Stillwater, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: July 26, 1973

The July quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met at 10:00 a.m., July 26, 1973 in the Board Room. Vice President H. Milt Phillips presided over the meeting in the absence of President George H. Shirk.

Dr. V. R. Easterling, Executive Director, called the roll. Those members present were Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, O. B. Campbell, Joe W. Curtis, Harry L. Deupree, M. D., W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Mrs. John Frizzell, E. Moses Frye, Nolen J. Fuqua, Denzil D. Garrison, Dr. A. M. Gibson, John E. Kirkpatrick, W. E. McIntosh, Dr. James Morrison, Earl Boyd Pierce, Miss Genevieve Seger, and H. Merle Woods. Lou S. Allard, Fisher Muldrow, Jordan B. Reaves and George H. Shirk had asked to be excused. Dr. Gibson moved that those who had asked, be excused. Mr. Woods seconded the motion, which passed.

Gen. Frye moved to approve the minutes of the January 25, 1973 meeting, the motion was seconded by Mr. Woods and passed.

A discussion led by Vice President Phillips followed in which it was agreed that the Membership Committee should meet to prepare a procedure to be followed by the Executive Director in submitting membership applications, honorary memberships, and Certificates of Commendation to the Board for approval. The Chairman of the Membership Committee, Mrs. Frizzell, was asked to make a report at the October, 1973 meeting.

Dr. Easterling's Executive Director's report touched on the activities and developments in the Society since the April 26 meeting—the Eightieth Anniversary weekend of May 26-27; the start of the new fiscal year July 1; and the retirement of Miss Muriel H. Wright from her long, official capacity as Editor of THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA. A recognition dinner, probably early in September, will be held in her honor.

Gifts received by the Society during the quarter were noted by Dr. Easterling, as well as requests for annual and life memberships. There were 56 annual members and the five new life members were Mrs. William E. Harrell, Gary Meador, Van J. Sparks, Mrs. Daniel G. Wiley, and Fred H. Zahn. Mr. John Wilson was suggested as an honorary member for one year for the long hours he gave as a volunteer in the Museum. Miss Seger moved that the gifts be accepted and the applicants for membership be elected. Senator Garrison seconded the motion, and all approved.

Mrs. Bowman, Treasurer, presented the financial report for the quarter and asked Mrs. LaJeanne McIntyre, staff financial secretary, to explain the transfer of accounts as directed by the State Treasurer's office and the State Budget office in accordance with the provisions of Senate Bill 115. Board members were informed Dr. Easterling and Mrs. McIntyre met personally with the State Budget Office Director, the Attorney General's representative, the State Examiner and Inspector, and a member of the State Legislative Council one year ago in order to develop a system of accounts compatible with State directives. The complex nature of these meetings was brought out by Dr. Easterling and Mrs. McIntyre, both of whom stressed the problems that have had to be solved as the Society's budget has grown.

By implementing accounting practices as directed by the above officials, the Oklahoma Historical Society is in conformity with the provisions of Senate Bill 115 passed and signed into law April 27, 1973, Dr. Easterling told the Board. In addition, SB 115 allowed special accounts for particular purposes and under that clause the Oklahoma Historical Society has created two special accounts, Easterling reported. They are Account No. 1350-A for Special Organized Activities (Tours, Luncheons, Dinners), and account No. 1350-B for Gifts and Bequests made by Individuals, Foundations, or other Donors for a Purpose Specified by the Donor.

By official action of the Board, the operational fees owed the Society by the Endowment Fund and the Membership Fees owed the Endowment Fund by the Society were forgiven for the fiscal year 1973.

Mr. Curtis moved to accept the Treasurer's report, but requested the Executive Committee give further study to the funding of the Society, especially state appropriated funds, so that a more adequate report can be made to the Board. Miss Seger seconded the motion, and it carried.

In response to an earlier request by Dr. Easterling, Mr. McIntosh outlined the duties of the Historic Sites Committee:

1. To investigate all sites proposed for historical recognition before they are submitted to the Board for approval.

2. To investigate the proposed sites to determine their historical significance.

3. To determine the cost of acquiring and marking a site judged to be of historical significance.

4. To report in writing to the Board the conclusions of an investigation.

Mr. Bass moved that this outline of duties be accepted by the Board, Mr. Fuqua seconded the motion, which passed.

Mr. McIntosh moved that Fort Gibson Stockade have a standing committee with the following members: Q. B. Boydstun, Chairman, Earl Boyd

Pierce, O. B. Campbell, and Bob Foresman. Mr. Pierce seconded the motion and it received unanimous approval.

An amendment was proposed by Mr. Pierce stating that the title of the commission should be "old Fort Gibson Commission of the Oklahoma Historical Society." The amendment was seconded by Mr. Fuqua and passed.

The matter of membership replacement of the commission was considered. Dr. Morrison was asked for his views and, speaking from long experience as Chairman of the Fort Washita Commission, he observed that the Chairman serves "Until death do us part." Vice President Phillips asked Mr. McIntosh if that is what he wanted for the Old Fort Gibson Commission and he replied, "Exactly." The suggestion met with unanimous approval.

Mr. McIntosh urged Board members to bring to the attention of the Historic Sites Committee any site in the state not yet officially recognized for its historical importance.

Dr. Morrison reported that $80,000 is now available for the second floor and roof of the South Barracks at Fort Washita.

Dr. Morrison thanked the Board for the Special Awards plaque presented to him at the Annual Luncheon. He referred to the belief of John Donne that "No man is an island," and gave credit to the Board members, the Oklahoma Historical Society, and thousands of people who helped him in the development of Fort Washita. He then announced that he will retire at Southeastern State College on July 31, 1973.

Vice President Phillips recommended to the Board that Mr. Wendell E. Howell be dropped from all official duties of the Society and particularly the Fort Washita Commission. Mr. Phillips recommended that Mr. Jordan B. Reaves be approved to succeed Howell to this Commission. Dr. Deupree moved that this recommendation be accepted by the Board, Gen. Frye seconded, and the motion was passed.

The Publications Committee report was given by Dr. Easterling in the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Shirk. He told of the interview with four applicants for the position of Editor of THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA, and the decision of the Committee to appoint Dr. Kenny A. Franks as the new Editor to succeed Dr. Muriel H. Wright. Dr. Easterling gave a brief resumé of Dr. Franks' qualifications—academic training at the University of Oklahoma, Central State University, and his masters and doctorate in history from Oklahoma State University. He has had numerous articles published, and his doctoral dissertation, "Stand Watie and the Agony of the Cherokee Nation," will probably also be published. Sen. Garrison moved that the Board approve the selection of Dr. Franks. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion, which passed.

The Museum has received wonderful support in upgrading its standing, according to Dr. Fischer in his report. The Committee is hopeful that the Museum will be fully accredited when it is again reviewed by the American Museum accreditation team.

Two persons have been added to the Museum staff—Mark Cantrell, Museum attendant, will work in the Museum during the hours when the regular professional staff will not be present. He will also be able to relieve the professional staff from routine duties, enabling them to give more time to the technical and professional aspects of museum work.

Mrs. Fred (Flora) Olds will join the staff as Exhibits Designer.

Dr. Fischer told of the meeting in the spring of 1973 of the Honey Springs Commission in Mr. James Leake's office. No additional action regarding the Honey Springs Battlefield was taken at that time. Mr. Leake has asked to be relieved of the chairmanship of the Commission, but agreed to remain a member. Mr. Leake and Mr. Shirk recommended the appointment of Mr. Q. B. Boydstun as chairman and Mr. Boydstun accepted.

The Heritage Clubs formed under the guidance of the Society's Education Division have received a great deal of support from many schools throughout the state, but Mr. Foresman, in presenting the report of the Education Committee, again stressed the need for another person to work with Mr. Bruce Joseph to establish more clubs. The young people who develop an interest in the history of their region and of the state will be the leaders in the preservation of history in the future, Foresman stressed. The quality of their training now is vitally important, he emphasized.

Mrs. Frizzell brought out the purposes of the Membership Committee—these purposes are threefold:

1. Liaison spokesmen on matters pertaining to membership.
2. Serve to screen suggestions from every source for development and improvement.
3. Standby reserve unit ready to assist Board on membership drives.

Mrs. Frizzell presented several plans used by other organizations in soliciting financial support.

Dr. Easterling gave the Tour Committee report. Mr. Phillips had asked last Spring to be relieved as Chairman of the Tour Committee. Mr. Fisher Muldrow had recommended to the Executive Committee that a professional tour agency be utilized in the future. Dr. Easterling asked for a volunteer to consult with an agency and Dr. Deupree offered his assistance.

Dr. Easterling told of an informal meeting held by Mr. Shirk to develop a Tinker Area Air Force Museum. President Shirk appointed Gen. Melvin F. McNickle to serve as Chairman of the Committee with Gen. Fred S. Borum and Mr. Clarence Page as members. Mr. Curtis moved that the new

Committee and its members be approved, Mr. Woods seconded the motion and it was passed.

Dr. Easterling reported that he had attended a meeting of agency heads called by Governor David Hall. The Governor requested that the line be held through non-replacement of personnel and that salary adjustments would come later. Agency budgets must be in by September 1, 1973.

Dr. Fischer gave a brief report on a proposed awards program, which has been discussed by the Executive Committee. In this program, annual awards would be presented to persons in various categories who have written outstanding historical works. The Board discussed various aspects of the program. Mr. Pierce then moved that the Board adopt the preliminary report as a general guideline, and that Dr. Fischer present the completed report at the October meeting. Sen. Garrison seconded, and it passed.

The No Man's Land Historical Museum lease was presented to the Board for approval by Dr. Easterling. He explained that the lease was similar to the ones for the Oklahoma Territorial Museum and Old Central. This lease will be reviewed in eleven months in order to determine whether or not it should be renewed. Mr. McIntosh moved that the Board approve the signing of the lease and Mrs. Frizzell seconded. Motion passed.

Mr. Pierce moved that the Executive Director be directed to discuss with the Executive Committee all lease or rental agreements which would obligate the public funds or the funds of the Oklahoma Historical Society before asking the Board for approval. This motion was seconded by Mr. Curtis and passed.

Mr. Pierce raised the question of security for items in the Museum in times of civil unrest or potentially dangerous weather conditions. He expressed the confidence of the Board that the Executive Director, or Mr. Jack Wettengel, second in command in Dr. Easterling's absence, and the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society will take all necessary precautions.

A lease for the Museum of the Western Prairie was brought before the Board by Dr. Easterling for approval. This lease followed the same form as that for the No Man's Land Museum. Dr. Morrison so moved that the Board, subject to the President's approval, approve the lease. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion and it was passed.

A third meeting with the Tom Mix Museum Committee in Dewey is being planned to work on the terms of the lease of that Museum, Dr. Easterling reported.

Dr. Easterling urged the Board members to study the Annual Preservation Program carefully in order that they can be helpful in getting priority projects funded.

The Auditorium in the Historical Building received an appropriation of

$15,000 for the coming year to be used for improvements. Dr. Easterling stated that the Auditorium is to become a useful site for continuing education.

Miss Helen Biggers was recommended by Dr. Easterling to receive the Society's Certificate of Commendation for the invaluable assistance she has given to the Museum, both in donations of items used in many Museum exhibits, and in technical advice regarding exhibits. Mrs. Frizzell moved that Miss Biggers be notified of the commendation and that she be honored at the 1974 Annual Meeting. Miss Seger seconded this motion, and all approved.

President Shirk, through Dr. Easterling, requested that the Board accept $82,082 in matching funds from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. These funds will be used in developing the historic sites assigned to the Historical Society for preservation. Mr. McIntosh so moved, Mrs. Bowman seconded, and the motion passed.

The official approval of the new seal of the Oklahoma Historical Society was postponed for consideration at the October meeting.

Dr. Easterling announced that MISTLETOE LEAVES will be a monthly newsletter. The first issue was mailed recently to all members and subscribers.

November 28, 1973 has been designated as the official opening date of the Frank Phillips Mansion in Bartlesville, Dr. Easterling reported. This property was donated to the Society by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Irwin, daughter and son-in-law of the Oklahoma oilman. Appropriate ceremonies are being planned for the November 27–28 period in Bartlesville.

Mr. Boydstun brought to the attention of the Board the fact that Fort Gibson will be 150 years old in April, 1974. He requested the Board to approve the appointment of Dr. Easterling to assist with the planning of the sesquicentennial celebration. Mrs. Bowman so moved and Mr. Curtis seconded the motion. The motion was passed.

Dr. Fischer told the Board that Mr. Campbell has published a book, A MISSION TO THE CHEROKEES (DWIGHT MISSION). Proceeds of the book will go to Dwight Mission.

Dr. Deupree asked what the Society's role in the country's Bicentennial celebration would be. Dr. Easterling said that President Shirk and he were members of the Bicentennial Commission of Oklahoma and that Mr. Shirk was on the Executive Committee. President Shirk is Chairman of Heritage '76 and Dr. Easterling is Vice Chairman. Dr. Easterling has been requested to help with a "Meeting House" proposal which will be funded by a Congressional appropriation.

Mrs. Bowman asked the Board to view the Oklahoma State Art Collection

on loan from the Oklahoma Art Center. The collection will be displayed in the West Gallery of the Museum through September 2.

Mrs. Frizzell requested that the Board commend Dr. Muriel H. Wright for her years of service to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Sen. Garrison moved that Dr. Easterling be authorized to write a Resolution which will adequately express the affection for, and the appreciation of Miss Muriel Wright as felt by each member of this Board and by all of those who, over the years have been associated with Miss Wright. Miss Seger seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Meeting adjourned at 1:20 p.m.

H. MILT PHILLIPS
Vice President

V. R. EASTERLING
Executive Director

GIFT LIST FOR SECOND QUARTER, 1973

LIBRARY:

Messages and Papers of the Presidents, one complete set of twenty volumes.
Donor: Walter Nashert, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Surging Seventies, Research by Betty Brown of Oklahoma Department of Libraries; arranged by Charles Campbell, 1973.
Donor: Betty Brown and Oklahoma Fixture Co. representing Library Bureau.

Genealogy of the James Hammill Family from 1770 to 1972. Compiled by The Rev. M. Nash Hamill.
Donor: Compiler, Lauderdale, Mississippi.

Boomtown—A Portrait of Burkburnett by Minnie King Benton, 1972.
Donor: Author of Burkburnett, Texas.

America's Bicentennial Bulletins and Folios.
Periodical—Assembly Program and Registration Data, No. 15, Spring 1973.
The National Register of Historic Places 1972.
American Name Society Bulletin #30, March 1973.
"Location of Camp Alice—The Birth of Oklahoma City" by Freda T. Cavnar, 1972.
Position Paper on the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center (O.U. Medical Center) by Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, April 1973.
Consultant Service Grant Program—An Interim Report—July 1972.
Service Priorities Study March 1973.
Program Study Report on St. Joseph's Home, February 1973.
Programs and booklets from National Cowboy Hall of Fame, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Tornado—A United States Department of Commerce Publication, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.
"A Conference Between the Cherokees of the East, West and U!"
American Citizenship Center at Oklahoma Christian College, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Constitutional Revision—Cases and Commentary, edited by David R. Morgan and Samuel A. Kirkpatrick for The Oklahoma Academy on State Goals, Bureau of Government Research, University of Oklahoma, January, 1970.
The Plan of Government of the Parish of East Baton Rouge and City of Baton Rouge, 1949.
The City Plan for Oklahoma City—Report of the City Planning Commission, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1930.
The Master Plan for the Medical Center Improvement and Zoning District, 1954.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma City Air Service Command Maintenance Division, ca 1943.
Donor: Mrs. Gerald H. Kees, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Clippings regarding Hobart and Lone Wolf by Clyde Callahan, 1973.
Donor: Author of Hobart, Oklahoma.

Thesis: *Amiel Weeks Whipple: Boundary and Railroad Surveys in the Southwest, 1849–1854*, by Thomas L. Scharf, 1973, University of San Diego, California.
Donor: Author, San Diego, California.

A Brief of Thesis of Dr. E. E. Dale: A History of the Range Cattle Industry in Oklahoma (with special reference to Federal Regulations). Prepared by Richard B. Hall, Real Estate Consultant and Appraiser and Mrs. Anne J. Troskoff, Associate, Washington, D.C.
Donor: Richard B. Hall of Washington, D.C.

"Jewels of Masonic Eloquence"—Oklahoma Lodge of Research, Vol. II, 1973 reprint of 1915 edition.
Donor: Yearbook Committee of Free Masonry, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

History of Man's Faith by Grant W. Danielson, 1970.
Donor: Author, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Bulletin of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society, Vol. XXI, for 1972, ed. Don G. Wyckoff, 1973.
Donor: Oklahoma Anthropological Society, Norman, Oklahoma.

The Housewares Story—A History of the American Housewares Industry by Earl Lifshey, 1973.
Donor: National Housewares Manufacturers Association, Chicago, Illinois.

Willie and I by Ivan D. Brown, Broken Arrow, Oklahoma, 1972.
Donor: George L. Brown, Bixby, Oklahoma.

Kentucky Bible Records Vol. V. Compiled and edited by Malle B. Coyle and Lorena C. Eubanks, 1971.
Donor: Mrs. Robert Hasskarl, Ada, Oklahoma.

Album of Susan Jane Hedden, 1833–1884.
Journal of Mrs. Lewis Brown, 1866 into 1890's.
Journal of Mary Brown Joslyn 1883 into 1900's.
Complete collection of forty-one small diaries are all handwritten.
Donor: Mrs. Myrtle Creason, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

A History of Oklahoma's First American Legion Post, Tulsa, Oklahoma, by George E. Norvell.
Donor: Author, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

A History of the Men's Dinner Club 1908–1971.
Donor: Herbert L. Branan, Vice Pres. and Secretary on behalf of The Dinner Club.

Genealogy of "Old and New Cherokee Indian Families" by George Morrison Bell, 1972.
Donor: Carl M. and Ella Bell Capps, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in memory of their son, Jack A. Capps.

Mineola: The First 100 Years 1873–1973.
Donor: Mineola Chamber of Commerce, Mineola, Texas.

Old Sturbridge Village 1972–1973.
Donor: The President of Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts.

Glorious Heritage—The Golden Book Documentary—History of the Church of the Living God.
Dedication Program—The Church of the Living God, 3520 North Kelly, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1972.
Donor: Bishop F. C. Scott, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Microfilm: 1850 Census Washington Co., Ohio.
1860 Census Vermillion Co., Illinois.
1860 Census Vermillion Co., Indiana.
1860 Census Madison & Marshall Co., Virginia.
1860 Census Ohio Co., Virginia.
1880 Census Vermillion Co., Illinois.
1880 Soundex Roll 79 Indiana.
1880 Soundex Roll 107 Illinois.
Donor: George Stiers, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Map: Oil and Gas Fields of State of Oklahoma, January 1937; information compiled from Oklahoma Geological Survey and United States Geological Survey. Drawn by Hughes Engineering Co., Commerce Exchange Building of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Donor: Harold Dobson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, by George H. Shirk.

Single copy *My Oklahoma*, Vol. 1, #3, June 1927.
Single copy *Harlow's Weekly*, April 9, 1927 of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Donor: William Dresia of San Rafael, California, through Mrs. Martha Blaine, Indian Archives.

Ether and Me or "Just Relax" by Will Rogers, 1973 reprint. Autographed by Will Rogers, Jr., 1973.
Donor: Will Rogers, Jr. through Dr. V. R. Easterling.

Reporter's Notebook by Mac McGilliard, 1973.
Donor: Author, Ardmore, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Educational Directory and Requirements for State Certificates, 1909–1910, from former library of I. L. Cook.
Donor: Rowe Cook, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Mid-South Bible Records, Vol. I by Fort Assumption D.A.R. Chapter of Memphis, Tennessee, 1967.
Our Heritage—Amor Patriae of San Antonio Genealogical & Historical Society, Vol. 4, #4, July 1963.
The Genealogical Bulletin, Fort Worth Genealogical Society, 1963.
Car-Del Scribe, Burlington, Vermont, 14 back issues.
Louisiana Colonials: Soldiers and Vagabonds—Translated and Compiled by Winston DeVille, 1963.
New Orleans Genesis, Vol. 4, No. 13, Jan. 1965, Nos. 15 & 16; Vol. 5, Nos. 17, 19, & 20, 1966.
Donor: Charlie Hallum, Apache, Oklahoma.

Collection of Oklahoma Postal Cancellation stamped envelopes.
Donor: Mrs. Alice Voris, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Letter from Sen. J. W. Harreld, February 24, 1927.
Donor: Sidney Lewis, Jacksonville, Florida.

Ancestors and Descendants of John Scheidt and Anna Maria Elizabeth Frenzel by Kathryn S. Carter, June 1973. (2 copies).
Donor: Author/compiler of Tecumseh, Oklahoma.

The Annual 1905, Logan County (Okla.) High School.
The Annual 1906, Logan County (Okla.) High School.
Donor: Mrs. J. R. Weldon, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

A History of Riverside Indian School Anadarko, Oklahoma 1871–1971, by Ruby W. Shannon, Oklahoma.
Riverside Indian School 100th Year.
Donor: Faculty of Riverside School, Anadarko, Oklahoma.

Archaeology of the Morrett Site, Colima by Clement W. Meighan; Vol. 7 of Publications in Anthropology of University of California at Berkeley, 1972.
Donor: University of California Research Library, Los Angeles, California.

Hugo Reservoir III—A Report on the Early Formative Cultural Manifestations in Hugo Reservoir and in the Caddoan Area by Charles L. Rohrbaugh, 1973.
Donor: Oklahoma River Basin Survey, Norman, Oklahoma.

Genealogical Periodicals:

The Family Tree, Vol. XIV, 1971.
The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine, Vol. 27, 1971.
New Mexico Genealogist, Vol. 11, 1972.
St. Louis Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 4, 1971; Vol. 5, 1972.
The Researcher, 1972.

Northland Newsletter, Vol. 4, 1972.
The Descender, Vol. 4, 1971; Vol. 5, 1972.
Ohio Records and Pioneer Families, Vol. 12, 1971; Vol. 13, 1972.
Orange County California Genealogical Society, Vol. 8, 1971; Index 1971; Vol. 9, 1972.
Kern-Gen Vol. 8, 1971; Vol. 9, 1972.
Midwest Genealogical Register, Vol. 7, 1972.
The Treesearcher of Kansas Genealogical Society, Vol. 13, 1971.
The Southern Genealogist's Exchange Quarterly, Vol. 13, 1972.
Gleanings, Vol. 5, 1971; Vol. 6, 1972.
Copper State Bulletin, Vol. 7, 1971.
Illinois State Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 3, 1971.
Genealogical Reference Builders Newsletter, Vol. 4, 1970; Vol. 5, 1971.
Illiana Genealogist, Vol. 7, 1971; Vol. 8, 1972.
Central Illinois Genealogical Quarterly, Vol. 8, 1972.
The Prairie Gleaner, Vol. 1, 1969–70; Vol. 3, 1971–1972.
The Georgia Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 5, 1969; Vol. 6, 1970.
Mississippi Genealogical Exchange, Vol. 17, 1971; Vol. 18, 1972.
Genealogical Forum of Portland Oregon, Vol. 21, 1971.
The Hoosier Genealogist, Vol. 12, 1972.
Bulletin of Maryland Genealogical Society, Vol. 13, 1972.
The Trackers, Vol. 12, 1971.
Valley Leaves, Vol. 6, 1971.
The Backtracker, Vol. 1, 1971.
Genealogical Tips, Vol. 10, 1972.
Family Findings, Vol. 4, 1972.
Michigan Heritage, Vol. 13, 1971.
Austin Genealogical Society, Vol. 13, 1972.
The Quarterly Local History and Genealogical Society, Vol. 17, 1971; Vol. 18, 1972.
Footprints, Vol. 15, 1972.
The Western Link, Vol. 2, 1973.
North Texas Pioneer, Vol. 6, 1971.
Cenotaph, Vol. 7, 1971.
Our Heritage, Vol. 13, 1971.
Some Virginia Marriages, Vols. 1–4, 1700–1799, compiled by Cecil D. McDonald, Jr., 1972.
Cherokee Old Timers, by James Manford Carselowey, 1972.
The Genealogy of Rev. W. H. Van Deusen by Cherry Laura Van Deusen Pratt, 1969.
An Abbott Family by Ruth Marcum Lind, 1972.
Ford County, Kansas Marriages 19 February 1874 to 21 December 1886, compiled by Donna Smyser Adams, 1970.
The Family of William Burress (ca 1799–1850?) of Tennessee by Charles G. Burress, Phoenix, Arizona and Pamela Anderson Jensen, California, 1971.
Partridge High School Enrollment 1909–1969, Reno County, Kansas, compiled by Mrs. Marson High French.

Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

PHOTOGRAPH SECTION:

Collection of partially-identified Oklahoma City and Oklahoma photographs.

Donor: Mrs. Gerald H. Kees, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Framed panoramic view of campus of the University of Oklahoma ca. 1920.
Photographer, Truby Studio at Norman, Oklahoma.
Donor: Harold Dobson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, by George H. Shirk.

Three glossy photographs: Oklahoma's Congressman Page Belcher receiving "Watchdog of the Treasury" award from John C. Mason, President of National Association of Businessmen, Sept. 30, 1970; President Richard M. Nixon shaking hands with Page Belcher of Oklahoma; Lee Howser, Page Belcher and John Allen McDonald Douglas on steps of United States Capitol Building, Washington, D.C.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION:

Zerox copy letter signed by Matthew Arbuckle concerning Fort Washita.
Donor: H. C. Fisher.

Zerox copy "Oak Hill Cemetery, Chetopa, Labette Co. Kans, 1869–1972" by Retha Louise (Boyd) Miller, Chetopa, Kansas.
Donor: Author.

Booklet "Early Residents (Before 1920) Tishomingo, Okla." by Harry B. Kniseley, 1423 So. Garfield, Denver, Colorado.
Donor: Author.

Journal of Presbyterian History, Summer 1973.
Donor: Dr. Wm. G. McLoughlin, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

Kappler's "Laws and Treaties" Vol. II, published 1904.
Donor: Mrs. H. J. Garrett, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Cowlitz Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 218; Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community v. U.S., Docket Nos. 236-F and 236-I: Order.
Makah Indian Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 60-A: Opinion: Order.
Ottawa Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 304: Final Award.
Ottawa Chippewa Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 364: Findings of Fact: Order.
Saginaw Chippewa Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 57: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; 2nd Interlocutory Order.
Northern Paiute Indian v. U.S., Docket No. 87a: Opinion; Order.
Potawatomi Indians, et al, vs. U.S., Docket Nos. 217, 15-K & 29J: Opinion; Supplemental Findings of Fact; Order; Final award.
Pueblo of San Ildefonso v. U.S., Docket No. 354: Interlocutory Order.
Pueblo of Santo Domingo v. U.S., Docket No. 355: Interlocutory Order.
Pueblo of Santa Clara v. U.S., Docket No. 356: Interlocutory Order.
Pueblo of San Ildefonso, Santo Domingo & Santa Clara, Docket Nos. 354–356: Opinion; Interlocutory Order.
Chippewa, Potawatomi, Red Lake Band, Delaware, Hannahville Community, Shawnee Tribe, Six Nations, Ottawa, Wyandot, Seneca, Cayuga v. U.S., Docket Nos. 13F, 15–I, 18K, 27, 29G, 64A, 89, 133C, 141, 308, 341D: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Final Order.
Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C.

MUSEUM AND HISTORIC SITES:

Items from donor's family, including household items, personal items.
Source: Miss Helen Biggers, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Documents related to the development of the aerosol can, from the inventor.
Source: Dr. Lyle D. Goodhue, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Pencil drawing, by Bob Dale, entitled "Little Wolf."
Source: Clarkcraft Products, Inc., by Jim Clark, Waco, Texas.

Photograph, showing earth-to-moon phone call being placed by Captain David Elsey, an Oklahoman, for President Richard M. Nixon, July 20, 1969.
Source: Captain David P. Elsey, Kileen, Texas.

Cuts of four varieties of ribbon barbed wire.
Source: Buddy Stephens, Blairstown, New Jersey.

Eisenhower silver dollar, with seal of Apollo II moon flight on reverse side.
Source: Joe L. Todd, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Icebox; ice tongs.
Source: Mrs. Nola Rigdon, Crescent, Oklahoma.

Hat and silver match holder which belonged to Dr. L. A. Hahn, early Guthrie physician; fur capelett which belonged to Mrs. Clifford Porter; desk set used in Guthrie City Hall; bottle; souvenir medal.
Source: Mrs. Archie Lindsey, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Rocking chair, 19th century, from donor's family.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. George Eldred, Blanchard, Oklahoma.

Shoe repair tree, with two lasts; singletree.
Source: Mrs. Etta Linker, Sallisaw, Oklahoma.

Trunk; tomahawk; farming tools.
Source: K. L. Huckleberry, Sallisaw, Oklahoma.

Table; bench; plow harness; set of ball sticks.
Source: James Humphrey, Sallisaw, Oklahoma.

Painting of Sequoyah's cabin; Cherokee hymnal given to donor by his mother.
Source: J. Fred Green, Sallisaw, Oklahoma.

Items from donor's family, including photographs; documents; household items; articles of clothing; personal items; novelties; coins; tokens; and portrait of donor's great-great-great grandparents, of northern Missouri.
Source: Mrs. Alice Brooks, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Framed lacework, made by donor's mother, Anna Ackerman Schaefer, *ca.* 1929.
Source: Miss Norma C. Schaefer, Mountain View, Oklahoma.

Wedding dress worn by donor's mother, Mrs. W. F. Eisenbeis, purchased in Oklahoma City in April, 1907; photograph showing bride (wearing this dress) and groom.
Source: Mrs. H. J. Garrett, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Collection of law books, which belonged to the Honorable Albert Rennie, U.S. Commissioner for Indian Territory, Third Judicial District, donor's grandfather.
Source: David Albert Rennie, Norman, Oklahoma.

Letter written by Cyris Harris, first Governor of the Chickasaws, to his daughter, Malissa H. White, and her family, September 8, 1887; with envelope and listing.
Source: Mrs. Lucy Short, Davis, Oklahoma.

Handwritten minutes of the organizational meeting of Luffy's Chapel Presbyterian Church near Fillmore, Oklahoma, November 26, 1916.
Source: Mrs. Arie Wisdom, Bromide, Oklahoma.

Wheat cradle, used by donor's father in the late 19th century.
Source: B. K. Daniel, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Photographs, certificate, and album from family of George Cooper, donor's father, and a lieutenant to David Payne.
Source: James F. Cooper, Hughson, California.

Coal scoop; curling iron; lid tightener; plaque.
Source: Miss Ruth McMillan, Seward, Oklahoma.

Maps; framed diploma.
Source: Mrs. Ruby May Gaffney Tryon, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Oxford sewing machine with attachments and instruction booklet, patent date 1892.
Source: Mrs. Rubylea Farmer, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Wooden plane and bit braces, brought to Guthrie in 1889 by donor's father, George W. Watkins.
Source: Mr. James ("Bud") Watkins, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Roasting pan; fork; spoon; fruit jar; perfume bottle.
Source: John Crabtree, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Corn mill.
Source: E. B. Kooken, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Print of photograph of Abraham Lincoln, copyright 1901.
Source: Miss Terry McCutchen, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Articles of clothing; linens.
Source: Mrs. Tom Storie, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Celt, found by donor near Bengel, Oklahoma.
Source: Raymond V. Hovey, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Desk used at the Constitutional Convention; desk used in Logan County and Guthrie High Schools, patent date 1903.
Source: Guthrie Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, by Mrs. Madge Huntley Griggs, Regent, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Commemorative plate, first in a series of four plates commissioned as the official Bicentennial Commemorative Project of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Source: Oklahoma State Federation of Women's Clubs, by Mrs. Vern Firestone, Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

Railroad spikes from Santa Fe railroad built in 1887 near Paoli, Oklahoma.
Source: Mrs. Katie Alma Tate, Paoli, Oklahoma.

Iron bed and counterpane, used by Mr. and Mrs. Bernard C. Moritz on their farm near Mulhall, Oklahoma.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Moritz, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Dress, *ca.* 1897, made and worn by donor's mother, Mrs. Rue Emma Cole Tolson; spectacles with case, which belonged to donor's grandmother, Mrs. Sarah Jane Harris Cole, who lived near Shawnee in Pottawatomie County.
Source: Mrs. Ardath Stedman, Denton, Texas.

Articles of clothing, from donor's family.
Source: Mrs. Marshall Hardy, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Original design for new seal of the Oklahoma Historical Society, designed by Ronald Cast, a student at Central State University, who was the winner of a contest sponsored by the Board of Trustees, Oklahoma Historical Society; approved by Governor David Hall and President George H. Shirk on May 27, 1973.

EDUCATION FILM LIBRARY:

Newscasts and documentaries, over 900 reels covering approximately seven years.
Donor: KTEN, Channel 10, Ada, Oklahoma.

Newscasts and documentaries, 267 reels covering approximately seven years.
Donor: KTEW, Channel 2, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

April 27, 1973 to July 26, 1973

Asfahl, Milton	Oklahoma City
Autry, Dorothy J.	Wichita, Kansas
Bolay, Dennis A.	Bethany
Bozeman, Jane T.	Midwest City
Brown, Mrs. William R.	Elk City
Bryant, Joe G.	Edmond
Bumpas, Mrs. Hubert E.	Oklahoma City
Burton, Jeffrey	London, England
Cassell, Mrs. Sheila	Ada
Crews, Louise Colbert	Oklahoma City
Croft, Dr. Jerry D.	Stillwater
Curnutt, Virginia	Hobbs, New Mexico
Day, Jerry	Edmond
Dixon, Jeane L.	Washington, D.C.
Dozier, William D.	Midwest City
Dunkel, Peter A.	Woodbridge, Virginia
England, Sylvia	Bethany
Fitzgerald, Roy E. "Friday"	Oklahoma City
Friend, Herbert L.	Holdenville
Gilbert, Mrs. James N.	Tulsa
Halliburton, R., Jr.	Tahlequah
Hamilton, Lance	Heavener
Hampton, Miss Annie Frances	Chickasha
Harris, Charles W.	Durant
Harris, Phil	Wagoner
Harrison, Ralph T.	Broken Arrow
James, Mrs. Wallace Willis	Hartshorne
Johnson, Froma J.	Norman
Johnson, George E.	Hennepin
Kell, Miss Ann	Running Springs, California
Kemp, Mrs. Johnette A.	Oklahoma City
Kiespert, William E., Jr.	Edmond
Lambert, Mrs. McMillan	Ardmore
Lewis, Wilbur R. C.	Lebonon, Missouri
Marshall, Herbert D.	Arkansas City, Kansas
Menifee, Nan K.	Oklahoma City
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Milam, Melanie	Oklahoma City
Morris, Ollie	Ada
Muldrow, Hal L.	Norman
McFadden, Joe	Bethany
McGinnis, Edmond, Jr.	New York, New York
Nunally, Burrell S., Sr.	Oklahoma City
Pickett, Evelyn W.	Muskogee
Pitts, Robbie	Ardmore

Rhodes, Mrs. Joe D.	Tulsa
Richardson, J. S.	Talihina
Runyan, Nadine	Norman
Sine, Joseph E.	Oklahoma City
Spencer, Melvin J.	Oklahoma City
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Wright, Mrs. Donald W.	Oklahoma City

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April 27, 1973 to July 26, 1973

Harrell, Mrs. William E.	Austin, Texas
Meador, Gary	Fort Towson
Sparks, Van J.	Pauls Valley
Wiley, Mrs. Daniel G.	Oklahoma City
Zahn, Fred H.	Oklahoma City

NEW HONORARY MEMBER

Wilson, John	Oklahoma City

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

New Annual	56	
New Life Members	5	Mrs. Wm. E. Harrell Gary Meador Van J. Sparks Mrs. Daniel G. Wiley Fred H. Zahn
Honorary Member	1	
Total New Members	62	

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The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

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Article VI, Section 5—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma* shall publish the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors and of the Society; and shall pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history, including necrologies, reviews, reprints of journals and reports and other activities of the Society. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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VOLUME LI NUMBER IV WINTER 1973–1974

the chronicles

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

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The Chronicles of Oklahoma is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office in the Historical Building at 2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City.

The subscription rate is $6.00 a year. Single numbers of *The Chronicles* are available at $1.50. All members of the Oklahoma Historical Society receive *The Chronicles* free. Annual membership is $5.00; Life membership $100.00. Subscriptions, change of address, membership applications, orders for current issues of *The Chronicles*, and non-current back issues should be sent to the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

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the chronicles OF OKLAHOMA

Volume LI Number 4

Winter 1973–1974

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THE COVER—The scene is a view from the northwest of the dedication of the Cherokee Female Seminary on May 7, 1889, at Tahlequah in the Cherokee Nation. Originally constructed at Park Hill the Cherokee Female Seminary was opened to students on May 7, 1851; however, on April 10, 1887, the site was gutted by fire. A shortage of water at Park Hill forced the Cherokee National Council to seek a new location for the building. After an initial search, a forty acre site, near a free flowing spring on a wooded hill overlooking the north edge of Tahlequah, was selected. The citizens of the town donated the land to the Cherokee Nation, and a contract was awarded to W. A. Illsley and Son of Chetopa, Kansas for the actual construction. Two years were required for the completion of the new structure, which when finished cost in excess of $60,000, and at the time of its dedication was the largest building ever constructed by an Indian nation within the United States.

NORTHEASTERN'S SEMINARY HALL

*By R. Halliburton, Jr.**

Seminary Hall on the campus of Northeastern State College at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, is one of America's truly unique buildings. It remains a shining monument to the history and culture of the Cherokee Nation. Few educational institutions of any place or any time can boast of the heritage, atmosphere, history and culture which ennoble Northeastern State College. Springing from the seedbed of the Cherokee Nation, its roots have remained firmly entwined with the people and culture from which it came.

The Cherokee Nation established the first free, compulsory, co-educational, public school system in the world in 1841.[1] In 1846, Principal Chief John Ross submitted a message to the Cherokee National Council recommending legislation to establish a male and female seminary. The Council immediately consented.[2] At the following session in 1847, a supplemental act—drafted by the Reverend Samuel A. Worcester—providing "for the establishment of one Male and one Female Seminary" was enacted.[3] These acts created the parent institution of the present Northeastern State College. By tracing its lineage to the Enabling Act of 1846, the college is the second oldest public institution of higher learning west of the Mississippi River and the first in the region to provide a liberal arts education for women.

A building site committee was selected and it was decided that the Female Seminary would be erected at historic Park Hill, about four miles southeast of Tahlequah. Construction commenced in 1847 and was constantly plagued by shortages of building materials and skilled labor. The building was constructed of native brick fired in a local kiln and the architecture has been described as "Cherokee Doric." The cornerstone was completed in April, 1849.

The grand opening ceremonies of the Cherokee National Female Seminary were held on May 7, 1851.[4] The qualifications for student admission

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* The author is Chairman of the Department of History at Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

[1] Cherokee Nation, *Laws of the Cherokee Nation: Adopted by the Council at Various Periods* (Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation: Cherokee Advocate Office, 1852), pp. 59–61.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 146–147.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 157–162.

[4] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Park Hill* (Muskogee, Oklahoma: The Star Printery, Inc., 1948), p. 82.

View of the completed Cherokee Female Seminary constructed near Tahlequah to replace an earlier structure destroyed by fire.

included "a good examination in reading and spelling the English language, in Arithmetic, Grammar, and Geography."[5] The institution operated on the same plan as Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in South Hadley, Massachusetts. Indeed, Mary Chapin, Principal of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary had constructed the curriculum and Ellen R. Whitmore, a former student, became the first principal of the Cherokee Female Seminary.

Financial retrenchment forced the institution to close at the end of the 1856 academic year and remain closed until after the Civil War. It was reopened in 1871 and operated continuously until the building was totally destroyed by fire on Easter Sunday, April 10, 1887.

Principal Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead immediately called a special session of the Cherokee National Council, and it was decided to rebuild the structure.[6] Chief Bushyhead nominated—and the Council confirmed—Johnson

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

[6] "Special Message of Honorable D. W. Bushyhead, Principal Chief—To The Honorable, The Senate and Council in Special Session of the National Council Convened," Cherokee Room, John Vaughan Library, Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

Thompson, James S. Stapler and Gideon Morgan to the Building Committee. They decided against rebuilding at the Park Hill site because of the absence of ample water and a lack of community facilities. After investigation, the committee selected a forty-acre site at the north edge of Tahlequah on a wooded hill with a large and beautiful everflowing spring of pure water as the new location. The land had originally belonged to Caleb Covel, of Portland, Maine, but Covel had died in 1850 and the property became the possession of Judge James Hendricks.[7] The residents of Tahlequah, by public subscription, purchased the land and donated the site to the Cherokee Nation for the new location of the Cherokee Female Seminary.

The Building Committee consulted architectural firms in Washington, D.C.; St. Louis, Missouri; Kansas City, Missouri and Fort Smith, Arkansas. Finally C. E. Illsley of St. Louis was selected as the chief architect. After architectural drawings were completed, the plans and specifications were advertised in the St. Louis *Globe Democrat*, Kansas City *Times*, Fort Smith *Times* and *Cherokee Advocate*. W. A. Illsley and Son, general contractors of Chetopa, Kansas, were awarded the contract for $57,500; however, additional appropriations for changes, refinements, fencing and other improvements were to extend the cost beyond $60,000. Lease money from the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association was utilized to finance the project. Construction began on November 3, 1887, and nearly two years later on April 18, 1889, the structure was completed. Most of the building materials were acquired locally—bricks were fired on the site, lumber was sawed in the surrounding mountains and stone was quarried nearby.[8]

The cornerstone was laid by the Grand Lodge of Masons on April 25, 1888, and was a major social event. A procession led by the town's brass band, and followed by members of the Masonic Grand Lodge of the Indian Territory, students from the Male Seminary, Tahlequah public school students, mission school students, local citizens and visitors from all over the Cherokee Nation marched north from Tahlequah to the building site. A crowd of 1,500 gathered for the ceremony, and heard speeches from Principal Chief J. B. Mayes, Colonel William P. Ross and Assistant Chief Samuel Smith. Articles placed in the cornerstone included a box taken from the cornerstone of the old Female Seminary building which had been deposited there in 1847. It contained the "pamphlet form" of the Cherokee laws, a Cherokee alphabet and the name of the chief and officers of that date. Also included

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[7] Grant Foreman, ed. "Indian-Pioneer History" (113 vols., unpublished manuscript), Vol. LXIX, pp. 109–110, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[8] *An Illustrated Souvenir Catalog of the Cherokee Nation Female Seminary* (Chilocco, Oklahoma: Indian Print Shop, n.d.), n.p.

Architectural drawing of the front view of the Female Seminary prepared by C. E. Illsley and Son, general contractors, of Chetopa, Kansas.

was a Muskogee spelling book, a Cherokee almanac, a copy of the Holy Scriptures in Cherokee and a copy of the *Cherokee Advocate* dated 1844.[9]

The dignitaries also deposited the names of the present board of education; catalogues of both the Cherokee Male and Female seminaries; three copies of the *Telephone*, one of the *Indian Arrow*, two of the *Muskogee Phoenix*, one of the *Tahlequah Bazoo* and a copy of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Masons of the Indian Territory for 1887. Various other items were placed in the cornerstone including a program of the proceedings of the day, a copy of the compiled law of 1880 and a collection of Cherokee laws between 1884 and 1889 which were printed in both Cherokee and English.[10]

It was reported that one of the distinguished guests at the dedication ceremonies was Prince Edwin V. Dolgorouki, a Crimean War Veteran, who supposedly had arrived in Tahlequah in 1883 from Russia. A piano teacher and choir conductor at the Presbyterian church, the prince participated in the dedication ceremonies by directing the chorus on the north side of the building.[11] The new Cherokee Female Seminary was the largest building ever erected by an Indian nation; nonetheless, when it was opened August 26, 1889, many prospective students had to be turned away for lack of accommodations.

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[9] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints 1835–1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), p. 205.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] T. L. Ballenger, *Around Tahlequah Council Fires* (Oklahoma City: Cherokee Publishing Company, Inc., 1945), pp. 113–116.

Miss Florence Wilson had become principal of the Seminary in 1875, and remained in that position for twenty-six years. She was a devotee of physical culture and led the entire student body on a "walk" of one or three miles each day. Miss Wilson was also an advocate of preventive medicine, and personally administered liberal doses of castor oil and sulphur and molasses at the entrance to the dining room.[12]

The Seminarians' schedule was printed as follows:[13]

A.M.		*P.M.*	
Rising Bell	5:30	School Opens	1:10
Breakfast and Details	6:30 to 7:50	Afternoon Recess	2:55 to 3:00
Exercise	7:50 to 8:15	Exercise	4:05
School Opens	8:20	Supper	5:30
Morning Recess	10:20 to 10:30	Study Hour	7:00 to 8:10
Exercise	11:40 to 12:00	Retiring Bell	8:45
Dinner	12:00	Lights Out	9:00

The students cleaned their own rooms, which were inspected daily by a faculty member, and regularly assigned "details" to sweep the building, make fires, clean lamps, wash dishes, wait tables and other tasks. Following a Spartan-like discipline code, students never left the campus without a chaperon. No dancing was allowed, and never more than six girls accompanied a single chaperon. Punishment for violation of the strict rules included "campusing," "spanking of jaws," paddling, standing in a corner, demerits and expulsion.[14]

Some of the rules of deportment adopted and published by the Governing Board of the Cherokee Female Seminary were:[15]

1. All students are required to attend chapel services.
2. All students are required to perform such duties as may be deemed expedient. Such labor is not to exceed one hour per day.
3. The carrying of weapons, use of intoxicating liquors, card playing or gambling in any form, are absolutely forbidden.
4. Intentional disrespect or disobedience to any teacher or officer of the Seminary, subjects the offender to suspension.

The curriculum changed slightly during the years, however a representative example of the courses offered included:[16]

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[12] Lola Garrett Bowers and Kathleen Garrett, *A. Florence Wilson: Friend and Teacher* (Tahlequah, Oklahoma: Rockett's Printers and Publishers, 1951), p. 10.

[13] *Cherokee National Female Seminary Catalogue, 1866–7*, p. 11, Cherokee Room, John Vaughn Library.

[14] Bowers and Garrett, *A. Florence Wilson: Friend and Teacher*, p. 13.

[15] *Cherokee National Female Seminary Catalogue, 1886–7*, pp. 11–12.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

FRESHMAN CLASS

First Term	*Second Term*
Practical Arithmetic	Practical Arithmetic
Grammar	Grammar
Physiology	Botany
Composition	Composition
Reading	Reading
Bible Lessons	Bible Lessons
Vocal Music and Drawing ½ term	Vocal Music and Drawing ½ term

SOPHOMORE CLASS

First Term	*Second Term*
Practical Arithmetic	Practical Arithmetic
General History	General History
Zoology	Natural Philosophy
Composition	Composition
Reading	Reading
Bible Lessons	Bible Lessons
Vocal Music and Drawing ½ term	Vocal Music and Drawing ½ term

JUNIOR CLASS

First Term	*Second Term*
Algebra	Algebra
Rhetoric	Rhetoric
Latin	Latin
Chemistry	Physical Geography
Bible Lessons	Bible Lessons

SENIOR CLASS

First Term	*Second Term*
Geometry	Geometry
Literature	Literature
Virgil	Virgil
Mental Philosophy	Moral Philosophy
Bible Lessons	Bible Lessons
Vocal Music and Drawing ½ term	Vocal Music and Drawing ½ term

Students were required to "bathe regularly" and use disinfectants "freely!" The medical supervisor recommended severe penalties for anyone introducing contagious diseases into the school and specifically mentioned the "itch."

The Cherokee Female Seminary trained hundreds of young women

The flowers of the Cherokee Nation—one of the earliest classes of the Cherokee Female Seminary.

noted as the flowers of the Cherokee Nation, who later occupied conspicuous positions of responsibility, honor, trust and profit in the Cherokee Nation, the state of Oklahoma and the United States. Seminarians proved to be extremely loyal *alumnae*. With the approach of statehood for Indian Territory, Mrs. R. L. Fite, a former seminarian and one of the most revered of Cherokee women, spoke of the Female Seminary in 1906 and stated:[17]

> The past and present we know, but what of the future? We ask no higher reward than it be worthy of the name it bears and that its identity be not lost in the coming years, but may the tread that is broken now be woven in a brighter and fresher web. May its volume of usefulness be increased and enriched as it flows down into the remote future and may every Cherokee woman hand down to her posterity the fact that this institution was the creation of their forefathers and the pride of their

[17] *Cherokee National Female Seminary Catalog, 1906*, Cherokee Room, John Vaughn Library.

hearts. The sun has set forever on the Cherokee National Female Seminary.

After Indian Territory became a part of Oklahoma, the state legislature passed an act in March, 1909, purchasing the Cherokee Female Seminary and creating the Northeastern State Normal School. The new institution opened September 14, 1909, and enrolled 511 students during its first year of operation.[18]

One decade later, in 1919, the normal school was elevated to full four-year college status and named Northeastern State Teachers College. Then twenty years later, in 1939, the Oklahoma State Legislature changed the name and function of the institution. The name Northeastern State College was bestowed and today continues to serve more than 5,000 students.

Nevertheless, the institution's heritage is reborn each May 7, when former students of the seminary return to celebrate "homecoming" on the college campus. Their numbers continue to decline alarmingly as the years pass, but their enthusiasm remains constant. During the "homecoming" activities of 1970, the seminarians were gratified to learn that the building which once housed their Cherokee National Female Seminary had been officially named Seminary Hall.

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[18] *Northeastern State Normal School, Annual Catalogue, 1909–1910*, p. 8, Cherokee Room, John Vaughn Library.

INDIAN REMOVAL AS SEEN BY EUROPEAN TRAVELERS IN AMERICA

*By Gary C. Stein**

In the first sixty years of the nineteenth century, hundreds of Europeans traveled throughout the United States. Their accounts have been used by historians and sociologists as indications of European attitudes toward Americans and their institutions. Much effort has been expended in discussing the view of the European toward slavery in the United States during the period preceding the Civil War; however, slavery was not the only race problem to attract European attention. The relations between the United States government and the Indians also came under the scrutiny of European travelers—especially the policy of the removal of eastern Indian tribes to lands west of the Mississippi River. From their recorded views of Indian removal, emerge all their criticisms of the people, society and government of America.

The European visitors were as diversified as the Indian tribes about which they wrote. As novelists, historians, diplomats, social philosophers, naturalists, amateur anthropologists, missionaries and would-be immigrants, they concerned themselves with the question. At times, what they wrote about the Indians was wrong; their ethnological and historical information about tribes they visited was often confused and some were misled by government agents. Yet most of these travelers were keen observers and made fair interpretations of the conditions of the Indians.

The Europeans who traveled through America in the first quarter of the nineteenth century made little mention of Indian removal. Nonetheless, their discussion of early Indian land cessions produced basic attitudes toward the removal policy which were later expanded.

Traveling in Tennessee in 1802, Francois André Michaux noted that while the Indians would not consider ceding land because what they occupied was barely adequate to sustain themselves, "sooner or later," he declared, they would be forced to yield to the white advance.[1] Michaúx mentioned aspects of American greed for land when he wrote that the frontiers-

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* The author received his Master of Arts degree from the University of New Mexico. The article was derived from a paper presented to the regional conference of Phi Alpha Theta at the University of New Mexico in May, 1970.

[1] Francois Andre Michaúx, "Travels West of the Allegheny Mountains, 1802," in Ruben G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846* (32 vols., Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904–1907), Vol. III, p. 282.

men in Tennessee incited the Cherokee to resist white encroachments merely "to drive them from their possessions."[2]

Another Frenchman, Edouard de Montulé, wrote that the Indians were "bothered by the proximity of the whites, and . . . would like to go farther west, but as these unhappy nations [in the West] are all at war with each other, they fear they would be driven out by their compatriots."[3] Francis Hall, an English lieutenant, attending an exhibition of Indian dances in Albany, New York, in the early 1820s condemned Americans as the spoilers of the Indians' inheritance.[4]

In 1819, William Amphlett mentioned none of the difficulties experienced by frontiersmen in their dealings with the Indians, but encouraged European settlement in the American West by declaring that when the Indian land claims in Mississippi were purchased "the State [would] possess 28,480,000 acres of land . . . the greater part of which is capable of cultivation."[5] He neglected to indicate what was the fate of the Indians occupying the land.

Although the removal policy of the Federal government was not inaugurated until 1830, Europeans in America witnessed the results of that policy in the fate of the Delaware Indians, who had continually been forced to retreat before the expanding United States. Visiting Ohio in 1819, Thomas Nuttall wrote of a group of Delaware families. He described them as a "remnant of these unfortunate people . . . about to be transferred from the state of Ohio to the banks of the Arkansas, where, it is to be hoped, they will enjoy amidst domestic tranquility the superior advantages of civilization."[6] Whether or not the Delawares believed they would be able to enjoy the "advantages of civilization" was illustrated in a speech given by the tribe to their Indian agent, Jacob Lowndes. "Go," the Delaware declared, "go . . . and tell our great father, the President, how we are deviled and cheated, and if he does not do us justice, go, tell him he is a hog, and that we would burn up the land if we could."[7]

Visiting the Delaware in their final western home in 1853, Baldwin Möllhausen reviewed the history of their removal:[8]

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 262.

[3] Edouard de Montulé, *Travels in America, 1816–1817*, translated by Edward D. Seeber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1950), p. 161.

[4] Lieutenant Francis Hall, *Travels in Canada and the United States in 1816 and 1817* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), p. 38.

[5] William Amphlett, *The Emigrant's Directory to the Western States of North America* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1819), p. 190.

[6] Thomas Nuttall, "Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory, during the Year 1819," in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, Vol. XIII, pp. 192–193.

[7] William Faux, "Memorable Days in America," in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, Vol. XI, p. 210.

[8] Baldwin Möllhausen, *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific with*

> they were destined to be continually conquering new hunting grounds, only that they might again resign them to the United States Government. Further and further west they were driven, and on every spot where they rested they had first to use their weapons in self-defense against powerful enemies, before they turned them against the wild animals, so as to obtain food and clothing.

Among Europeans there was a wide range of opinion about Indians and Indian removal. To some, removal was inevitable because of the nature of the Indians. The Englishwoman, Francis Wright, stated in 1819 that regardless of the "wise and humane system of policy adopted by the federal government" toward the tribes, they were fated to be driven out of their lands.[9] Continuing, she described the Indians as occupying "a lower place in creation than men who, to the proud spirit of independence, unite the softer feelings that spring only within the pale of civilized life. The increase and spread of the white population at the expense of the red is, as it were, the triumph of peace over violence."[10] Later, Henry Addington supported Wright's view. Until the Indian, he contended, was moved from within the boundaries of the United States "there is no hope of civilization or improvement for the districts he [the Indian] inhabits. The sooner, therefore, the extinction or expulsion takes place the better for the Indian and the American also."[11]

Wright and Addington made their observations before the full misery of Indian removal was apparent. Yet their ideas persisted well into the removal period. Prince Maximilian of Wied predicted in the early 1830s that only after the Indians had been totally removed from Indiana could the country enjoy "the advantages of being peopled by the backwoodsmen."[12] In 1838, the British novelist, Frederick Marryat, deplored many aspects of the removal measures, but nonetheless believed that the Indians were merely "tenants at will, and never were intended to remain longer than till the time when Civilization, with the Gospel, Arts, and Sciences, in her train, should appear, and claim as her own that portion of the Universe which they occupy."[13]

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a United States Government Expedition, translated by Mrs. Percy Sinnett (2 vols., London: Longmans, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1858), Vol. I, pp. 90–91.

[9] Francis Wright, *Views of Society and Manners in America*, Paul R. Baker, ed. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 108.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[11] Bradford Perkins, ed., *Youthful America: Selections from Henry Unwin Addington's Residence in the United States of America, 1822, 23, 24, 25* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), p. 60.

[12] Prince Maximilian of Wied, "Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834," in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, Vol. XII, p. 179.

[13] Captain Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America, with Remarks on its Institutions* (2 vols., Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1839–1840), Vol. I. p. 27.

Probably the most vigorous individual to uphold the view that the Indians were fated to give way before American expansion was the Swedish traveler, Fredrika Bremer. In the 1850s, she declared "that cruel race which scalps children and old people, and which degrades women to beasts of burden, may as well move off into the wilderness, and leave room for a nobler race. There is, in reality, only a higher justice in it."[14]

Carl David Arfwedson was one of many who believed that the removal of the Indians to the West would actually rescue them from civilization. He contended that only removal would "save these children of the forest from being destroyed by what they call 'fire-water.' "[15] However, the majority of Europeans maintained an adverse opinion of forced removal. In 1825, the British naval captain, Basil Hall, who had visited the Creek Nation in the South, described their emigration to the West as "one of the most painful chapters in the history of America."[16] Mrs. Francis Trollope condemned the Indian Removal Act of 1830 as a "base, cruel and most oppressive act" on the part of President Andrew Jackson.[17] Mrs. Trollope believed that removal was particularly lamentable because the southeastern tribes were "yielding rapidly to the force of example" and becoming "civilized" agriculturalists.[18] The most prolific on the topic of Indian removal was Alexis de Tocqueville, who portrayed Indian-white relations as an unequal contest, especially in regard to the eastern tribes, who "have lost the energy of barbarians, without acquiring the resources of civilization."[19]

European travelers directed vicious criticism at the reasoning of Americans for the necessity of Indian removal. According to James S. Buckingham, the Federal government was "impressed with a belief that the removal of all the Indian tribes . . . will be beneficial to the tribes themselves," but most Europeans agreed that it was a desire for land which initiated the forceful migration.[20] Adam Hodgson, in the early 1820s, declared that state boundaries "appear in the maps . . . as if Indian title were actually extinguished."[21]

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[14] Fredrika Bremer, *Homes of the New World; Impressions of America*, translated by Mary Howitt (2 vols., New York: Harper and Brothers, 1853), Vol. II, p. 33.

[15] Carl David Arfwedson, *The United States and Canada in 1832, 1833, and 1834* (2 vols., London: Richard Bentley, 1834), Vol. II, p. 25.

[16] Captain Basil Hall, *Travels in North America* (3 vols., Graz, Austria: Akademishe Druck, 1964–1965), Vol. III, p. 280.

[17] Francis Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (New York: Whittaker, Treacher, and Company, 1832), p. 180.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[19] Alexis Charles Henri Maurice Clérel de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated by Henry Reeves (2 vols., New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1904), Vol. I, p. 382.

[20] James Silk Buckingham, *America: Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive* (3 vols., London: Fisher and Company, 1841), Vol. II, p. 516.

[21] Adam Hodgson, *Journey through North America in the Years 1819, 1820, and 1821* (New York: Samuel Whiting, 1823), p. 288.

Also, in 1830, Mrs. Trollope argued that the Indians were forced to the West so the states could "add some thousand acres of territory to the half-peopled wilderness which borders them."[22]

Almost every European traveler in America described the Indian policy as beneficial to the whites and disastrous to the Indians. Edward Abdy, who encountered John Ross's Cherokee delegation in Washington, D.C., stated that "had it not been for the discovery of the gold mines on their lands, they would probably have been allowed to remain a longer time."[23] The idea that greed for land was behind the removal policy was not merely the personal opinion of European travelers, the concept was reinforced by the speech of a United States Senator from Georgia, who said that the money received from the sale of Indian land "would not only be adequate to the extinction of the national debt, but leave an immense amount at the future disposal of government."[24]

De Tocqueville concurred that removal was the result of the greed of the whites for land. He was convinced that the Americans hoped for nothing less than "the entire expulsion of the Indians . . . before civilization has permanently fixed them to the soil."[25] Examining the state of Georgia, De Tocqueville could find no logical reason why the Americans were envious of Indian lands. The whites, he said, "inhabit a territory which does not at present contain more than seven inhabitants to the square mile. In France, there are one hundred and sixty-two inhabitants to the same extent of country."[26]

De Tocqueville did not place the entire blame for the removal policy on the various states. He concluded that the greed of the white settlers was "usually backed by the tyranny of the [Federal] government."[27] He believed he knew what the basic problem was: the United States attempted to recognize the sovereign rights of both the Indian tribes and the states in which they lived. After the Federal government had signed treaties with the Indians "as independent nations, it gave them up as subjects to the legislative tryranny of the states."[28] Yet De Tocqueville saw no other possible alternative to removal; the Federal government, he declared, was "obliged to consent to the extirpation of a few . . . tribes in order not to endanger the safety of the American Union."[29]

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[22] Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, p. 181.

[23] Edward Strutt Abdy, *Journel of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America from April, 1833 to October, 1834* (3 vols., London: J. Murray, 1835), Vol. II, p. 65.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 73–75.

[25] De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. I, p. 381.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 381 fn.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 380.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 381.

Whether they believed that Indian removal was inevitable or not, Europeans were extremely critical when they discussed the methods used in driving the Indians from their land. Captain Hall, in 1827, condemned the division of confiscated Creek lands among white settlers in Georgia by means of a lottery—a practice that was to continue throughout the removal period of the 1830s.[30] Abdy noted in 1833 the methods resorted to in forcing Cherokee removal. While a Cherokee delegation deliberated in Washington, the whites in Georgia, he stated, "proceeded to employ violent means . . . and the plantation of [John] Ross had . . . been taken possession of by someone who had purchased it at an auction."[31]

Again, the most condemning discussion of the methods of removal was De Tocqueville, who declared:[32]

> When the . . . [American] population begins to approach the limit of the desert inhabited by a savage tribe, the government of the United States usually dispatches envoys to them, who assemble the Indians . . . and having first eaten and drunk with them, accost them in the following manner: 'What have you to do in the land of your fathers? Before long you must dig up their bones in order to live. In what respect is the country you inhabit better than another? Are there no woods, marshes, or prairies, except where you dwell? And can you live nowhere but under your own sun? Beyond . . . your territory on the west, there lie vast countries where beasts of chase are found in great abundance; sell your land to us, and go to live happily in those solitudes.' After holding this language, they spread before the . . . Indians fire-arms, woollen garments, kegs of brandy, glass necklaces, bracelets of tinsel, ear-rings and looking-glasses. If, when they have beheld all these riches, they still hesitate, it is insinuated that they have not the means of refusing their required consent, and that the government itself will not long have the power of protecting them in their rights. What are they to do? Half convinced, and half compelled, they go to inhabit new deserts, where the importunate whites will not let them remain ten years in tranquility.

Although she considered the Indians an inferior race, Fredrika Bremer, visiting Georgia nearly twenty years after the removal of the tribes, presented her opinion of the then departed Cherokee: "they were peaceful, and pursued agriculture. They were drawn from their homes by fair means and foul, and obtained land west of the Mississippi."[33]

Two discussions of the misery brought about by the desire of the government to spend as little as possible in removing the Indians were presented by

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[30] Basil Hall, *Travels in North America*, Vol. III, pp. 280–281.

[31] Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America from April, 1833 to October, 1834*, Vol. II, p. 66.

[32] De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. I, pp. 371–372.

[33] Bremer, *Homes of the New World; Impressions of America*, Vol. II, p. 52.

Andrew Bell and Friedrich Gerstacker. Bell described a steamboat which had been hired at a low rate, and which sank with hundreds of Indians on board. "Had this," he said, "been brought about by design (which of course it was not), instead of resulting from a 'conscientious economy' of government money, it still would have been merciful, compared with the protracted misery probably in store for survivors."[34] Gerstacker believed that the allocation of the Federal government for removal would have been sufficient, had not the officials employed contractors to handle the actual emigration. Because of this situation, the Indians were "obliged to part with all they had for bread, selling their rifles and tomahawks, horses going for two and three dollars; and, while they died of hunger and distress, the contractors made a fortune."[35] As for the annuities the Indians received for giving up their land, the Europeans learned that most of these funds eventually returned to the white traders, "having done the Indians little good by the way."[36]

Travelers in the United States were not content with having their European and American audiences hear the misery of removal as told by whites. They also recorded what they believed was the attitude of the Indians. It was obvious that at times these writers were substituting their own words for those of the Indians. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that they sincerely believed the Indians, if they had the chance, would express themselves in similar terms.

In 1819, Thomas Nuttall explained the Osage belief that the early movement of Cherokees to their frontier was "a step of policy in the government to overawe them."[37] Nonetheless, this did have the good effect, he continued, of restraining Osage attacks on American hunters and trappers in the area.

De Tocqueville portrayed the feelings of the southeastern Indians at the time of their removal. He declared:[38]

> They are of the opinion that the work of civilization, once interrupted, will never be resumed; they fear that those domestic habits which have been so recently contracted may be irrevocably lost in the midst of a country which is still barbarous, and where nothing is prepared for the subsistence of an

[34] Andrew Bell, *Men and Things in America* (London: W. Smith, 1838), pp. 256–257.

[35] Friedrich Gerstacker, *Wild Sports in the Far West*, Edna L. Steeves and Harrison R. Steeves, eds. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1968), p. 277.

[36] Möllhausen, *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific with a United States Government Expedition*, Vol. I, p. 35. Möllhausen wrote this about the Choctaw in 1853. A decade earlier, Victor Tixier wrote of the same situation among the Osage; see John F. McDermott, ed., *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies*, translated by Albert J. Salvan (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940), pp. 130–131.

[37] Nuttall, "Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory during the year 1819," in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, Vol. XIII, p. 238.

[38] De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. I., p. 382.

> agricultural people; they know that their entrance into those wilds will be opposed by inimical hordes . . . . Moreover the Indians readily discover that the settlement which is proposed to them is merely a temporary expedient.

Expulsion from their ancestral homeland dealt the Indians a heavy blow, but some Indians, according to European writers, planned to leave the United States entirely. Abdy reported in 1833, that Ross's faction of Cherokees were "strongly inclined" to settle in Mexico, where they believed they would be given asylum. Johann Kohl, visiting the Ojibwa nearly thirty years later, argued that upon hearing they might be moved from their home on Lake Superior, the Osages "determined on emigrating to the Canadian shore . . . and becoming British subjects."[39]

James S. Buckingham, who published a three-volume history of America after he returned to England, was much affected by a conversation he had with Sioux and Iowa delegates in Washington. After explaining that he wished to visit their western country but not settle there, a tribal chief turned to the interpreter and exclaimed:[40]

> Tell this white man, that if he comes to see us, and goes away again, leaving us in possession of our lands undisturbed, we will bless his name for ever. The white men come, they look at our lands, they take them from us, they drive us far off; we become settled, they disturb us, and drive us farther off again, because they want our lands for themselves; and therefore we like not their footsteps; but if he will come . . . and then return to his own home, we will give him a welcome such as white men do not always receive.

In 1842, Charles Dickens, while traveling in the West on the Ohio River, met a Choctaw chief who was returning home after attending a conference in Washington. The Choctaw, Dickens later wrote sadly, "said several times that unless they tried to assimilate themselves to their conquerors, they must be swept away before the strides of civilized society."[41] Sir Edward Sullivan was told by Indians in the early 1850s "that so many white men have gone west . . . they are sure the east must be unpeopled, and that therefore they shall emigrate in that direction."[42]

The Belgian Jesuit, Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet, who worked among Indian tribes between 1838 and 1873 as a missionary and also, at times, as an

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[39] Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America from April, 1833 to October, 1834*, Vol. II, p. 66; Johann G. Kohl, *Kitchi Gami; Wanderings round Lake Superior*, translated by Lascelles Wraxall (London; Chapman and Hall, 1860), p. 426.

[40] Buckingham, *America: Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive*, Vol. I, pp. 110–111.

[41] Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (New York: H. L. Burt, n.d.), p. 742.

[42] Sir Edward R. Sullivan, *Rambles and Scrambles in North and South America* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), p. 137.

envoy on peace commissions of the United States government, also discussed the Indians' attitudes toward removal. In 1839, he described in his journal the refusal of the Potawatomi Indians to sign another treaty giving up their lands until they witnessed "all former treaty stipulations first executed." Until their promises were fulfilled, he declared, they had no confidence in a new treaty."[43] By 1853, DeSmet was writing that fear of white encroachment was affecting the Coeur d'Alene in the Oregon Territory. He stated that "the idea of having presently to leave the place where repose the ashes of his fathers and of all those he has loved, and his hunting and fishing grounds, throws him into a state of entire hopelessness. . . . The Indian sees nothing ahead of him but a dark and sombre future."[44]

Few travelers wrote about the feeling of the general American public toward the removal question, as most Europeans held the opinion that greed for land was widespread in American society. Yet Mrs. Trollope believed that there were also "some among them [Americans] who look with detestation on the bold bad measure decided upon at Washington in the year 1830."[45] Henry Tudor agreed, and expounded further:[46]

> The government of a country . . . will sometimes legislate in opposition to the declared sentiments of the nation over which they preside; and as I am fully aware that a strong, and I am inclined to believe general, disapprobation of the measure of 1830, and of subsequent cruelties exercised towards the Indians, prevails among the people, I feel quite disposed to exonerate the majority, the more moral, reflecting, and better part of the community, from a participation in the offenses of a particular state, and in those of their political rulers.

Most Europeans, however, were not willing to "exonerate the majority" of the American people. As Abdy stated, because their disapproval of the removal policy was not accompanied by "any wish to restore [the Indians] to their rights as men, or . . . a conviction of their claims to equal consideration with the whites, it never was of much value. It is worse than idle to declaim against oppression, and yet support the principle on which it is founded."[47]

Many Americans who traveled within the United States during this period expressed their aversion to the removal policy, and opinions about

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[43] Hiram M. Chittenden and Alfred T. Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S. J. 1801–1873* (4 vols., New York: Francis P. Harper, 1905), Vol. I, p. 172.

[44] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 758.

[45] Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, p. 180.

[46] Henry Tudor, *Narrative of a Tour in North America* (2 vols., London: James Duncan, 1834), Vol. II, p. 420.

[47] Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America from April, 1833 to October, 1834*, Vol. II, pp. 86–87.

the removal of the southeastern tribes were, at times, as violent and as sectional as the feelings about slavery. Yet the majority of Europeans appeared not to have investigated this feeling too deeply; and, therefore, their resulting attitude was that Americans as a whole either supported, or were indifferent toward Indian removal.

The European travelers also discussed what they believed the inevitable results of Indian removal would be. Many were surprised the Federal government did not realize the perilous situation it was creating, locating tribe after tribe on its western borders. Marryat recognized the problem clearly in the late 1830s; not only had the Federal government brought danger to the frontier settlements by bringing the tribes together, but the Indians, "having been located on the prairie country, have become Horse Indians . . . and they have a vast country behind them to retreat to in case of necessity."[48] Because of the small size of the regular army, Marryat declared, the frontier was practically defenseless. Nonetheless, he continued, the Indians would not have an opportunity to carry out their hostile intentions, unless, of course, America became involved in a war with Great Britain or France, in which case the Indians "whether they act in concert or not . . . will give the Americans more occupation than will be agreeable."[49] Marryat indicated that the United States had better conclude the Seminole War quickly and victoriously, for not only was the stand of the Seminoles encouraging the hostility of the western tribes; but there was also the danger, if the war became protracted, that runaway slaves would reach the Florida swamps, and cause further trouble for settlements in that area.[50] The frontier of the United States was not the only section of the country in danger. Francis C. Sheridan, in 1839 and 1840, noted that the only Indians creating any apprehension in the Republic of Texas were "those who have been removed West of the Mississippi by the U.S."[51]

Although Europeans discussed the danger to the United States resulting from the removal of the Indians, they were more concerned with the danger to the Indians themselves. As early as 1818–1820, James Flint stated that the depopulation of the tribes in the West was accelerating because of continued emigration. The same effect was noted by George Frederick Ruxton in the 1840s.[52] Mrs. Basil Hall, stating a widespread opinion, predicted that the

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48 Marryat, *A Diary in America, with Remarks on its Institutions*, Vol. II, p. 277.

49 *Ibid.*

50 *Ibid.*, pp. 283, 286, 305.

51 Willis W. Pratt, ed., *Galveston Island; or a few Months off the Coast of Texas: the Journal of Francis C. Sheridan, 1839–40* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1954), p. 130.

52 James Flint, "Letters from America," in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, Vol. IX, p. 279; George Frederick Ruxton, *Life in the Far West*, Leroy R. Hafen, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), pp. 99–100.

tribes removed to the West would "no doubt soon vanish from the earth."[53] Discussing the fate of the western tribes in 1854, Father DeSmet predicted: "They must either perish miserably, or sell their reserves, or go and rejoin the wandering bands of the plains, or cultivate the soil. But, observe well, they are surrounded by whites who condemn them, hate them, and who will demoralize them in a very short time."[54] The basic problem, however, as Abdy viewed it, was the Indians' lack of security "against the recurrances of that injustice [the taking of their land] from which former treaties had been unable to protect them."[55]

What was the Federal government to do? Friedrich Kurz suggested, in his journal, which he maintained between 1846 and 1852, that if the United States actually intended to civilize the Indian, "first of all let him have peace; let him not be continually driven from place to place out of his productive domain to the barren prairie; let him be treated as a human being, entitled to equal rights with the white race."[56] Father DeSmet urged the Federal government to adopt a reservation system in Oregon Territory which would place the Indians "in a country abounding with game and fish, with sufficient arable land to encourage them in its gradual cultivation; and . . . by degrees . . . [the government could] induce them to submit to the restraints of civilization, when the inevitable decree of time causes it to pass over them."[57]

The concluding statements of European travelers, in response to the policy of the Federal government were examples of emphatic social criticism. De Tocqueville compared the American policy with earlier Spanish policy:[58]

> The Spaniards were unable to exterminate the Indian race by those unparalleled atrocities which brand them with indelible shame, nor did they even succeed in wholly depriving it of its rights; but the Americans of the United States have accomplished this twofold purpose with singular felicity; tranquilly, legally, philanthropically, without shedding blood, and without violating a single great principle of morality in the eyes of the world. It is impossible to destroy men with more respect for the laws of humanity.

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[53] Una Pope-Hennessy. ed., *The Aristocratic Journey; Being the Outspoken Letters of Mrs. Basil Hall, during a Fourteen Month's Sojourn in America, 1827–28* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931), p. 239.

[54] Chittenden and Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S. J. 1801–1873*, Vol. III, p. 1207.

[55] Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America from April, 1833 to October, 1834*, Vol. II, p. 65.

[56] J. N. B. Howitt, ed., *The Journal of Rudolf Friedrich Kurz*, translated by Myrtis Jarrell (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1969), p. 362.

[57] Chittenden and Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S. J. 1801–1873*, Vol. IV, p. 1579.

[58] De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. I, pp. 385–386.

Mrs. Trollope and Tudor believed that the Americans would not be able to preserve their moral principles in the eyes of the world. Observing the dealings of Americans with the Indians, Mrs. Trollope felt "revolted by the contradictions in their principles and practice. They inveigh against the governments of Europe, because, as they say, they favour the powerful and oppress the weak."[59] Tudor indicated that in the removal policy, an "example of power against right . . . those high principles of liberty, whereon the Americans found their boast and peculiar distinction, have been compromised to a fearful extent."[60] To those who said they could do nothing for the Indians, because the Constitution had to be upheld, Abdy made this caustic remark: "The king's little finger has been removed to make way for the loins of the framers of the constitution."[61]

The main opinion concerning the policy of the Federal government in removing the Indians to the West professed by Europeans traveling in the United States was that regardless of the American ideals of liberty and human rights the Indians were driven westward without a large showing of adverse public opinion. This attitude was the result of greed for the land occupied by the Indians. Also the Indian removal did not stimulate the American citizens as the abolitionist movement of the same era.

The Federal government, while expressing the desire to "civilize" the Indians, assisted the state governments in acquiring Indian land, and drove the Indians west at a great cost in human life. Thus the United States exposed both white settlers and Indians to warfare and disease.

The Indians were cheated by white contractors and traders in the West, disposed from their ancestral homes, separated from their possessions and at the same time brought no nearer to the goal of "American Christian Civilization." Europeans after witnessing such actions might well ask if America was indeed the promised land, where freedom and human dignity marched westward with civilization.

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[59] Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, p. 180.

[60] Tudor, *Narrative of a Tour in North America*, Vol. II, pp. 418–419.

[61] Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America from April, 1833 to October, 1834*, Vol. II, pp. 78–79.

A BRIEF EXCURSION INTO JOURNALISM

"The Choctaw and Chickasaw Observer, Formerly the Ft. Gibson Appeal or the Indian Courier"

*By Martha Royce Blaine**

Boggy Depot in the Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, became a Confederate cavalry post and hospital base during the Civil War. Here in November, 1863, two young soldiers, William E. Rosser and Thomas White, momentarily turned journalists and produced a handwritten newspaper.[1] Rosser and White had enlisted at Fort Washita, in the Chickasaw Nation, on June 1, 1861, in the First Company K, of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles.[2] In the same company was Lieutenant J. William Wells, who by November, 1862, had been promoted to captain and was Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper's Adjutant General. Wells participated in the first Battle of Cabin Creek in July, 1863, and a year later was a lieutenant colonel commanding the Texas Battalion stationed at Boggy Depot. It was during Wells's sojourn at Boggy Depot that this fledgling newspaper was written.[3]

This newspaper, written on both sides of an eighteen by thirteen inch piece of paper, is filled with memory stirring names and places—President Lincoln, Stand Watie, "the glorious caus[e]," the Pony Express, Quantril, Bushwhackers, Jayhawkers, Fort Gibson, Fort Cobb, Fort Smith, Fort Arbuckle, Cabin Creek, North Fork Town, "beautiful Tahlequah" and perhaps, memory evoking only to the young editors' ghosts, "the girls of Panola." Of more current interest is the listing of the inflated prices of the time, coffee was $8.00 and $8.50 per pound; jean pants cost $40.00 and $45.00 per pair, eggs were valued at $7.00 to $10.00 per dozen and whiskey, $75.00 to

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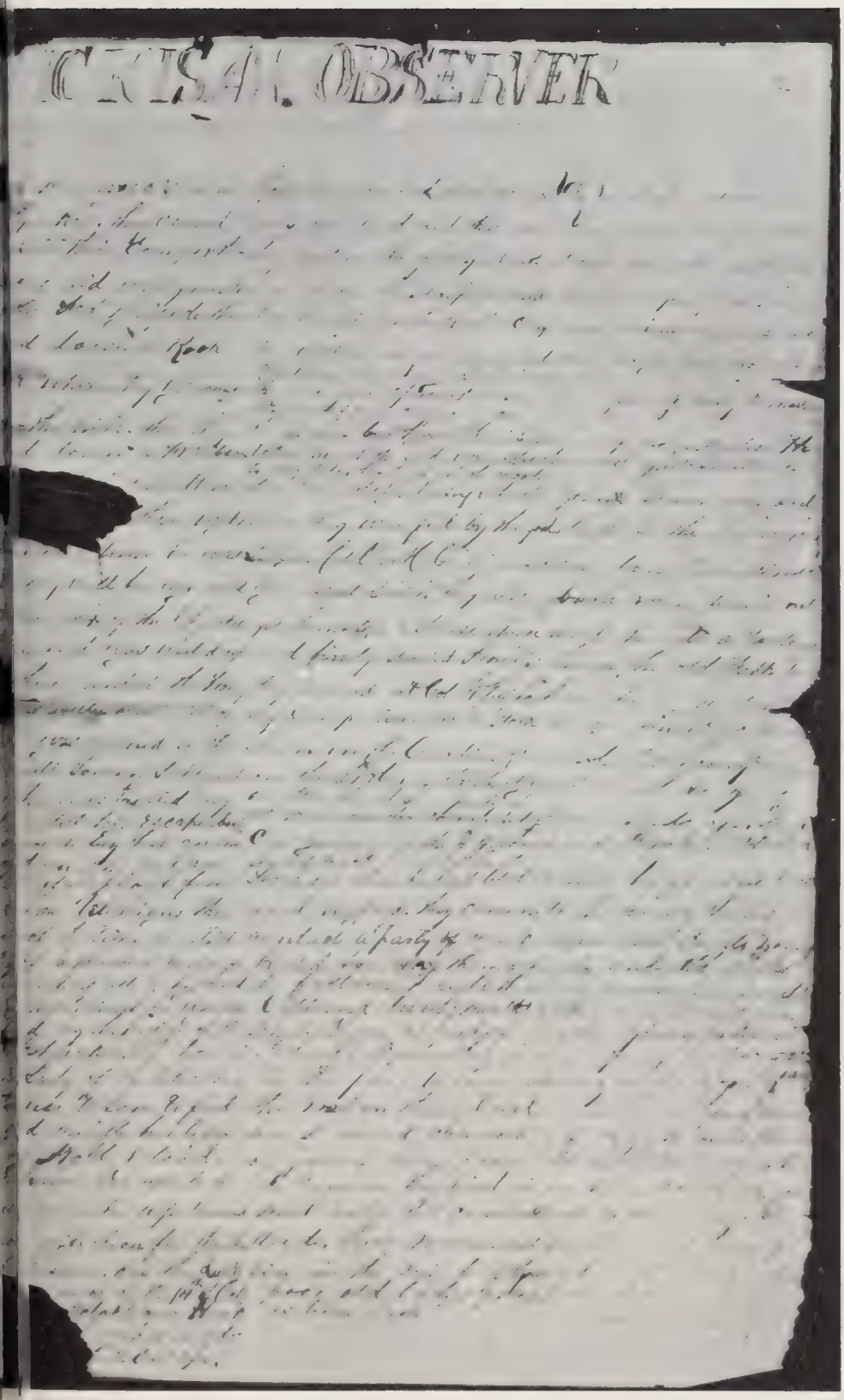
* The author is presently an assistant archivist in the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

1 The original hand-written "Choctaw and Chickasaw Observer" is located in the Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

2 Grant Foreman, comp., *History of the Five Tribes in the Confederate Army from Records in the Office of the Adjutant General*, unpublished manuscript, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, pp. 122, 144.

3 W. A. Phillips to Major General James G. Blunt, July 7, 1863, United States Department of War, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols., 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Ser. 1, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, p. 378–379.



An extremely rare hand-written copy of "The Choctaw and Chickasaw Observer" published in November, 1863. The original is in the Indian Archives Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

$100.00 a "quat." However, lest the reader feel a certain satisfaction at knowing that prices were considerably higher then than now, the list includes "fresh pork, 23 cts. to 25 cents."

In editing the manuscript no attempt has been made to correct the prose, thus some passages seem awkward. However, it offers great insight into the feelings of many of the men who were separated from their families while serving in the Civil War.

THE CHOCTAW & CHICKASAW OBSERVER

Boggy Depot, C. N. I. T. Nov. 30 A. D. 1863 Weekly & $5 per annum invariably in advance

Rosser & White, Editors,
The Choctaw & Chickasaw Observer[4]
The latest News by Pony Express from Arkansas. A Large Number of Feds at Fort Smith & Still Coming. 2000 Negroes in uniform at Fort Gibson and will hold this place at all hazards. 1500 Yankees, Pins and Negroes at Van Buren and the Bushwhackers are killing 20 & 30 a day.[5] the Comd. officer at Fort Smith Genrl. McNeal says that he has lost 600 men this far [?] killed by our terrible bushwhackers and jahawkers.[6] understand that there is 500 Arkansaans up at Greenwood now under Capts Jack Edward, Jon Miller & Fitz Williams. They are playing the [?] with the Feds & Union Men now. Large number of Negroes and Indians, Creeks & Cherokees was killed by only 34 [?] men from Wells Battalion. Some say as many as 150 was laid aside on the night of 21st of Nov. A man just down from Ft. Arbuckle says that numbers of wild Indians are doing mischief on the hold sale up there. Col. Bouling calls for Help.

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[4] Annie Rosser Cubage, "Engagement at Cabin Creek, Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 1 (March, 1932), pp. 45–51. In the transcribed text given here, illegible words and missing words are indicated by a question mark or / / marks. Punctuation and spelling have remained as written.

[5] "Pins" was the name given the Cherokee soldiers in the Union Third Regiment of Indian Home Guards. They wore two crossed pins on their coats and were members of the Keetoowah secret society that believed the Cherokee Nation would be best served by remaining loyal to the Federal government.

[6] Bushwhackers were Confederate guerillas during the Civil War. Jayhawkers were freebooting guerillas that ranged in Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas and Indian Territory. The name was applied to the Seventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, which was declared outlaw by Confederate authorities because of its reputation for not taking any prisoners.

[Page 1, Column 2]

The Arrest and Escape of Thos. B. McDaniel, of Capt. D. M. Vawters Company (C) Lt. Col. J. W. Wells Battalion, Texas Cavalry. On the 25th day of June, 1863, Col. Stand Watie with a part of 4 regiments started to Cabin Creek to capture a Fed Train of wagons that was expected in. And on the 29th Capt. L. E. Gillett started to Reinforce Col. W. with 240 men on the 1st of July they arrived at Cabin C. the fight was then going on. On the 2nd Thos. B. McDaniels went on Picket with 20 men in a few minutes the cannonading commenced and lasted 2 hours during that time the enemy charged across the creek. Maj. Foreman was in command of the Federal Indians in the charge T. B. McD ran up to the Creek and fired once at Maj. F but missed him and fired again and brought the gallant officer to the Ground then the enemy ran off some distance & the Negroe Regiment was drawn up in line of Battle and kept up a regular firing for an hour or more during which time our gallant Hero was Shot severely wounded and was obleged to lay down his arms and find some quiet place to Shelter himself from the terrible hail of the enemys musket Balls

[Page 1, Column 3]

After firing two rounds, after being wounded he started off. the boys wanted to carrie him but he refused to be carried by them and [?] about that time the / / a disprit charge and a few remaining Confederates was obliged to fly. but in the meantime 75 or 100 / / and a Regt. of Negroes crossed the creek and made a dash on our lines in the Prairie. broke the lines of the White Troops and all Fled permisquely in a few / / our brave and daring / /went back on / /the/ / the creek in the swamp [?] & laid down and began to snooze. he laid there two hours. several parties passed him while there bleeding and suffering but saw him not. He finely conc/ / to give up and be taken/ / he raised up and looked & saw a white Trooper & two Negroes who had not seen him so he coughed that they might see him. on seeing him come forth [?] and asked him if he was a Fed. and when he asked if he was a Rebbel Thos. told him he was he then told Thos. to get up but he told him he could not and to come on that he was wounded & had nothing but a knife and would not hurt himself / / He came & helped our Hero up.

[Page 1, Column 4]

/ / man was a Lieut. in / / Negro Regt. they carried Thos. up to their camp & then medical aid was given to him. the Fed Brigade then moved down to Rock Crick where they Bivouaced for the night. then they moved down to Ft. Gibson/ / our Hero / / three weeks

living/ / time he was treated very well. he was visited by the Fair Sex of the Cherokee nation and was waited upon untill the Honey Creek Battle. on the 29th day / / He was carried to the beautiful Town of Tahlequah where he was treated very well untill his escape, but we forget to say that on the 29th of August he had an attact of Typhoid fever. / / was delearious the most of the time untill the 30th of September, but not withstanding all of his hardships & misfortunes he was very well treated by Ladies of the Rebel Cherokee. "OH" how a young Lady of the Cherokee Nation used to Love to feed him and mingle her tears with his Noble Blood. The Fed Surgon had right to be jelous because his wife showed so much affection for the Rebel Prisoner. on the dark / / night on the 14th of Oct. / / o'clock our Hero & / / made a successful [?] escape.

[Page 1, Column 5]

Thos. & Chambers had made arrangements before hand and that night they met in the graveyard not far from the Hospital, and then started for the Rebbel camp. they walked about 8 miles and Mrs. Chambers & Young Lady brought them a gun apiece & Provisions. they would have come on to our camps then but Thos. B. McDaniels was taken very sick and was obliged to stay there. they lived in the woods there two weeks & during which time they were fed by the good Ladies Mrs. C. & Mrs. C's single and Beautiful Sister & they also got themselves a Horse apiece and finally started home they arrived at Col Waties lonley camp near North Fork Town on the Canadian River on the 29th day of October, 1863. Our Hero then took a party of 20 men under command of Capt. Butler & on the 4th of Novem. started back. he visited the old Hospital where he had bled and suffered. they come in contact a party of men & killed four (4) of them and the following night they captured two (2) men (8) Likely Negroes, 20 heads of Horses and Mules. They give to the poor women in the Nation their bread and risked chances of getting more from the enemy. They lived on meet and did charitable deeds. their names will live in the minds of those poor old ladies as long as time lasts.

[Page 1, Column 6]

A Sad Tragedy of Love

Young man lives quietly at Home before the war. and courts a young lady. young man drinks very hard and old Folks was not willing for Young Lady to marry Young Man. very sad. starts to the Army joins [?] stais long time, comes back when time is over and he gets a Furlough. Then the old Folks tell him he is no better so he must go away and let Young Lady alone.

so Young Man starts off Mad and Broken Harted. while he is gone back to the Army young man No. 2 courts Young Lady and Old Folks say marrie him Daughter tother one is not coming back. Young Lady marries No. 2. Young Friend in the Army writes to Young Man. goes crazy is carried Home old sweet Heart comes to see him. Comes to. goes back to the army. She says she loves him yet. and will leave young Man No. 2

Turn to Page the 3rd

THE CHOCTAW AND CHICKASAW OBSERVER
Formerly the Ft. Gibson Appeal or the Indian Courier
William Ernest, Proprietor
The Choctaw and Chickasaw Observer

Young Man No. 1 writes young Lady. Young Lady gets tired waiting for young man to get a Furlough so she makes Friends with Husband and quits writing to young man in the Army. so young man gets uneasy. goes Home. finds his Lady Love sleeping at her Husbands house. goes crazy again tries to cut throat. Young lady comes to his bedside again. tells him she loves him. and hates young Man No. 2. Young man No. 2 hears her and packs up tricks and starts for Mexico. Young man No. 1 takes charge of young Lady. Young man's Captain sent for him to come to the Glorious Army. Young man leaves young wife at old Papas. Young wife runs off with fast young Gent going home on Furlough Old Dad writes to young man. Young man kills himself with Morphium & Arsnic to spite young Lady. Taken from the "Northern Union."

[Page 2, Column 2]
One of Col Quantrils Men just Men Arrived from Mo. States that he came direct from St. Louis Via Springfield and Van Buren. he says that there are about 1500 Feds of the Ill. 7th, 13th, 29th at Van Buren under Genrl Cloud and that he staid with Gen. McNeal at his camp, 6 miles from Walden two days and while he was there the Fed Gen. got orders to March onward to red River. He also states that the Feds make dreadful boasts of wintering on the beautiful soil of Texas this year. Mr. Rockingham (as that is the Gentlemans name) also informs us that the old and honoured Soldiers from Ark are going to the Yankees every day and Genrl. McNeal is offering to bet $10,000 that he has them all before Spring (64) Mr. R had his wife and a Negro boy with him. his wife was in a buggy when I saw her and she is the most beautifull Lady I ever Saw. She appeared to be about 17 years of age & from her conversation I supposed she had to run awway with her husband. She told me that her Father & Mother both opposed her marring a Rebbel

but alas for Love and its mistic spell. If the Feds are ordered to red River we will see sights this winter. "OH" how cold.

[Page 2. Column 3]

Todays Sales and Price Cur/ / Corn in the Shucks $6 and 6½ / /. Corn Shelled $7 and 7½ & $8.[7] Flour is from $50 to $75 per hundred and very hard to buy at that. Sugar at $1.50 and $2. Coffee $8 and $8.50 and $1 in gold. Coffee Barley at $7 per bush. Pork Fresh 23 cts to 25 cents. Bacon $1.00 & $1.25 and very hard to find at that. Molasses none for either love or money. Rice al/ / that and all / / put in / / sole $1.50 & 2 / /Leather light vamps $30 & $36 pr. side. Leather Harness $45 & $50 pr side. Shoes two soles $50 to $55 to $60/ / short legs two soles $80 to $8/ / hip long leggs $95 to $100/ / calf one sole long legs high / / from $115 to $130 from $150 and / / hard to buy even at that. Cloth jeans $30 to $35 pr yard. Jeans / / wear pants $40 to $45 pr pair $/ / Jeans dress coat frock $60 to $75 a piece. Jeans overcoat/ / without cape $95 to $100/ /. Over Coats with capes Military $130 to $150 and cannot be bought at any price. Yarn half socks from / / dollars. Gloves. Yarn Gantlets $10. Mittens. Yarn $5 to $6. Hats cotten/ /wool blankets $40 to $45. Hats nice Cashmiere from $75 to $100. Caps coarse Jeans $20. Caps nice cloth $30. Milk $5 pr gallon. Butter from $8 to $10. Eggs $7 to $10 pr dozen/ / Dried peaches $75 to $100 pr Bushel. Wiskey $75 to $100 per Quat. Blankets/ / Comforts from $35 to $40/ / Scarce very scarce at the / / pr Plough Black / /

[Page 2, Column 4]

There is a calm for those who soldier. A rest for weary Soldiers Found. Where they hardly ly & soundly / / low on the Ground. Soldiering is a hard life for I / / tried it as E C [?] Crawford / / he came to Washita and went back to his Home in Panola County Texas in June 1861. but I guess long ere Miss [?] Elsbury thinks soldiering is a very hard Hard Life. A Lonely Picture in Camp. To see a fine looking beautiful Young man well educated with nice manners and graceful deportment sitting half starved half naked and half frozen by / / fire smoking a very / / dare Pipe with a short / / and kinnykinnic[8] and some manufactured tobacco. Thinking of home and the few dear ones there and looking out in

[7] Confederate currency was inflated during the war and the prices quoted here reflect that fact.

[8] Kinnikinnic, a word from the Algonquian language, meant "that which is mixed" and referred to tobacco mixtures used by North American Indian tribes. Common substances used included sumac leaves and the inner bark from a certain species of dogwood.

front of his tent and seeing the snow & ice he turns around and sighs and then thinks, "OH" how cold I shall be tonight while on Guard. and then he refills his old & ugly Pipe which is all the company he has and then draws an old worn out looking letter from his pocket and begins to read. Dear or My Dear Child or My Dear Brother and then you may see the tears wending their way down his pale and timeworn cheeks as he sits and continues to read untill called and told it is his hour to go on Guard and then he curses the War and those that brought it about.

[Page 2, Column 5.]

The Soldiers Here are all in Fine Spirits and are satisfied that our caus will be OK yet. We can whip them. We have done it and can do it again. I Know we will have to endure a great deal before we can even expect peace, but we are all (at least all here) willing to stay from our Dear Homes and those Dear Sweet ones there at least five (5) years and if til necessary Ten (10) and endure all the hardships imaginable before we will submit to the Lincoln Governments dictation or have any intercourse with it whatever.

The Expressman from Fort Cobb arrived here a few days since. he states that the Troops at Ft. Arbuckle and Cobb (Boulings Battalion) & the Tonkaway squadrons are keeping good order on the Frontier.[9] a party of wild & Savage Indians of different Tribes came to Ft. Cobb and commenced their depradations on a White woman and two poor white headed children, but the Tonkaways apprehended them and brought them to Ft. Arbuckle bound Hand & foot in raw hide Ropes. Wanted: A good Pensman at this office for which we will pay a big price if we do not succeed in getting one we will be compelled to stop our Paper, as we have so much writing to do for our [sentence not completed]

[Page 2, Column 6]

A Pecan or Pecon Hunt

We are glad to say that we were invited to go Pecon huntting yesterday with a party of young ladies & Gentlemen of our Town. There was Miss Emma Flint, Miss Serina Guy, Lucy Ward/ / iday, Mattie Watkins, the two Misses Binnam & Miss & Mrs. Pattent and a hole lot of married women and all had gallants from our company. We were gone all day and gathered about ten bushall of Pecons. We enjoyed ourselves very much

[9] The Tonkawa Indians were first reported in Spanish documents of the 1770–1780 period. They ranged between the Middle and Upper Trinity rivers in Texas as nomadic hunters living in scattered villages. In 1857, they were removed by the United States government to a location north of Anadarko in present Oklahoma. Albert Pike, the Confederate Indian Commissioner, negotiated a treaty with them and other tribes of the Wichita Agency on August 12, 1861, after which they remained loyal to and served the Confederate government.

considering the great weight there is on the Editors mind at this time, caused we think from some very harsh letters from those he loves but too well at Home.

Our Quartermasters are doing all in their power to get ready to pay the Oldest Troops off all the Government ows them by Christmas. and then Furlough them that they may return in 64.

Cheering Letters

The Parents, friends of the Soldiers have no Idea how much good it does toward making good Soldiers of their sons, Brothers, Husbands and friends to write them a real jolly Christmas letter and the lovers of our glorious caus ought not to write any other Kind.

We would write a great deal more but our large paper has all given out. but thank Heaven we have a plenty of this kind to last us ten (10) years. but tonight is cold and if the Girls of Panola will subscribe for our Paper. we, I and Mr. Rosser will do a heap better, hereafter.

Thos. White.

THE ASSIDUOUS WEDGE: WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE OKLAHOMA CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

*By James R. Wright, Jr.**

"Undoubtedly the most radical organic law ever adopted in the Union" was the way Lyman Abbott, famed clergyman-editor of *The Outlook*, described the Oklahoma Constitution shortly after it was ratified in September, 1907.[1] And Oklahoma's latter-day historians have continued to concur. Victor E. Harlow pronounced the Sooner State's fundamental law "one of the most progressive ever enacted by any state."[2] James S. Buchanan and Edward Everett Dale added that "it was even almost radical for its time."[3] To Keith L. Bryant, Jr., biographer of the president of the constitutional convention, William H. Murray, the constitution "was a living testimonial to the continuation of Populist ideology after 1896 and the blending of this philosophy with progressivism."[4] Like Abbott before them, these modern chroniclers cited the constitution's innovative provisions for the control of corporations, for the mandatory primary and for the initiative and referendum to support their conclusions. But unlike Abbott, they overlooked one seemingly anomalous limitation in the nearly 50,000-word document. "Of the other multitudinous provisions of the Constitution," wrote the astute old New Englander, "it may be noted as odd that so radical an instrument should have restricted woman's suffrage to school elections."[5]

However, was the restriction on the right to vote really so odd? Or did it only appear odd? After all, what Abbott was attempting to describe was the work of men with whom he had little in common. If most of the delegates to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention could be said to share with Abbott the label "progressive," they certainly did not share his background. Two-thirds of them were born in the South; and their brand of progressivism was distinctly regional.

In 1915, a young New York University professor, Benjamin Parke De

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1 Lyman Abbott, "Oklahoma's Radical Constitution," *The Outlook*, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 5 (October 5, 1907), p. 229.

2 Victor E. Harlow, *Oklahoma: Its Origins and Development* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1935), p. 304.

3 James S. Buchanan and Edward E. Dale, *A History of Oklahoma* (New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1935), p. 285.

4 Keith L. Bryant, Jr., *Alfalfa Bill Murray* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 71.

5 Abbott, "Oklahoma's Radical Constitution," *The Outlook*, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 230.

Witt, called attention to the three tendencies in American politics which, "because of their universality and definiteness, . . . may be said to constitute the real progressive movement."[6]

> The first of these tendencies is found in the insistence by the best men in all political parties that special, minority, and corrupt influence in government —national, state, and city—be removed; the second tendency is found in the demand that the structure or machinery of government, which has hitherto been admirably adapted to control by the few, be so changed and modified that it will be more difficult for the few, and easier for the many, to control; and, finally, the third tendency is found in the rapidly growing conviction that the functions of government at present are too restricted and that they must be increased and extended to relieve social and economic distress.

"In advocating greater control by the people over government," De Witt elaborated:[7]

> the progressive movement has in view not only an increase in the influence exercised by voters in politics, but also an increase in the number of those who exercise it. The theory of democracy upon which the entire progressive movement is based is that every normal citizen who is mentally and morally fit not only has the right, but is also under a duty to participate in the solution of political problems. Holding this point of view, those who believe in the movement can find no logical reason why women should not, and every logical reason why they should, have the right to vote.

Even though a "real" progressive like De Witt could find no reason for refusing to grant women equal suffrage, the majority of the delegates to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention could; and their reasons, however illogical, reveal the true nature and peculiar limitations of Southern progressivism.

Equal suffrage had been demanded initially by a small handful of New England women at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. A quarter century after the Civil War it had become a plank in the platforms of liberal reformers everywhere. In May, 1891, the delegates to the first national convention of the People's party, meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, had concluded that the idea of votes for women was so clearly in line with the doctrine of popular rule that it could not logically be denied a place in their reform package. They had, therefore, resolved "that the question of universal suffrage be recommended to the favorable consideration of the various states and territories."[8]

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[6] Benjamin P. De Witt, *The Progressive Movement* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915), pp. 4–5.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[8] John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (6th ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), Appendix D, "Cincinnati Platform, May, 1891," p. 434.

It should be noted, however, that few of the delegates who attended the Cincinnati Convention were from the South.[9] In that region, in succeeding years, the fact that the demand for woman suffrage was never completely disassociated from its Northern sources created obstacles to its fulfillment that were not encountered elsewhere.

In that part of the South which was to become Oklahoma, the movement for woman suffrage began on March 10, 1890, with the founding, by Mrs. Margaret O. Rhodes, of Oklahoma Territory's charter chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union at Guthrie, the territorial capital.[10] Because membership in the Women's Christian Temperance Union provided a social outlet for the gregarious pioneer woman, the organization grew rapidly. By the end of the spring, ten other chapters had been formed and welded into a territorial society with Mrs. Rhodes at its head. In October, 1890, while the First Territorial Legislature was busily engaged in adopting a code of laws for the territory, representatives of the various Women's Christian Temperance Union locals assembled in the capital to lobby for legislation in favor of prohibition and woman suffrage. The campaign achieved only limited success. Although women were granted the right to vote in school elections, a proposal to strike the word "male" from the general franchise law failed to pass the Territorial House of Representatives by three votes.

Nipped in the bud by the legislature's frosty reception, the suffrage movement remained more or less dormant in Oklahoma Territory until October, 1895, when Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, chairwoman of the newly appointed Organization Committee of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, dispatched Laura A. Gregg to organize the territory. Fresh from the Kansas association's unsuccessful campaign of 1894, Miss Gregg spent more than a month lecturing at the major towns along the route of the Rock Island and Santa Fe railroads. The lovely suffragette climaxed her tour at Guthrie on November 11 and 12 by organizing a dozen National-American Woman Suffrage Association locals into a territorial auxiliary with Margaret Rees as president. Disseminated by Misses Gregg and Rees and another national organizer, Mrs. Julia B. Nelson, who visited Oklahoma Territory in the summer of 1896, the doctrines of the organization, like those of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, quickly met with favor among Oklahoma women. The second annual convention of the territorial

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[10] The following account of the initial phases of the woman suffrage movement in Oklahoma Territory is taken from Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage and Ida Husted Harper, eds. *History of Woman Suffrage* (6 vols., Rochester, New York: Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, 1881–1922), Vol. IV, pp. 646–647, 886–887.

auxiliary, held in Guthrie, June 7 and 8, 1896, noted a sharp increase in membership.[11]

Between 1890, when the First Oklahoma Territorial Legislature rejected the suffragettes' initial bid for the franchise, and 1896, four states had given women the vote. Wyoming in 1890 and Utah in 1896 had guaranteed equal suffrage in the constitutions under which they had entered statehood, while Colorado in 1893 and Idaho in 1896 had extended the franchise to women by constitutional amendment.[12] In the spring of 1897, heartened by the movement's two most recent triumphs in the West, and hoping to take advantage of the victory in the previous winter's territorial elections of the reform-minded Populist-Democratic "fusionists," Miss Rees drafted a bill, which was introduced in the Oklahoma Territorial House of Representatives, granting full voting rights to women. Following an exhaustive campaign, in which Miss Rees's own efforts were augmented by those of Mrs. Laura M. Johns, a National-American Woman Suffrage Association organizer from Kansas, the bill passed by a vote of thirteen to nine, only to be killed in the Oklahoma Territorial Council.

The suffragettes, rather than being discouraged by this second setback, were buoyed by prospects of imminent victory. They determined to launch an even larger drive the following year. In September, 1898, Mrs. Catt ordered Mary G. Hay to the territory to arrange the campaign. A month later, the chairwoman of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association's Organization Committee came herself to see that meetings were held in every town and local committees appointed to circulate petitions. Plans for the coming crusade were completed in November during the National-American Woman Suffrage Association Auxiliary's fourth annual convention at Oklahoma City, where Mrs. Rhodes, founder of the Territorial Women's Christian Temperance Union, was elected president. Miss Gregg, who had been summoned by Mrs. Catt to replace Miss Hay as the association's chief propagandist, was sent to Guthrie to establish headquarters.

The Territorial Legislature convened the first week in January, 1899, and was immediately deluged by a flood of pro-suffrage petitions. "The strongest and best men espoused our cause," Mrs. Catt reported later, "and the outlook seemed propitious."[13] However, the chairwoman had failed to reckon with the vagaries of politicians. Because of an "unfortunate quarrel" which

[11] Miss Rees and her sister, together with their mother, Mrs. Rachel Rees Griffith, were later lauded as the "Mothers of Equal Suffrage in Oklahoma."

[12] Stanton, Anthony, Gage and Harpers, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. IV, pp. xxi–xxii.

[13] From Mrs. Catt's report to the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, *ibid.*, p. 888.

arose between the territorial governor and the legislature, the work of the latter was seriously slowed. Only a week remained in the session when a woman suffrage bill finally passed the Territorial House of Representatives by a vote of fourteen to ten. The suffragettes immediately focused their attention on the Territorial Council. But there, in spite of Mrs. Catt's subsequent assertion that "a majority were pledged to support our measure," opponents of equal suffrage carried out a week-long filibuster which prevented the bill from coming to a vote.[14]

If the narrow defeat, by itself, merely dismayed the suffragettes, the knowledge that they had been betrayed by a councilman "who for thirty years, in a neighboring State, had been an avowed friend of suffrage," and whom "even the enemies" of equal suffrage had expected to champion the proposal, was enough to raise them to the height of womanly wrath. "Why did he fail us?" wailed Mrs. Catt. Asking did "he renounce the faith of a lifetime? No. Did the suffragists offend him? No," Mrs. Catt stated that, "even if they had done so a man of character does not change his views in a moment for a personal whim. Why, then, this change? Any member of the Legislature, for or against suffrage, if he would speak as frankly to others as he did to us, would tell you it was for money." As for the source of the bribe, "rumor was plentiful," declared Mrs. Catt, the "saloons all over Oklahoma, with a remarkable unanimity of knowledge, boasted beforehand that the bill was killed and that this man was the instrument which they had used." "We had won the victory," she concluded, "but a crime robbed us of it."[15]

The refusal of the 1899 Territorial Legislature to pass a woman suffrage bill marked the beginning of another five-year hiatus in the progress of the woman suffrage movement in Oklahoma Territory. The suffragists realized that without the endorsement of at least one of the major political parties, further attempts to gain the franchise would prove fruitless. Only a significant change in the territorial political climate would justify a renewed effort.

Fortunately, in 1904, such an alteration occurred. With the passage by the lower house of the Fifty-eighth Congress of the Hamilton Bill providing for the admission to statehood of Oklahoma, Indian, Arizona and New Mexico territories under the names of Oklahoma and Arizona, the suffragettes once again began to stir.[16]

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[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 888–889.

[16] The following brief account of the "statehood protest" precipitated by United States House of Representatives passage of the Hamilton Bill is taken from *ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 129–130.

One clause in the Hamilton Bill, that declaring that the "State shall never enact any law restricting or abridging the rights of suffrage save and except on account of illiteracy, minority, sex, conviction of felony, mental condition or residence," was especially upsetting to the suffragettes.[17] The leaders of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association launched a nationwide protest against the objectionable passage. In September, a circular letter denouncing the Hamilton Bill and signed by the presidents of such organizations as the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Council of Jewish Women, the Teachers' Federation, the Catholic Women's League and the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, was mailed to more than 34,000 suffragettes. The Business Committee of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association reported later that "perhaps no more spontaneous response was ever given to anything than to this letter. All sorts of societies, not of women only, but of men and of women, protested."[18] Hundreds of letters praying

[17] Quoted in *Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Annual Convention of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association Held at Portland, Oregon, June 28th to July 5th*, Inclusive, 1905 (Warren, Ohio: The Tribune Company, 1905?), p. 31. Hereafter cited as *National-American Woman Suffrage Association Proceedings, 1905*.

[18] Stanton, Anthony, Gage and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. V, p. 129.

Members of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention who heard the report of the Suffrage Committee which classed women with "felons, paupers, lunatics and idiots" as unqualified to vote.

for the defeat of the Hamilton Bill in the United States Senate poured into the office of Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, chairman of the Committee on Territories. Finally, near the end of the second week in December, Senator Beveridge notified the National-American Woman Suffrage Association headquarters that the United States Senate, "in accordance with your very reasonable request," had voted unanimously to strike the word "sex" from the qualifying clause.[19]

While the Hamilton Bill was still being debated in Congress, the National-American Woman Suffrage Association "in response to letters sent from Oklahoma," ordered the ever-willing Miss Gregg to reorganize the territory.[20] Early in March, 1904, Miss Gregg arrived in Guthrie, where she established headquarters. There "she found things in a chaotic condition," Mrs. Biggers, one of the territory's leading suffragettes, subsequently stated, "for though twice before Territorial Associations had been organized, the usual difficulties in the way of keeping alive an organization in a new country were encountered."[21] Miss Gregg began at once to correspond with past members and to organize new clubs in Guthrie, Oklahoma City and

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[20] *National-American Woman Suffrage Association Proceedings, 1905*, p. 124.
[21] *Ibid.*

the other principal towns. Mrs. Julia L. Woodworth, president of the Oklahoma City club, arranged a tour for Miss Gregg and during the next eight months the indefatigable organizer lectured at Women's Christian Temperance Union conventions, Grand Army of the Republic encampments, teachers' institutes, women's clubs, business colleges and country school house meetings. Early in December, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, joined Miss Gregg for a two-week series of conferences in the larger towns.

On December 15, 1904, delegates from Oklahoma and Indian territories met in Oklahoma City for a two-day convention. Dr. Shaw opened the first session by reading a newspaper report announcing that the United States Senate had stricken the sex qualification from the Hamilton Bill. Also read was a letter from Susan B. Anthony, honorary president of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, warning that "no stone should be left unturned to secure suffrage for the women while Oklahoma is yet a Territory, for if it comes into the Union without this in its constitution it will take a long time and a great deal of hard work to convert over one-half of the men to vote for it."[22] In response to this warning, the convention organized the Twin Territorial Woman Suffrage Association, with Mrs. Biggers as president. The convention closed with the adoption of a resolution declaring that there should never be enacted "any law restricting the right of suffrage on account of sex, race, color or previous condition of servitude."[23]

Although the Hamilton Bill was eventually defeated in the United States Senate, three other statehood bills, each containing the Hamilton Bill sex clause, were introduced in the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature. One of the bills was reported favorably. Notwithstanding their "dismay at the thought of the time and labor which another general protest would involve," the leaders of the Twin Territorial Woman Suffrage Association promptly called a conference with the officers of the Territorial Women's Christian Temperance Union, and soon hundreds of letters flooded the legislature. Mrs. Biggers disclosed later that "one of the Senators, though opposed to woman suffrage, declared that the clause must go to save the Legislature from being buried in letters from women." Another young man wrote suffrage headquarters, declaring that "if there are not men enough in the Capital City to prevent the Legislature from heaping such insults upon Oklahoma womanhood, call upon the young men of the Territory, and we will come in our might, and fight that bill, with our fists, if need be." For-

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[22] Stanton, Anthony, Gage and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. VI, p. 520.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 521.

tunately, the need to resort to violence proved unnecessary. Although the bill passed the Territorial House of Representatives, it was killed in the Territorial Council. Mrs. Biggers stated subsequently, "The storm of protests opened the eyes of men who supposed that women were indifferent about the suffrage."[24]

Such a belief may have stemmed in part from awareness of the apathetic reception given the equal suffrage movement in Indian Territory. Certainly, passage of the Hamilton Bill by the United States House of Representatives had revealed to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association the need for organizing the Indian Territory women. Early in January, 1905, Dr. Frances Woods was delegated to begin that work. Together with Miss Gregg, Dr. Woods addressed the meetings of scores of organizations all over the territory. These lectures, "which afforded no opportunity to organize clubs," were nevertheless "a powerful means of creating sentiment."[25] At the same time, pro-suffrage articles were mailed to nearly all the newspapers in the two territories, and it was later reported that about seventy-five of the papers published them. One issue of the *Oklahoma Messenger*, the Women's Christian Temperance Union organ, was devoted solely to woman suffrage. At the end of the year, Mrs. Biggers reported to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, "We have had a most successful year, and offer our report in profound gratitude to the National Association for its generous help, and pledge our faithful service and loyal co-operation for the coming year."[26]

In 1906, as the prospects for statehood brightened, interest in woman suffrage grew phenomenally. At the end of the year, the president of the Twin Territorial Woman Suffrage Association reported a thirty-one per-cent gain in membership. Much of the increase was due, of course, to the continued organizational work of Dr. Woods and Miss Gregg. But local suffragettes also contributed their share. It was they who placed small packages containing pro-suffrage literature in farmers' wagons on Saturdays; it was they who built the float that won first prize in the Labor Day parade at Tulsa in the Creek Nation; it was they who set up a rest tent at the agricultural fair at Chickasha in the Chickasaw Nation. Indeed, one of the highlights of the year's work was provided by the Oklahoma City club. To answer the oft-repeated charge that most women really cared little about voting, the Oklahoma City suffragettes conducted an extensive campaign to get women to register and vote in the city school election. Meetings were held in every ward and lecturers were sent to address the women teachers

[24] *National-American Woman Suffrage Association Proceedings, 1905*, p. 126.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] *Ibid.*

in each of the city's schools. More than 600 women responded to the suffragettes' plea by registering. Due to an election day storm, only about 400 women actually cast their votes. Still, the campaign was deemed a complete success. Mrs. Biggers herself believed "this was a practical reply to [the] statement . . . that women did not want the ballot."[27]

In the summer of 1906, the suffragettes finally began to reap the rewards of their strenuous efforts. On June 16, President Theodore Roosevelt signed into law the Oklahoma Enabling Act, providing for joint statehood for Oklahoma and Indian territories, and throughout the area dozens of organizations, encouraged by the absence from the act of any sex qualification, immediately passed resolutions endorsing woman suffrage.[28] By far the most important of these endorsements was that secured by Mrs. Biggers from a joint convention of the Twin Territorial Federation of Labor and the Indiahoma Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, held at Shawnee, Oklahoma Territory, on August 21–23.[29]

As Pete Hanraty, president of District Number Twenty-One of the United Mine Workers of America as well as of the Twin Territorial Federation of Labor, reported later, the territories' two most powerful interest groups had met together at Shawnee to draw up a plan for "concerted action in getting articles in the State Constitution for the new state of Oklahoma that will be for our mutual benefit and welfare."[30] Woman suffrage was only one of the "causes" that the farmers and laborers espoused. On September 10, less than three weeks after the Shawnee Convention had adjourned, the Hanraty-headed Joint Legislative Board of the Federation of Labor and the Farmers' Union, which had been appointed by the convention to draft a set of measures to be submitted to all the candidates for delegate to the constitutional convention, published a list of twenty-six "demands." Included in this list in addition to equal suffrage were such "popular" proposals as the initiative, referendum, recall, an elective corporation commission and the blanket primary.[31] Most of the candidates for the 112 dele-

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[27] *Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association Held at Chicago, February 14th to 19th, Inclusive, 1907* (Warren, Ohio: The Tribune Company, 1907?), p. 88. Hereafter cited as *National-American Woman Suffrage Association Proceedings, 1907.*

[28] "Enabling Act," *Oklahoma Red Book*, Seth K. Corden and W. B. Richards, comps. (2 vols., Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1912), Vol. I, pp. 27–39.

[29] For a good newspaper account of this convention, see the *Shawnee Herald*, August 21-23, 1906.

[30] *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Twin Territorial Federation of Labor, 1907*, Manuscript Division, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma, p. 4. Hereafter cited as *Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1907.*

[31] A list of twenty-four of the "demands" can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 4–5, and in Albert H. Ellis, *A History of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Oklahoma* (Muskogee, Okla-

gate seats succumbed to the combined pressure of the farmer-laborites and suffragettes; after the election it was discovered that 71 of the winners had endorsed the entire list.[32]

Among the delegates who refused to subscribe to all the "Shawnee demands," however, was William H. Murray, self-proclaimed "Author of the 'Blue Print' of the Constitution."[33] Born in Texas, in 1869, and pressed during his formative years into the standard Democratic mold by his opposition to populism, Murray had moved in 1898 to Tishomingo, capital of the Chickasaw Nation. There he established a law practice and resumed his political activities, soon becoming a familiar figure at local Democratic gatherings.[34] In 1905, as the agitation for statehood increased, Murray had joined Charles N. Haskell, a railroad promoter from Muskogee in the Creek Nation, in calling an unauthorized convention to draft a constitution for a separate state of Sequoyah, to comprise only Indian Territory.[35] That the separate statehood movement eventually proved abortive bothered neither Murray nor Haskell. As Haskell subsequently admitted, the delegates to the Sequoyah Convention had not been "actuated altogether by lofty and patriotic motives." "It was largely a struggle for political power and supremacy," he recalled later, "and the welfare of both territories was sacrificed by those who were seeking political position and power in a new state."[36]

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homa: Economy Printing Company, 1923), pp. 45–48. Ellis, who was the second vice-president of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, apparently copied the Federation of Labor list, and because the laborites liked to boast that all their "demands" had been incorporated into the constitution, there is some reason to believe that their published list is incomplete. The president of the convention, William H. Murray, consistently wrote of "26 'demands,'" the Joint Legislative Board's list plus woman suffrage and "one other" that he could not recall. See William H. Murray, "The Constitutional Convention," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (June, 1931), p. 138 and William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma* (3 vols., Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1945), Vol. II, p. 30.

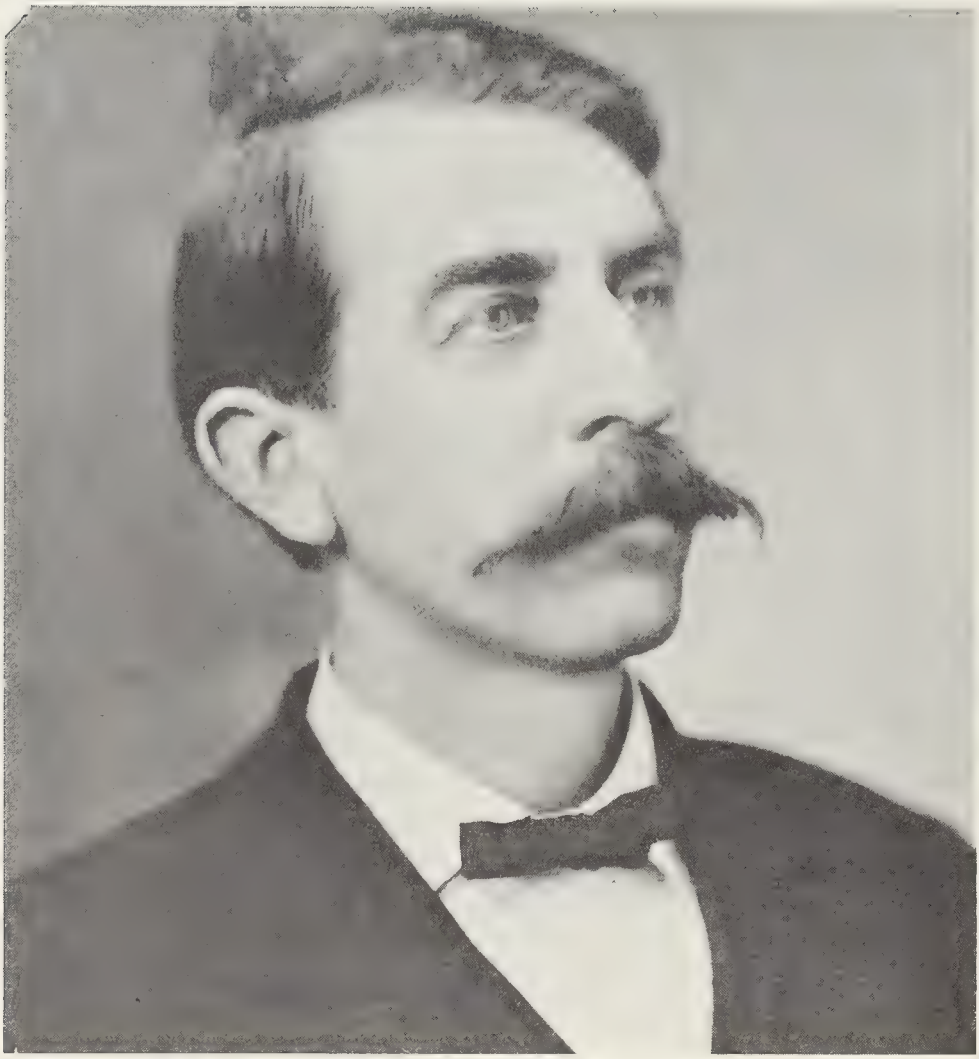
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 18, and Murray, "The Constitutional Convention," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, p. 130. The Twin Territorial Federation of Labor claimed only seventy delegates altogether, sixty-seven Democrats and three Republicans. See *Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1907*, p. 7. On November 19, 1906, the day before the convention opened, S. O. Daws, ex-president of the Indiahoma Farmers' Union, told a Guthrie newspaper reporter that "about seventy delegates were elected through the efforts of our organization and they promise to give us what we demand." See *Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), November 20, 1906.

[33] Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, p. 43.

[34] Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray*, p. 4.

[35] For the best account of the separate statehood movement, see Amos D. Maxwell, *The Sequoyah Constitutional Convention* (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1953); for a biography of Haskell, see Oscar Presley Fowler, *The Haskell Regime: The Intimate Life of Charles Nathaniel Haskell* (Oklahoma City: Boles Printing Company, 1935); and for a copy of the Sequoyah Constitution, see Corden and Richards, comps., *Oklahoma Red Book*, Vol. I, pp. 623–674.

[36] Quoted in Paul Nesbitt, "Haskell Tells of Two Conventions," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (June, 1936), pp. 197–198.



William H. Murray, an ardent opponent to the woman suffrage movement, at the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention.

While accompanying Murray to the railroad station at the close of the Sequoyah Convention, Haskell had asked him if he thought the separate statehood movement would serve to hasten single statehood. Murray had answered that he did. Haskell had then said, "I want you in the event of the Enabling Act, to keep tab on all the delegates elected from both Territories. Note their politics and their peculiar leanings. You know the farmers and they know you."[37] Although, at the time, he had been in Oklahoma Territory only once, on a hunting trip, "Alfalfa Bill" was a charter member of

[37] Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, p. 319.

the Indiahoma Farmers' Union. "The farmers in both Territories knew who I was," he later boasted, "and those that were not communistically inclined had regard for my leadership."[38]

Only a few years before Murray had helped organize the first Farmers' Union local in Indian Territory, there had been founded in that territory a branch of the Socialist party, ideological successor to the then nearly defunct People's party. The Socialists drew their chief support from the wage laborers in the coal mining district in the southern half of Indian Territory, many of whom, like Hanraty, belonged to the radical Twin Territorial Federation of Labor. But more in keeping with their populist heritage, the Socialists also appealed to the farmers in both territories who in ever mounting numbers were falling victims to tenancy. Because many of these farmers were members of the Farmers' Union, there was a strong tendency for that organization, too, to become involved actively in radical politics.[39] Indeed, Murray was convinced that the joint convention of the Federation of Labor and the Farmers' Union held at Shawnee "had been largely worked up by an off-cast element in politics, anti-Democratic, anti-Republican," and, along with other regular Democrats, he had been greatly disturbed when Farmers' Union officials "began to connive with and aid that political 'side-show.' "[40]

If Murray had attended the Shawnee Convention in order to prevent the subversion of the Union by the Socialists and preserve his own power base, he was almost thwarted in that endeavor by his own inattentiveness. For when Pete Hanraty introduced the resolution calling for the appointment of a Joint Legislative Board to draft a set of "demands," Murray was occupied in a committee meeting. Rushing to the floor just as a vote on the proposition was about to begin, he announced that he was "unalterably opposed to the resolution, that it was dangerous, and that they themselves would find it out in 12 months." After the delegates passed the resolution over his objection, Murray again rose to speak. Knowing that the radicals "had 'stacked' the convention," he reviewed their "peculiar scheme and how it would work out and how dangerous it was to the organization." Although Murray's argument came too late to influence the vote on the resolution, it

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

[39] For more on socialism in Oklahoma, see Oscar Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken* (New York: H. Holt and Company, 1940); H. L. Meredith, "Oscar Ameringer and the Concept of Agrarian Socialism," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (Spring, 1967), pp. 77–83; Donald Kenneth Pickens, "Oklahoma Populists and Historical Interpretation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1965), pp. 275–283. Although there is no evidence that Hanraty was himself ever a member of the Socialist party, it is known that he was an avid collector of Socialist pamphlets and newspapers. See Frederick Lynne Ryan, *The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining Communities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), p. 87.

[40] Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, pp. 296–297.

did have a significant effect on the delegates. "That speech and my membership of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention," he later observed, "was the cause of my election to the Presidency of the [Oklahoma] Constitutional Convention." He admitted, "In both, in a way, I was leading a minority." Yet, he had had no fear "of getting in the van of a righteous minority, because after the people find out, they will approve and applaud that independent action."[41]

Murray's faith in the people was well founded. A little less than three months later, following his own election on November 6, as "District 104's" representative to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, he remembered his pledge to Haskell "to keep tab on all the delegates elected from both Territories." A quick count showed that, of the 112 men elected, 99 were Democrats, 12 Republicans and 1 an Independent, and, moreover, that 75 had been born in the South and 37 in the North or in foreign countries.[42] But while Murray must have realized that many of his Southern Democratic cohorts were among the seventy-one delegates who had signed all the "Shawnee demands," thereby endorsing woman suffrage, he also was aware that their support had not been secured without a certain degree of coercion. From his own calculations, he knew that thirty-four of the delegates elected had earlier attended the Sequoyah Convention and that thirty more were Farmers' Union men who had joined his camp after his speech at the Shawnee Convention opposing the radicals. If these sixty-four had been afraid to voice their true sentiments during the campaign, Murray nevertheless was convinced that with a strong leader at their head they would take a stand for moderation in the convention. As he afterwards related, "I knew at once that I could poll every one of them and that I could be President of the Convention."[43]

Murray's insight into the composition of the convention was not apparent to the suffragettes; however, it was to his fellow delegate Haskell, who, after urging him to "[g]et in the race for the Presidency," began making plans for the campaign. Under the terms of the Enabling Act, the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention was to open in Guthrie on November 20, 1906.[44] To assure Murray's election, Haskell preceded him to the territorial capital where he met with Robert L. Williams of Durant in the

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[41] *Ibid.*

[42] For a list of the delegates with their political affiliations, see Irvin Hurst, *The 46th Star: A History of Oklahoma's Constitutional Convention and Early Statehood* (Oklahoma City: Semco Color Press, 1957), Appendix I. For the origins of the delegates, see Blue Clark, "Delegates to the Constitutional Convention," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1970–1971), pp. 400–415.

[43] Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, pp. 319–320.

[44] *Ibid.*

Choctaw Nation, and persuaded the unreconstructed Bourbon leader of Indian Territory Democrats to throw his weight behind the delegate from Tishomingo.[45] When Murray himself arrived at Guthrie a few days later, it was, just as Haskell had predicted, "all over but the shouting."[46] The Democrats caucused on Monday, November 19, and Williams nominated Murray as the party's candidate for president. Pete Hanraty was nominated by the radicals. But Murray, with the backing of Williams and of such prominent Oklahoma Territory Democrats as Charles H. Pittman of Enid, D. S. Rose of Blackwell and Henry S. Johnston of Perry, easily defeated the suffragettes' favorite, sixty-two to twenty-six.[47] Murray's election to the presidency and Haskell's subsequent elevation to the post of majority floor leader marked the beginning of the end of their quest for "political position and power in a new state." As the Republican *Oklahoma State Capital* confirmed when the Democratic slate was elected the next day in a strictly partisan vote, "the Sequoyah constitutional convention advocates have captured the convention."[48] Observed the *Capital*, "There is just about as much chance for a northern democrat in this convention, and with the democracy of Oklahoma [Territory] as there is for the proverbial snowball in a bake oven."[49]

Pete Hanraty who was the suffragettes' favorite candidate in the election for the president of Oklahoma's Constitutional Convention.

With the Indian Territory triumvirate of Murray, Haskell and Williams solidly entrenched in power, the convention set to work to draft a consti-

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[45] Nesbitt, "Haskell Tells of Two Conventions," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, pp. 206–207. For a biography of Williams, see Edward Everett Dale and James D. Morrison, *Pioneer Judge: The Life of Robert Lee Williams* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1958).

[46] Quoted in Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, p. 321.

[47] *Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of Oklahoma*, November 20, 1906, manuscript, Law School Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. Hereafter cited as *Proceedings and Debates*.

[48] *Oklahoma State Capital*, November 22, 1906.

[49] *Ibid.*, November 24, 1906.

tution. Naturally, in this endeavor the suffragettes were only too eager to help. Having transferred their headquarters to Guthrie with the opening of the convention, they began the task of "interviewing" those delegates who had not yet signed the "Shawnee demands."[50] To aid in this effort the suffragettes enlisted Robert L. Owen, who, though not a delegate, was destined to be one of the first United States Senators from Oklahoma. "Early in the convention," Murray recalled later:[51]

> Senator Owen, parading everywhere for Woman's Suffrage, called a meeting in a room that had no seats, and it was filled with supporters of that provision. I wanted to see what their arguments were. I slipped into the meeting and squatted in a corner of the room unobserved. After some bit of discussion, one of the clerks we called 'Dad Boydston,' a 'Labor Leader,' a splendid well-qualified man, carpenter by trade, got up and made a speech. He said: 'I have got 71 members pledged to woman's suffrage and I want to see the color of the hair of any Delegate who dare oppose it.' When he quit, O. G. Harper, also a Clerk, rose and replied to him.

The unseemly behavior of Boydston and Harper angered Murray, who upon appointing the clerks of the convention had warned them that lobbying on their part for or against any proposal before the convention would result in immediate dismissal. As he remembered:[52]

> I called them in next morning and told them that I was present and said: 'You fellows have violated the rules. I am not going to tolerate it; you are both fired. Boydston what you said was unbecoming a member, to threaten one another about their vote, nor do I endorse your sentiments. Harper, I endorse your sentiments, but I cannot tolerate the violation of the rules,' and dismissed them.

Whether or not the suffragettes ever discovered why Boydston was discharged, they nevertheless were well acquainted with Murray's position on the question of equal suffrage. No provision for extending the franchise had been included in the Sequoyah Constitution of which Murray was the chief author, and although he had not referred specifically to woman suffrage in his speech before the farmer-laborites at the Shawnee Convention, his objection to their "demands" clearly had been prompted in part by his opposition to women voting. When the "demands" later had been submitted to him for his signature, rather than endorse them collectively, he pointed out, "I answered 'yes,' or 'no' to each of them," adding, "I said 'no' to the 'recall' and 'universal suffrage.' "[53] Furthermore, where it was a gross breach of pro-

[50] *National-American Woman Suffrage Association Proceedings, 1907*, p. 89.
[51] Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, p. 82.
[52] *Ibid.*
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

priety for an employee of the convention to lobby for or against a proposal before the convention, it was not for a member. While the suffragettes were trying to secure additional endorsements, Murray was busy cornering the previous signers. "A majority of those Delegates did not believe in [the 'Shawnee demands'], but were afraid to give their position," he believed. Only in response to the pressure applied during the election campaign by the Farmers' Union and the Federation of Labor as well as the suffragettes had "they signed on the dotted line."[54] In impromptu discussions with the seventy-one delegates who had thus evinced their suppport of equal suffrage, Murray succeeded in convincing several of them that their acquiescence had been ill-advised. By far the most influential of the previous signers was Williams. Although inherently opposed to women voting, the conservative Alabamian initially had agreed to endorse the whole list of "demands." It was only after a long talk with Murray that he was persuaded to abandon his opportunistic position. But even Murray was unable to dispel all of Williams's doubts about the advisability of opposing the farmer-laborites and suffragettes. For when the question of woman suffrage finally was raised on the floor, Williams retired to the cloak room, thereby illustrating graphically the uncertainty and confusion that continued to be occasioned by suffrage propaganda.[55]

When the report of the Suffrage Committee, presented to the convention on the morning of February 5, 1907, inferentially classed women with "felons, paupers, lunatics and idiots" as unqualified to be electors, Hanraty promptly offered an amendment extending the franchise to members of the fairer sex.[56] William T. Dalton of Broken Arrow, in the Creek Nation, offered a similar amendment.[57] What was to become the "most heated debate of the convention" had begun.[58] Although the suffrage movement's appeal to human rights, its promise of political virtue and social justice all should have harmonized with the delegates' progressive instincts, potent taboos militated against its advocacy by most of the members of the convention's Southern Democratic majority. These included the chivalric concern for keeping women in their domestic sphere and out of the mire of politics, a standard charge that Socialists directed the movement from outside and the fear that woman suffrage would somehow legitimize Negro suffrage.

With Murray in the chair and Williams conveniently absent, the task of

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] Stanton, Anthony, Gage and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. II, p. 523.

[57] *Proceedings and Debates*, February 5, 1907.

[58] Stanton, Anthony, Gage and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. VI, pp. 522–523.

directing the fight on the floor of the convention against the revision descended upon the third member of the Indian Territory triumvirate, Charles N. Haskell. After supporting Murray at the Sequoyah Convention in opposing any kind of electoral reform, Haskell had adopted a rather conciliatory attitude toward the suffragettes, even appearing at times to favor their cause. Prior to the opening of the convention debate, however, there had occurred an event that caused the delegate from Muskogee in the Creek Nation to cease his vacilation. "At the time that Robert Owen was striving to adopt Woman's Suffrage," Murray later wrote:[59]

> I was in Haskell's apartment talking to him, Mrs. Haskell being present. Owen came in and asked Haskell how he stood. Haskell said: 'I haven't made up my mind yet.' Mrs. Haskell, who really was his mentor, spoke up immediately and said: 'I know how he is; he will be against it.' Owen asked her why? Mrs. Haskell said: 'Women vote for love or hate; that is the thing that moves them. They have got to do it in self-defense.' Well he rather denied that, and she said: 'I will give an example: I had an old teacher that was very strict and he made me study, as he ought to, but I hated him. After he retired from the profession, he ran in that town in Ohio for School Trustee, and a saloon 'bum' ran against him. I voted for the saloon bum.'

However illogical, Mrs. Haskell's argument was irrefutable. "On the floor of the Convention," Murray concluded, "Haskell took the lead to oppose."[60]

In his opening remarks Haskell attempted to appease the suffragettes.[61] Observing that "good men place women on a pedestal far above themselves," he belied the demeaning language of the Suffrage Committee report by stating that the delegate who opposed equal suffrage for the woman did so only "out of a feeling of greater respect for her kind than he could bear to have for his own." The majority leader went on to say that while he did not object to the Hanraty Amendment in principle, he feared that as a practical matter many women would not vote, the very ones, in fact, who should "to make the average right." Similar opinions were expressed by D. S. Rose, Charles H. Pittman and O. P. Brewer, whose assertion that ninety per cent of the women in Indian Territory opposed equal suffrage was greeted with loud applause. At the same time it was left to delegate David Hogg to carry Haskell's argument one step farther. In a none too circumspect appeal to Southern sympathies, he cited the results of the experiment in Idaho, Utah, Colorado and Wyoming to demonstrate that broadening the electorate had been "especially disastrous to women themselves in blunting their finer

[59] Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, p. 84.
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] *Proceedings and Debates*, February 5, 1907.

sensibilities, and in bringing to the front a political type of woman, whose conduct and characteristics are repellant to those who cherish conservative and reverend ideals of womanhood." However, when Hogg also insisted that the ordinary woman did not want to vote, a plaintive dissent issued from the gallery: "Yes, I do, Mr. Hogg. I want to vote the worst kind."[62]

Their appeal to chivalry thwarted, the anti-suffragists next attacked the main source of male support for equal suffrage, the radical Twin Territorial Federation of Labor. Shortly before the debate opened, Hanraty had offered some indication of the strength of that organization's patronage by presenting 83 petitions, signed by more than 24,000 members of trade unions in Oklahoma and Indian territories, in favor of extending the franchise. As was true in other instances, however, the support of the women's cause by the labor men carried with it distinct disadvantages, the foremost of which was the unions' connection in the minds of many with the Socialist party. "Strip your labor organizations of the Socialistic element therein," declared J. B. Harrison of Sayre, Oklahoma Territory, "and I tell you you will have no advocate of woman suffrage in it." A conservative Kentuckian from a small town famous for its large number of resident Socialists, Harrison was well aware of the efforts which had been made in behalf of the women's crusade by the "radical and extreme class, who would overthrow absolutely the existing institutions, including marriage." Passage of the Hanraty Amendment, he warned, would "eventually mean Socialism, and Socialism means the destruction of the home, the destruction of the marriage relations and the marriage vows, and the adoption of the horrible doctrine of free love."[63]

Hanraty rose to defend labor's stand on the question. Contending that he was "in this fight," not so much for the wife and mother who was already represented at the polls by her husband and son, but for the unmarried woman who was "thrown out to make her own living," the president of the Twin Territorial Federation of Labor went on to point out the ominous implications, for the working man, of her disfranchisement. "Denied the right to vote," he explained, the single woman "must work for a cheap wage, and when she works for that cheap wage, she takes my job; that is what I kick against." Several other delegates also expressed doubt that mingling with men at the polls would in any manner harm the woman. "I don't believe it will take from her the power and the desire to educate her child along Christian lines," said Republican Henry Asp, a corporation lawyer and strangest of the radicals' political bedfellows. He stated, "I don't believe that giving the woman the right to vote means that you are

[62] *Ibid.*
[63] *Ibid.*

going to unsex her." Finally, William Dalton accused Harrison of deliberately having tried "to create a prejudice and a wrongful impression on the members of this body, when he united [woman suffrage] with socialism, free love, and those questions that are so extremely unpopular in this country and to the people of this enlightened day and time."[64]

Henry Asp who was one of the few suffragette supporters present at the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention.

That the members of the Murray machine had introduced the anti-radical argument in order to disguise their betrayal of the farmers and laborers who comprised the party's rank and file was the conclusion reached by those who favored the Hanraty Amendment. If such an assumption served to explain Harrison's attack on the labor unions, it also threw some light on Murray's own ambivalent stance with respect to the farmers of the two territories. While Murray credited the Farmers' Union men with having elected him president of the convention, he readily dismissed the suffrage appeal as nothing more than Socialist propaganda. Still, had he not attended the meeting at which the Joint Legislative Board had adopted the twenty-six "demands"? asked Hanraty. "I know that the men whose names are signed to those demands are just as much for woman suffrage as I am," the labor leader insisted. Murray, however, refused to be trapped. "So far as your board as the representatives of the Federation of Labor is concerned," he replied, "I was present when you adopted your demands; but the board . . . is not representative of the farmers union." According to Murray, the Farmers' Union, like the Federation of Labor, had succumbed to the machinations of Socialist infiltrators. Reminding the delegates of his speech before the farmer-laborites at the Shawnee Convention, he informed them that he felt no obligation to respond to the suffrage demand.[65]

But most of the delegates were interested less in the precise origins of the "Shawnee demands" than in what effect, if any, equal suffrage would have

[64] *Ibid.*
[65] *Ibid.*

on the new state's balance of power. Although the Enabling Act, in compliance with the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, prohibited future legislatures from enacting "any law restricting or abridging the right of suffrage on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," many of the Southern-born delegates, in particular, hesitated to come to the defense of the Hanraty Amendment because it threatened to grant the right to vote to Negro women as well as white.[66] In a speech before the convention on January 8, Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky, daughter of the famed anti-slavery leader, Cassius M. Clay, and a representative of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, had admitted that the race problem continued to be a "great question in all of the Southern states." But rather than a menace, woman suffrage was the only "righteous solution" to the question. South of the Mason-Dixon line, she had revealed, the number of white women exceeded by more than 600,000 the combined total of black men and women. "By enfranchising the white women of the south," she had advised, "the white race will be put in such numerical majority as to do away with the necessity for any doubtful expediency."[67]

Doubtlessly, this was not the first time that Murray and the other delegates had heard such a claim made. In previous years, the theory had enjoyed a wide circulation among suffragettes in the South.[68] It was in part, at least, to counteract the effects of Miss Clay's argument that the president of the convention had held up the report of the Suffrage Committee while "hoping that something would occur to indicate to the delegates what should be done."[69] On February 5, 1907, as it turned out, a school board election was being conducted in Guthrie, a town with a large black population. In such elections, under the law enacted by the First Oklahoma Territorial Legislature, women were permitted to vote. Throughout the day, while the debate over equal suffrage wore on, individual delegates frequently strode to the windows of the convention hall and gazed out upon the long queue in front of the polling booth. By late afternoon the results were in—of the 758 women who had cast their ballots, only 7 were white.[70] Murray then took the opportunity to submit the question for final determination, saying, "If the Northern women won't vote what do you expect of the Southern woman, and particularly an Indian woman? If you adopt this provision, it will mean giving balance of power over to the Negro vote."[71] A motion to

66 "Enabling Act," *Oklahoma Red Book*, Corden and Richards, comps., Vol. I, pp. 27–39.

67 *Proceedings and Debates*, January 8, 1907. For more on the "statistical argument," see Aileen S. Kraditor, *Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890–1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 168–169.

68 Stanton, Anthony, Gage and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. V, p. 59.

69 Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, p. 30.

70 *Ibid.*

71 *Ibid.*

table the Hanraty Amendment was approved by a majority of fifty-four to thirty-seven, with twenty-one members absent or not voting.[72]

So lopsided a victory for the anti-suffragists came as something of a surprise to most observers. Even the morning edition of the *Guthrie Daily Leader*, the local Democratic newspaper, had predicted that the balloting would be close.[73] The suffragettes, also had underestimated Murray's persuasiveness. The *Daily Leader* disclosed that they were "very much disappointed" over the outcome.[74] A careful analysis of the vote revealed the source of their chagrin. Of the thirty-seven Northern, or foreign-born delegates who voted on the question, nineteen voted against tabling the Hanraty Amendment and eighteen for. On the other hand, of the fifty-four Southerners who voted on the motion, only eighteen voted against tabling while thirty-six cast their ballots against revising the Suffrage Committee report. Of these thirty-six Southerners who opposed woman suffrage, one was a Republican. Clearly, it was by the Southern Democrats that the issue had been decided.

As for the cause of the suffragettes' defeat, two different explanations were offered. According to the *Daily Leader*, "the arguments that the innovention [sic] of woman suffrage was a 'socialistic propaganda' dealt them a death blow."[75] On the other hand, the Republican *Oklahoma State Capital*, in an editorial by Frank Greer, suggested that the Southern Democrats turned down equal suffrage "just because the colored women in Guthrie registered and the white women did not."[76] Lending support to this interpretation was the claim made later by the second vice-president of the convention, Albert H. Ellis, that "the Delegates from counties that had no negroes were nearly all in favor of women suffrage, while the Delegates from those counties having a great number of negroes were almost unanimously opposed to it."[77] Whichever construction best fit the facts, the reactionary basis of the Southern Democrats' opposition to woman suffrage was obvious.

As early as 1857, George Fitzhugh, an ardent racist and conservative, had admonished his fellow Southerners not to heed the propaganda then being circulated by the New England-based "Abolition School of Socialists." He had asserted that the "materials, as well as the proceedings of the infidel, woman's rights, negro's rights, free-everything, anti-every school, headed and conducted in Boston, by Garrison, Parker, Phillips, and their associate

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[72] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, February 6, 1907.
[73] *Ibid.*, February 5, 1907.
[74] *Ibid.*, February 6, 1907.
[75] *Ibid.*
[76] *Oklahoma State Capital*, March 22, 1907.
[77] Ellis, *A History of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Oklahoma*, p. 162.

women and negroes, show that they too are busy with 'assiduous wedges' in loosening the whole frame of society, and preparing for the glorious advent of Free Love and No-Government."[78] In 1907, a half century later, Murray, along with the rest of the Southern Democrats in the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, continued to view woman suffrage, socialism and the doctrine of racial equality as simply different manifestations of the same evil.

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[78] George Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All! or Slaves Without Masters*, C. Vann Woodward, ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 213–214.

EPISODE AT CORNWALL

*By Lillian Delly**

Cornwall, Connecticut, incorporated in 1740, and comprising an area of 46.8 miles, is a typical New England town with trim white houses set in broad green lawns, and tall church spires needling the sky. It is located in the northwestern part of the state in the southern extension of the Berkshire Hills, near the Housatonic River.

In its early years, Cornwall was an agricultural town, a place where summer boarders came from eastern cities to enjoy the scenery and fresh air, the garden-grown vegetables and fruits and the home-cured meats and sausages for which Cornwall cooks were noted. Today, descendants of these summer residents are among those who have charming summer homes tucked away in the hills. The winter months are enlivened by hundreds of skiers who come to enjoy the sport in "the little Switzerland" of Connecticut.

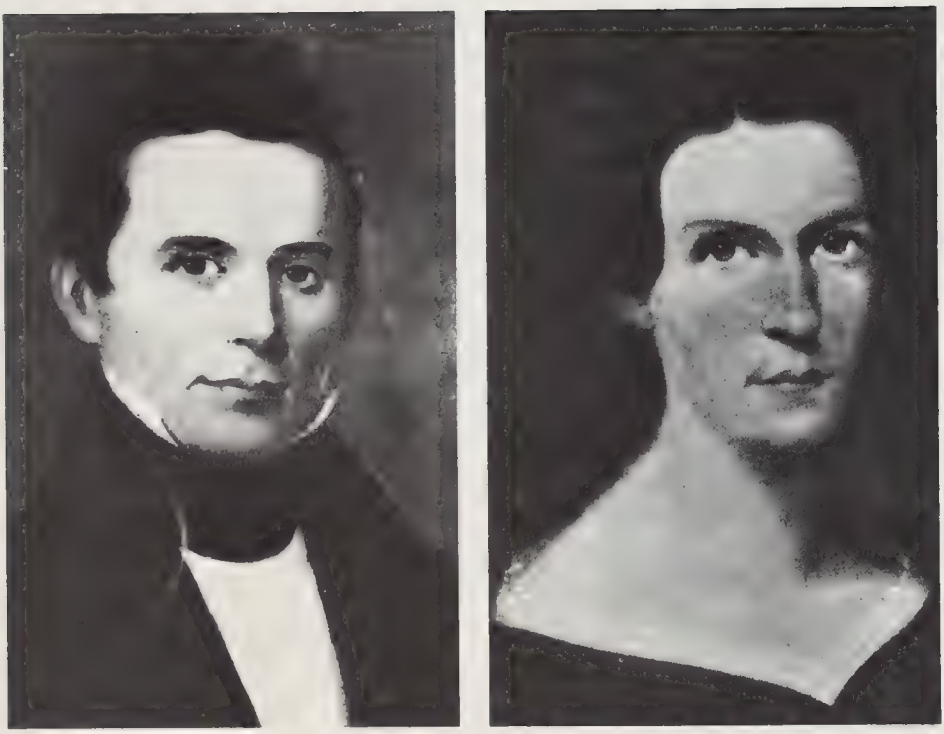
Today, Cornwall residents are grappling with regulations concerning pollution, solid waste disposal and the complexities of modern-day living, but they still see Cornwall as a small corner of Paradise in a troubled and fast changing world; a place where the individual voice is still heard, and held sacred. They are determined to keep it that way.

As was the custom in many New England towns, where winters are long and harsh, and in a day when the movements of residents was limited, the town was divided into four post office sections, East Cornwall, West Cornwall, Cornwall Bridge and Cornwall. But there was a time in the early 1800s when the town was cruelly divided by boundary lines that could not be defined—the lines of racial discrimination.

While the physical vision of the deeply religious, puritanical residents of that era was limited by the surrounding hills, their spiritual vision knew no boundaries. When it was rumored the American Board of Foreign Missions was considering the establishment of a foreign mission school to educate the male aborigines of all nations, and prepare them to carry the message of salvation back to their respective countries, Cornwall citizens made a strong bid for the location of the school in their town. Cornwall was selected and a plot of thirty acres was set aside for that purpose. An abandoned public school building, which was suitable for a male dormitory and classrooms was removed to the site, and the Cornwall Mission School opened in 1817.[1]

* The author is the former president of Oklahoma Writers Federation and has published widely throughout the United States.

[1] Paul H. Chamberlain, *The Foreign Mission School* (Cornwall, Connecticut: Cornwall Historical Society, Inc., 1968), p. 5.



Elias Boudinot and Harriet Gold whose marriage was almost the mortal blow to the Cornwall Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut.
(Courtesy Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma Library)

In time, there were students from Hawaii, China, the Azores and other foreign countries, but by far the greatest number of students came from American Indian tribes, including the Tuscarora, Iroquois, Narragansett, Oneida, Seneca, Chippewa, Osage, Choctaw and Cherokee.

One of the Cherokee students was Galigina (Gah-Le-Gee-Nah), the son of David Watie (Oo-Watie). Born about 1800 in the Cherokee Nation, Georgia, Galigina's Indian name translated as "young stag deer;" therefore, during his childhood he became known as Buck Watie. A member of a distinguished Ridge-Watie-Boudinot family, Buck Watie was surrounded by such notable Cherokees as his uncle Major Ridge, his cousin John Ridge and his younger brother Stand Watie.

The Watie family had large land holdings and a comfortable home in the Cherokee Nation. Buck Watie, who had shown evidence of great intellect in his attendance of missionary schools in the Cherokee Nation, and because he was the eldest son, was sent away by his father to continue his education. It was through the influence of Elias Boudinot, a statesman from New Jersey and supporter of Cornwall Mission School, that Watie was sent to

Cornwall. As was the Cherokee custom, Watie took the name of his benefactor, and it was as Elias Boudinot that he played an important role in the history of the school, and later as a controversial leader of the Cherokee Nation.

A few of the older residents of Cornwall may have remembered the Indian as a friend, and later as an enemy. As the Eastern coastal areas became more thickly populated by the white man, the Indians were crowded westward, where tribes encroached on lands claimed by other tribes. This led to almost continuous strife among the Indians and war with white settlers. That the French and the British played the tribes, one against the other, and against the Americans, the Indians did not comprehend. They resisted and many were the tales of Indian atrocities and savagery, which were passed from generation to generation among the whites.

The agents of the Mission School, with true missionary zeal, viewed the Indians as converts who would return to their people with the gospel message. Freely, the missionaries accepted the Indians in God's name, but not as an equal.

There was one inevitable truth that the founders of Cornwall Mission School had not taken into consideration, and that was the ageless attraction between the sexes. That it might not be wise to bring the "savages"—many of them handsome and stalwart young men—into contact with their daughters, did not occur to the citizens of Cornwall. Their children had been raised in the strict, puritanical canons of their faith, and rebellion against parental authority was rare indeed.

So it was that in 1824, when Sarah Bird Northrup, a daughter of a trustee of the Cornwall Mission School, married John Ridge, a Cherokee and former student at the institution. The school and the town were shocked at the event. That the marriage was performed with the approval of at least one parent, the bride's mother, and that the bride was provided a comfortable home on a large plantation, where slaves did her bidding, made no difference to the zealots of the community.

One of the chief watchdogs over the morals of Cornwall, was Isaiah Bunce, editor of the local newspaper, *The American Eagle*. He had opposed the opening of the Cornwall Mission School from the beginning, as he had opposed the organization of Masonry, when he had learned that members of Hiram Lodge in New Haven, Connecticut, had concerned themselves with the conversion of Jews. He continued to editorialize against the Ridge-Northrup union, bemeaning the girl who had married a savage, and departed for the wilds to live as a "squaw." Naming persons he thought had supported the marriage, Bunce suggested that the girl should be whipped, her husband hanged and her mother drowned.

Benjamin Gold, nearing sixty years of age, was a man highly respected by his contemporaries. He was a wealthy land owner and good husband. He had built his large Georgian home at Cornwall with his own hands, and he held a Bachelor of Arts degree from Yale University in New Haven. As a deacon in his church, Gold had strongly supported the establishment of the Cornwall Mission School and believed that he was carrying on the tradition of his father, Hezekiah Gold, who had pastored the Cornwall First Church for many years.

Benjamin Gold and his wife, Eleanor, had raised a large family. Remaining in the home were three sons—Stephen, Ruggles and Swift—and daughters, Catherine and Harriet. Gold's daughters had chosen well: Mary had married D. B. Brinsmade, agent of the Cornwall Mission School, and they lived in Washington, D.C.; Abby was the wife of Reverend Cornelius Everest of Windham, Connecticut; and Flora had married Reverend Herman Vaill who had formerly been a member of the Mission School faculty, and was now living in Millington, Connecticut.

Gold noticed the editorials in *The American Eagle*, and was disturbed by what he read. As the attacks against the Cornwall Mission School grew more vicious, he joined with several townsmen in writing a protest to Bunce, who refused to even acknowledge receipt of the message. Later the letter was sent to the *Connecticut Journal* in New Haven where it was finally published.

It was shortly after the letter was printed that Gold's daughter, Harriet, asked his permission to marry Elias Boudinot, with whom she had corresponded since his return to the Cherokee Nation, Georgia, after his sojourn at the Cornwall Mission School.

The hearts of Benjamin and Eleanor Gold were sorely tried. Perhaps they had thought themselves less bigoted than some of the townspeople, or secure in the belief that such a problem could not arise in their closely knit family. Nineteen year old Harriet was their youngest daughter, and greatly beloved by all members of the family. Firmly, but sorrowfully, they delayed their answer to her plea.

Harriet also met the objections of her parents with firmness, and reminded them that Boudinot had spent four years at the Cornwall Mission School, and later had taken classes at Andover Theological Seminary in Andover, Massachusetts. It was Boudinot's goal to take the gospel of Christianity to his people and other heathen. That was the idea that Harriet's parents had so strongly supported in the establishment of the school. How could they object to their daughter having a part in such a worthy task? Benjamin Gold remained adamant. He had previously sent a letter to Boudinot for-

bidding the marriage, and he insisted on keeping the proposal a secret from the other members of the family.

In the autumn of 1824, Harriet became ill. In spite of loving care from her family, and the medical advice of her cousin, Dr. Samuel Gold, she did not respond to treatment.

The long, harsh Connecticut winter was approaching, and Harriet grew steadily worse. Perhaps Benjamin Gold had more time to reflect as he sat in front of the fireplace during dark winter days. Or, it might have been his wife who first began to question whether or not they had made a wrong decision. Had they gone against the will of God in forbidding the marriage? Were they responsible for the illness of their loved one whose life seemed to be ebbing away?

Eventually they reached a decision and informed Harriet they would no longer oppose the marriage. As word was sent to Boudinot telling of their consent to the union, Harriet's health improved. Benjamin Gold was relieved of one burden, but was immediately overwhelmed with others. There was a flood of righteous indignation from most members of the family. Stephen, Harriet's brother, swore that he would kill Boudinot if he ever saw him. Reverend Vaill was the most outpsoken in his denunciation. Not only did he condemn his young sister-in-law, but also the other members of the family who would sanction such a marriage. Both Reverend Everest and Brinsmade made their displeasure known. Letters were written that should never have been and words spoken that were better left unsaid as the family was torn apart. In vain the dissenters pleaded that the whole matter should be kept secret until Harriet could get over this madness.

The other shadow that lay across Benjamin Gold's shoulders was the effect of the marriage on Cornwall Mission School. The Northrup-Ridge union had almost destroyed the institution. Would Harriet's marriage be the mortal blow?

When the announcement of the forthcoming nuptials was made to the Board of Agents of Cornwall Mission School, it was met with angry dismay. They had been led to believe there would never again be a marriage between a student of the school and a local girl. Together with Brinsmade, the agents pleaded with Harriet to abandon her plans. If she would do so, they promised, the matter would remain a closely guarded secret, and the townspeople would not know. If not, they would publish their ban on the marriage in a manner they deemed fitting.

When Harriet remained firm in her decision, the ban was published on June 17, 1825, in a special report issued by the agents for Cornwall Mission School. The ban decried the fact that negotiations for such a marriage had been going on secretly for some time; the agents declared their disapproval

of such marriage; and accused the persons who had been a part of the transaction as being criminals, of offering insults to the Christian community and other harsh denunciations. Absolving themselves of all blame, Lyman Beecher, Timothy Stone, Joseph Harvey and Philo Swift signed the document.

Now the villagers took up the fight. Crowds of angry citizens formed groups on the streets loudly denouncing the marriage and demanding that some action be taken against such a union. As the size of the crowd increased, Benjamin Gold, fearing for Harriet's safety spirited her away to the home of a friend.

Through the night, the demonstration grew more violent. Harriet looked out upon the scene from behind the curtains and saw herself burned in effigy, with her brother, Stephen, setting the fire. Also burned was a painting prepared for the event depicting a beautiful girl, an Indian and a woman presumed to be the instigator of such marriages. The church bells tolled a death knell and members of the church choir, to which Harriet belonged, were asked to wear black mourning bands on their left arm.

Nonetheless, on March 28, 1826, Harriet Gold and Elias Boudinot were married in the Gold home. Most members of the family had accepted the union, but the townspeople were slow to forgive the indignity thrust upon their community. Fearing for the safety of the couple, the bride's parents accompanied them, together with the usual dowry of a New England bride including hand loomed carpets and homemade quilts and linens, to the town of Washington, Connecticut, where they tearfully bade the pair goodby. But Harriet's face was bright with hope as she turned her eyes toward her future home in the Cherokee Nation.

Harriet's dream of being a missionary to her husband's people was perhaps best fulfilled by her love and understanding of the Cherokees. Referring to her "dear Cherokee father and mother, brothers and sisters," she wrote lovingly of the Watie family to her parents. The Boudinot home was always open, not only to Cherokees, but to visitors from abroad and from the eastern part of the United States. Once Harriet declared that she did not always know when she began preparation of a meal, how many persons would be there to share it. She described in detail the large stores of food kept on hand—supplies which included most of the foods she had been accustomed to in her Connecticut home. Not always able to secure household help, and with a growing family, Harriet's days were filled to the brim.

Boudinot's work increased in scope as he became recognized as one of the main Cherokee leaders. When the first newspaper in America to be printed in an Indian language, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, was established in New Echota, Cherokee Nation, Georgia, in 1827, Boudinot was named editor.

Boudinot's education among the whites and his knowledge of their ways, had given him a pragmatic view of the future of the Cherokees—a view not shared by all members of the tribe. When gold was discovered in the Cherokee Nation, and pressure from the state government increased, Boudinot foresaw the time when the Cherokees would be forced to retreat still farther westward. However, Principal Chief John Ross and many tribal members did not share that opinion. This created a deep schism among the Cherokees, which was climaxed by the signing of the Treaty of New Echota on December 29, 1835, in a "rump" tribal meeting of which Boudinot, Major Ridge, John Ridge and Stand Watie were the leaders. The treaty provided for the removal of the Eastern Cherokees to the territory now included in present-day Oklahoma.

The deep bitterness on the part of some Cherokees against the signers of the New Echota agreement resulted in the assassination of Boudinot, Major Ridge and John Ridge on June 22, 1839. Harriet though did not witness her husband's death. Throughout the confusion in the Cherokee Nation over the question of removal, she had remained by her husband's side offering comfort and peace. However, in the autumn of 1836 during the process of moving to their new home in the West, Harriet Gold Boudinot died. She was buried among her adopted people in the Cherokee Cemetery at New Echota.

THE JOURNAL OF ADO HUNNIUS, INDIAN TERRITORY, 1876

*By Harmon Mothershead**

Of that great host of Western pioneers only a few have become legend. A name recorded in a since forgotten family bible or initials carved on a rock along the trail chronicle the presence of the vast majority. Some left no record of their presence—not even a headstone to mark their passage. Others have left more memorable contributions but in many cases these are hidden in attic trunks or historical depositories awaiting discovery by some future generation. The author-artist of this diary has left an indelible record of his presence in the West in graphic and literary sketches in a number of journals, maps, diaries and sketchbooks covering the decade of the 1870s.

"Ado Hunnius" was born Carl Julius Adolph Hunnius, October 24, 1842, in Leipzig, Saxony, Germany. In the local gymnasium he received both intensive military instruction and training to become a draftsman. At the end of his initial education Hunnius secured permission to leave Saxony for two years and travel to the United States to study the language and customs of its inhabitants. By the time of his arrival in New York City the Civil War had erupted and young Hunnius on April 12, 1864, volunteered his service for a private's hat and three hundred dollars. He was immediately assigned to Company E, Fifty-fourth New York Volunteer Infantry, also known as the "Schwartze Jerger" regiment because of the preponderance of Germans in its ranks.

In some of the records available in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka and the National Archives in Washington, D. C., there is a major discrepancy. A biographical sketch of Hunnius prepared by his son and submitted to the Kansas State Historical Society at the time his papers were given to the institution indicates that Hunnius came to the United States in 1861, was an assistant street commissioner in New York City and joined the Fifty-fourth New York Volunteers. Enlisting as a private he was eventually promoted to corporal. That account, his obituary and another biographical sketch prepared by a friend of the family all agree that Hunnius served in the Civil War for four years, six months and one week and at least one of the accounts credit him with serving at the Battle of Gettysburg.

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* The author has edited the original manuscript of Hunnius's "Journal" located in the Archives of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka, Kansas.

The military and pension record of Hunnius state his service as April 12, 1864, to April 14, 1866, in Company E, Fifty-fourth New York Volunteer Infantry and Company D, Third United States Infantry from March 30, 1867, to August 31, 1869. Hunnius's own account written sometime after 1875, stated that he arrived in the United States on April 2, 1864, and a few days later enlisted in Company E, of the Fifty-fourth New York Volunteers. In an old notebook a notation was found that he was mustered into Company D, Third United States Infantry on April 8, 1867, and ordered to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on March 30, 1867. Hunnius possibly reversed these two dates. He did serve nearly four and one-half years, his total service being four years, five months and two days. But how he could have served at the Battle of Gettysburg is still an interesting mystery unless the tales of war became longer with passing years.

Shortly after his arrival at Fort Leavenworth, a government survey was ordered of all military posts in the Department of the Missouri—Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, the northern part of Texas and Indian Territory. Hunnius, first as an enlisted man and after 1869 as a civilian employee of the United States Army, visited nearly every post in the region during the next ten years. He kept journals containing statistical data for preparing maps on his return, comments on conditions of weather, terrain, companions, wild life and environment; often accounts of expenditures; and invariably numerous sketches of camps, stage stations, towns, buildings, battlefields, grave markers, Indian costumes and artifacts. He also purchased and collected Indian items for a museum in Germany.

Hunnius was a master at his trade. His maps are a work of art; his sketches were compiled in small notebooks with a pencil while he was on the trail. Working in the wind, the rain or the freezing confines of the wagon and with only a campfire for light and warmth, Hunnius's descriptions are very detailed and beautifully done. Although an artist with sketch pad and pencil he was not so facile with his written work. This was particularly true of the journals he kept on the trail; however, when he had time to polish his prose it was improved considerably.

In 1876, Hunnius conducted one of his last surveys for the Federal government in the Kiowa and Comanche reservation near Fort Sill in present-day Oklahoma.

C. M. Campbell who was in the Indian Service from 1872 to 1886 at the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, the Wichita Agency and the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency noted two possible routes to the Kiowa and Comanche reserves. One was by stage through the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. The other and less frequented route was by way of Wichita, Kansas, through the Cherokee Outlet, the Cheyenne and Arapaho reserve and the

reservation of the Wichitas and other affiliated tribes. The distance by either route was practically the same; however, the first route passed through thirty miles of territory, in which danger from hostile Indians was to be apprehended, while the other one presented the danger from Indian attack from the moment the Kansas border was crossed until Fort Sill was reached. No matter what route was chosen none of the streams were bridged, and when even small creeks were swollen by heavy rains the fords were impassable. This necessitated long delays while the streams returned to their ordinary level and a crossing was possible. Under such conditions the trip might be extended to two or three weeks, when as many days would cover the journey in good weather.

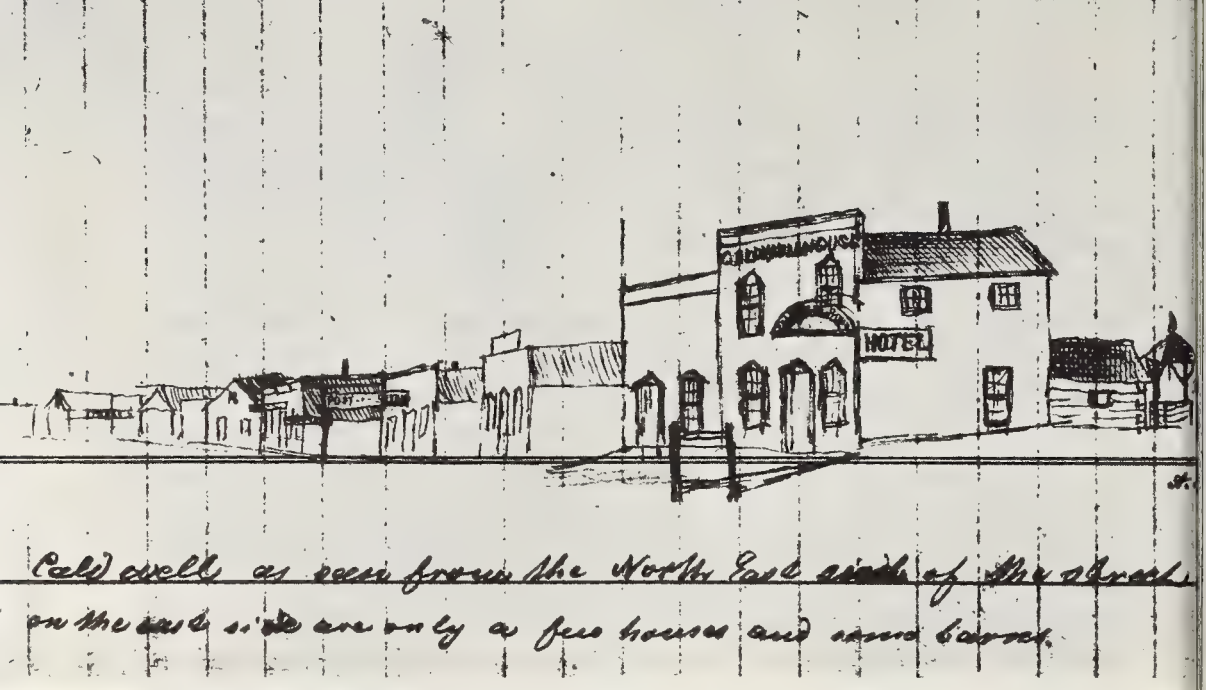
Hunnius's journal of the survey expedition into Indian Territory vividly illustrates the climate, geology, animals, flora and fauna of the area, as well as local names of creeks, villages, ranches and stage stations in the region. Of greater interest and value is the art work in the journal. Consisting of pencil sketches, many of them drawn by fading light or the glow of a campfire, in a small notebook, sometimes in high wind, blowing sand, freezing weather, heavy rain or other climatic upheavals of the Great Plains, they portray life as it was in the West. Hunnius's real expertise was his artistic sketches, not in his literary endeavors. While the latter suffers greatly from his German training the former benefits correspondingly.

In editing the journal, no attempt has been made to correct the prose. Brackets have been used sparingly to indicate omitted letters or words. Unusual expressions or usages of words are indicated and occasionally a parenthetical note will be used to clarify an unusually awkward passage.

Monday January 10th 1876

This morning woke about 6 o'clock had no good sleep as Billy the driver is a rather restless sleeper, the young man [who operated the stage station] being the lover of the big young lady got up at least and made fire in the other room [al]so the kitchen than [then there] was more coaxing and calling going on to get up.[1] about 7½ o'clock we thought they would be up and rose too, it was very cold but this high wind of yesterday was not so stiff any longer about 8½ we had breakfeast [sic]. Bacon, Cakes eggs coffee and kraut, this Kraut was very good so the coffee like wise. I changed the fastening strap on Odometer No 1, the left side wheel and can read to-day the running numbers instead like yesterday backward. Paid for my lodging, supper, Bed and breakfeast $1.50. we started on our road at 9.40 A. M.

[1] Billy Dixon noted frontier scout and hunter, famous for his exploits at the battle of Adobe Walls on June 27, 1874.



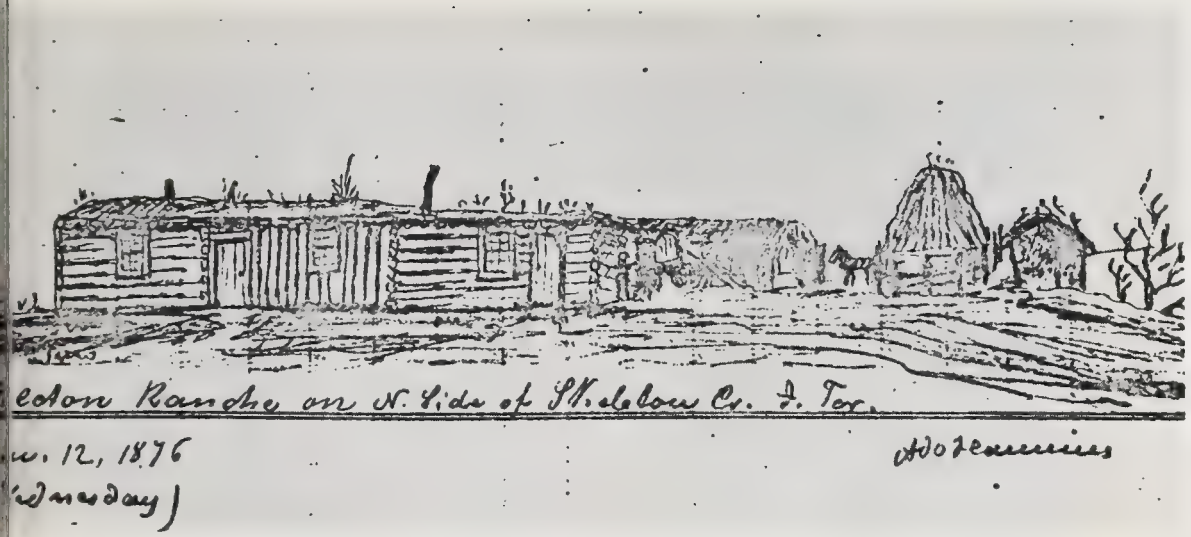
A sketch of Caldwell, Kansas, from which Hunnius began his trip into Indian Territory, as it appeared in his notebook.

it was very cold more so than yesterday, crossed the Slate Creek very good and easy. After being out about half an hour we had to walk or freeze so we walked several miles to warm ourselves. there was a very good road all the way to Chickaskia River plenty prairie dogs and young green grass we could not take our dinner at the ranch near the Chickaskia River there being nobody at home so we helped us to some corn for the horses and as there was no bucket in the well we had to drive to the River bank what we did, made a fire and warmed ourselves up a little, it was good that I bought some lunch in Wichita as this Ranche [sic] was closed we would have had nothing to eat.[2] the River is not deep but pretty wide. we started at 2 PM after one hours rest to us and horses. poor Fanny the dog had nothing to eat except a few crackers and cheese. made a sketch of our noon camp. From that place we made 10 ¾ miles to Caldwell, a little one Street City of about 15 or 20 houses, we stopped at the Caldwell House, the Hotel No 1. we had a good supper, Prairie Chicken Eggs, Potatoes, coffee not good but excellent biscuits and butter, wrote a letter to my darling and brought it to the post office, mail arrives and leaves every day. The prairie to-day was nearly all burned had a

[2] Most of the "Ranches" referred to were stage or mail stations spaced every twenty or thirty miles along the wagon routes. They were maintained and operated at various times by freighting companies, stage lines and the military, while some few were private enterprises. They served meals and overnight accommodations for travelers and for teams.

room for myself to-night and slept very good, this morning I found a chamber pot and the room carpeted but it must be an awful place to sleep in in a hard winters night I got up at 7 o clock had to go down stairs back ward the stairs being so straight, after a wash I made the drawing. had a very good breakfeast but no milk, got some lunch for dinner and a coffee pot also some coffee and sugar paid 1 Doll. 75 cts for it started at 8.40 A M it being west wind but not so cold as yesterday, at the Hotel was a young Lady in high fashion the whole place looked as good conducted. we walked a great deal passed Whitacker Ranch about one mile after leaving Caldwell on bluff is a lookout crossed Fall Creek, two little beautiful Water falls thence shortly after Bluff creek red sand stone bluffs very curiosly worn out. after being on top of the bluffs, Billy stopped and made me get out to see a sight, So it was to see Caldwell in a distance in front at our feet the bluffs all red and white, it was like a painting it was pretty cold. level prairie from thence good road, plenty prairie dogs and snow birds. much nice green grass about 2 inches long. met a man on horseback, mail carrier at 10.45 the first person meeting us since leaving Wichita shortly afterwards an other traveller on horseback at 12.35 we [saw] plenty wild Hemp on river no water Billy went nearly ½ mile for it, I cooked the coffee and we had Bread, Butter, cold meat, eggs, Pickles, oh it was a regular thing. West wind still saw one of the long leged prairie mices near our Camping place, so [also] some big flies we woke with our fire. There is plenty timber mostly Elm on the Creek here. There is an old oven for cooking near by out of brickstones. started at 1.00 P. M. saw plenty prairie dogs it was on places a very bad road, met the stage Coach at 1.55 P. M. Crossed the Pond Cr. at 3.55 it was very steep crossing red clay, a beautiful grove of timber and drove to Hopkins Ranch This Ranch is also Stage Station it was 12 miles and 656 ft. from Caldwell Post office to our dinner Camp on Little Pole Cat, and 13 miles and 4596 ft to Hopkins Rch. total 15.5252. The Ranche is pretty large, with stockade There are two ladies here also 2 nice little children, a boy and a girl, we had a good supper, excellent beans, good coffee. There are a great many men here, saw the first Indian near the Ranche, an Osage. Mr. Hopkins is a fine tall gentleman, with nice address. At 8½ o clock we went to roost in the loft over the room. You had to stoop down considerable to go through the door it being only hip high. we made our bed on the floor and the horse blankets so the buffalo robe we had along came very handy. There slept 7 men, Mr. Hopkins included in the loft on the floor, next morning we crept out and washed ourselves in a tub, water frozen, and so hard that you had better not do so if you by chance should be thrown at the place, all the soap went in my beard and there it was, we had a very hardy breakfast and after bidding good bye to the Ladies and Mr. Hopkins we started at 8 A. M.

it was cold after a miles ride over very hard frozen and rough ground we crossed the Salt Fork about 800 feet wide the bed, but the stream 275 feet about two feet deep and plenty Ice. after crossing we had good road pretty level prairie, much young grass and any amount of prairie dogs, some of which would not even go down in their holes by our passing. At 10 A. M we crossed the 9 Mile, or as it is better known by the natives Wild Horse Creek the North bank of which is awfully steep, red clay banks, the south bank is very easy it is a pretty clear running stream. at 10.30 another stream some water Ice ½ inch thick a pretty sharp N. W. wind set in, it was a beautiful day the sun shining and the air just one blue, a very large prairie dog town, must be certainly the county seat or so, it looked very imposing. Made Sand Creek at 11.75 water 3 inches deep gravelly bottom but no wood, nothing in sight as [except] prairie and air, you can see for miles and if you want to see farther just do so, there is nothing in sight what might stop you doing so. At 1.15 P M. another Cr. Spring Creek as I learned afterwards nice running water, from here to Ranch road awful sandy and heavy at Ranch at 1.25 P. M. we travelled 20 miles 2304 ft. to-day There is only one man on the Ranch Mr. Gilchrist went to the State as it is here called, meaning Kansas. we took our Mess chest, and found some bread and cake what we had from Mrs. Hopkins I suppose, anyhow from one of the Ladies. butter from yesterday made coffee on the stove and were happy. This Ranch is a very clean looking inviting place at any rate, the man in charge is very good looking and obliging there are 2 Cows, some pigs, chickens here the whole looks very cheerfull. Mr. Bright is the young mans name (he having the same by rights as everything in the house looks after his name.) At 4 P. M. we had supper. Mr. Bright invited us to excellent bisquits, potatoes, and fried ham, the coffee with milk was quite a go. then I went to the Cr. and had a genuine good wash, found a small land turtle, stiff from cold, also a little birds nest which I cut to take with me on return trip, bought for Billy some tobacco 50 cts. about 6 o clock a train, empty, came from below, i. e. the Cheyenne Agency they were from Connell and Baisby's outfit and are known by Billy my driver, we went to bed, on the floor at 9½ o'clock, Mr. Bright gave us in addition to our sleeping rigg [sic] a feather bed and some ditto pillows. Woke this morning about 5 o'clock the dogs made a fearful noise. Mr. Bright got up and said it was a wolf at 6½ we rose I had a good wash at the Creek it looks like rain or snow, pretty sharp East wind for breakfeast had potatoes cooked, ham [?] bisquits and coffee paid 2.50 for team [?] driver and me, it would have been $1.00 for my person self, last night about 9 o'clk the stage came in an awfull rigging, lumbering, ungainly box of an outfit. at 8.25 A M. Thursday we started out again after crossing the Skeleton Creek we saw to the west about 5 miles off the first Black Jack on Sand



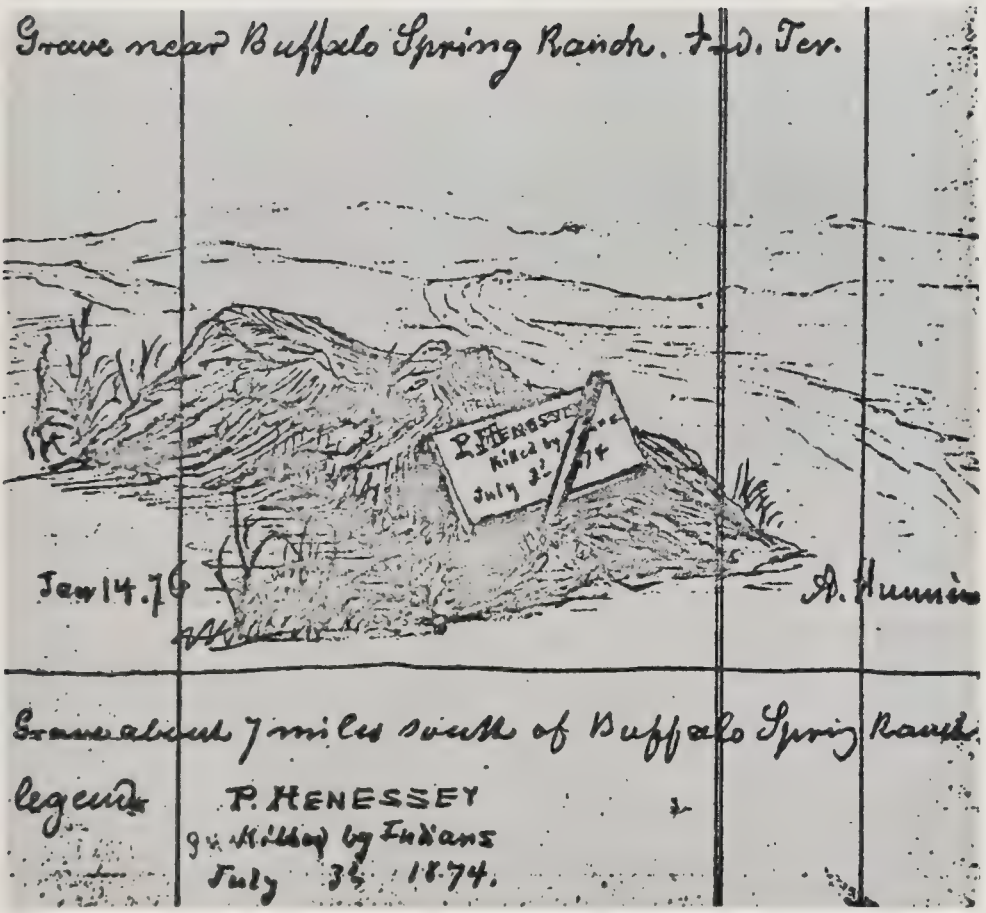
Hunnius's drawing of Skeleton Ranch located on the north side of Skeleton Creek in Indian Territory, 1876.

Hills the country was slightly rolling the road very sandy at places, but good. about 9.55 A M the East wind was pretty sharp and cutting we walked a good deal thence the road got level found a log chain which we took along, at 10.55 crossed a ravine north bank of which is awful steep about 30 ft. at least it must be Hackelberry [Hackberry] Creek, the road made here a great many bends to avoid the breaks all of which going east, the day was rather a dull one, no sun during our travel, we saw near the Hackelberry 8 or 10 Antilopes, the first game until now arrived at Buffalo Spring Ranch at 12.15 noon. the Ranch is also the Stage Station, it is 16 miles 4288 feet. I made some cold lunch for dinner, Billy being not hungry. This morning, before going out I caught one of the drivers, arrived last evening, looking at Thompson, (so we called a pint bottle given to us by Mr. Thompson the Govt. Agent) I shook my finger at him, he looked awfull bad, about it. There is a lady at the Ranch also a little Boy, a nice looking little lad, which told me all about his boots and the hay, he would not have done so but I gave him some apples was very scarce around the place, so I should think to, as the nearest wood are about 5 miles off. The drawing of the grave annexed I made out of curiosity and to pass the time over, the board reads. T. Caliway, G. Pond, B. Cook, Killed By Indians, July 3rd 1874.[3] they have been

[3] This was one of the many engagements of the Indian War of 1874. Pat Hennessey was in charge of a train of wagons hauling supplies from Wichita to the Kiowas and Comanches. At a point some sixty miles north of the Cheyenne Agency a party of Cheyennes under Crazy Mule ambushed the train, killed and mutilated the drivers, burned the wagons and what supplies they could not carry away. The town of Hennessey built later near the scene was named in his honor.

freighters, a forth one whose grave we will see tomorrow was lashed to a wheel and burned allive, he was so mangled that he was burried at the spot. The little boy, his name is Forest Neidham, showed me the Springs, which give the name to the place. he is a bright little 5 years old. For supper we had beans bacon [?] Coffee & bisquits. I had to make for Mrs. of the Ranch, a copy of the drawing there appartments are very nice and clean though mud floor the ceiling and walls covered with mousslin [sic] we have been sitting up at the Stage Agents until 10 o'clock slept on the ground this night Friday morning it looks like rain, got up at 7 o'clock, had a cold wash at the spring, though there is a good well, the water is too hard to wash with we had a good breakfeast and I did my best at it paid 2.50 for me, driver and team every thing is very dear around here potatoes the bushel $3½. Sugar per lb. 20 cts either brown or white. Flouer [sic] per 100 lb $6.00 Coffee Rio, 3 #s for 1 dollar. at 9.30 A. M. we started for the Red Fork Ranch, or Lee & Reynolds, after being out about one mile we came on a beautiful plateau timber far to the south.[4] at 10.40 A. M we came to the Grave of which I was told yesterday evening it is on the east side of the road, just on the edge of it on West side there is a little Knoll of a hill the Headbord says P. Henessey [Pat Hennessey], Killed by Indians July 3d 1874. from this place you have a beautiful scene looking to South West at your near breaks and you see little Turkey Creek winding its way. at 11.15 A M. we came to the first Black Jack tree, it is a dwarf Oak, the stem of which is very black to the east the Sand Hills are thickly covered by them. The wind is getting high it being pretty cold, at 11.35 we crossed Little Turkey Creek, high banks a little stream of water on the south bank of which on West of road is the remains of Bakers Ranch which was destroyed by the Indians in July 1874, only part of chimney is standing, here we had to take the Wagon sheet off it was awful stormy and cold. we arrived at 12.30 at the Red Fork Ranch, which had been destroyed in July 74 by the Indians after the men inside fired all there ammunition it was rebuild and is now occupied by a man with name of Jones, it is Stage Station. I wrote a letter to my little wife. The horse, with name of Frank is very sick, coughing all the while, we made the stable warmer for him by hanging the Wagon sheet against it. This is a very nice Ranch large, mud floor, but nicely kept clean, some pictures out of illustrated papers nailed against the posts. There are 3 little cats here, which fight Fanny all the time. we travelled 16 miles, 415 ft to-day in all from Wichita 135 m. 227 ft. About 4 P M the Stage arrived from Cheyenne Agency at 5 it started North. There were 2 gentle-

[4] Lee and Reynolds was a trading firm licensed to trade at the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency and at Fort Supply in Indian Territory.



Grave of Pat Hennessey overlooking Little Turkey Creek about seven miles south of Buffalo Springs Ranch in Indian Territory, as sketched by Hunnius in 1876.

men and one boy in it one of the gentlemen was a german they came from Sill I asked him to take one of my cards along and tell Mr. Thompson the Govt Agent, that so far every thing concerning us was all right. With this my letter went along. The stage went off too quick I could not finish the sketch, we slept on the ground, there being no floor, I had made Mr. Jones the Ranchman a sketch of the Ranch

Saturday Jan. 14, 1876 about 5 o'clock I woke and heard that it was raining and so it did, we got up about 6½ A M. it rained only a little had breakfeast and took the wagon cover out of stable where we put it to protect the horses better now it rained allready with a good will, all at once the dogs marked [sic]! and we saw a man come in full speed on a horse or mule it was the

Stage driver, one of his horses had died on road about 2 miles south of Buffalo Spring Ranch so he brought the coach back took his best mule and as he told us rode like the devil to catch us, to go and take him and his mail pouch he made them 16 miles in 2½ hours without saddle he was dripping wet, of course I took him in the wagon and so his mail, tied his mule to our right hand Horse, whose name is Doc. and at 8.45 A.M. we started; awful rain storm and heavy sandy road to the Red Fork of Cimarron river, wood very scarce around here. River 700 feet wide, some sand banks in it water about 2 feet deep channel on south side, banks very easy but sandy thencce good road this about 9.5 A M. at 10 o'clock we crossed a steep deep Ravine with running water, raised ravine about 20 to 30 feet deep. at 10.20 A M we crossed King fisher Cr. there being a Ranch a dugout. rain now in torrents, banks of Cr. very steep and slippery plenty wood on both banks. from Ranch to this Creek Crossing is 8 miles 402 ft. at accactly [sic] noon (12) o'clock we were on the Ridge from King fisher Creek you can see the same there being two Twin Hills on it This is 15 miles 3631 from Ranch and 7 miles 3229 from King fisher Creek. at 1 P M we were near a tree which is a small distance east of road in the so called 9 mile bottom this is 20 miles 3551 from Ranch and 5 miles from the Ridge now we had hills all around us with some timber, from 9 mile bottom to Caddo Springs is 4 miles 4422 feet, from Ranch to Caddo Springs 25 miles 2694 ft. about ¼ mile farther on we had a beautiful view [?] as large plain opened and there was the Agency with the Mission House and behind this the new post it must be a splendid scene in a bright day the Mission House is 29 miles and 4730 feet from Ranch, to the Post office it must make full 30 miles.[5] I walked to the Post Office to find the correct road to the New Post which was given to me and so we started again in an awful rain crossed the North fork of Canadian River which is here 150 ft wide and about 2 ft deep the New Post is 31 miles 4958 feet from Red River Ranch we measured and stopped and took last reading in the middle between the Q M. and A.C.S. Store Houses. we made to here from Wichita Depot 166 miles 5185 feet. from Caldwell Post Office 111 miles 1377 feet. I found the Quartermaster Lt. Hinkel who gave us a double tent with stove and two beds with 3 plankets [sic] each, every thing of us being dripping wet, had coffee and bread at the Cavalry Comp. Mess.[6] and made it as good as circumstances would permit gave the officers in their Quarters a call and at 8 P M went to bed.

[5] Darlington was the post office address of the Cheyenne Agency in the Indian Territory near the spot where Fort Reno was later built. The agency was named in honor of the first agent to serve there, Brinton Darlington, who died in 1872.

[6] This is undoubtedly Lieutenant Frank S. Hinkle, Fifth Infantry, who was stationed at Fort Wallace from 1875 to 1877 and was cited for having captured four wanted Indians in January, 1875.

Sunday January 16th 1876

Got out of bed at 7 o clock no rain but every thing damp made a few sketches had hash for breakfast. Got my boots blackened by myself put on a white shirt, Lieutenat [sic] Hinkel offered me his horse to ride which I of course accepted with many thanks it was a bay, spendid [sic] animal went with the Quartermaster Clerk to Darlington, this being the name of the Agency. bought some tobacco, got introduced to Mr. Reynolds the trader, spoke to him about my museum, it will be very hard to get some thing for it, had time to make the two sketches rode home had a piece beef cold for dinner and cold coffee a piece bread.[7] thence I walked over to the old Camp, saw Hospital Steward Schofield and Dr. Steinmetz his wife, baby, had a long talk with him he told me a woefull story about his griefes.[8] about 5 o'clock had coffee and bread, sit here on my box I brought from Wichita and write stove pretty warm Billy asleep Fanny ditto. that stove is a nice concern it takes an old hand to make him go it is very easy to make the thing smoke but burn is another side of the question at 9 o'clock went to bed.

The home of John D. Miles, the Indian agent at Darlington at the time of Hunnius's visit.

Monday. January 17" 1876

Got out of bed at 6½ o'clock had brackfas in Company Kitchen hash, got the wagon hitched up and went to town, saw Mr. Miles the Indian Agent,

[7] Hunnius was an authorized collector for the Museum in Leipzig, Germany.

[8] Dr. William R. Steinmetz was assistant surgeon at Fort Wallace from March 21, 1876 to September 28, 1878.

whom I gave the letter by Mr. Livy Wilson he showed me the few articles he had and gave me an arrow.[9] we went to his office, just a few minutes before some photographs was given to some Cheyenne women, which had come in this morning, it being ration day, of their husbands and sons now held prisoner by the government in Florida, who took part in the murders comitted in 1874[10] Those women had on the spot a whaling [sic] They cried and did awful. They had plenty help on the other squaws and girls, it seemed to me as if the men did not care much though one can hardly tell what an Indians face is about to express. We went over to the Mission and Mr. Miles showed me the New House or addition, on the east, them are all big rooms, high and will look very well when finished There are bathing rooms for girls as well as boys so wash rooms. There are some for their playing, in unfavourable weather. a very large Kitchen so dining room. Then we saw the school the most interesting to me, on the right to me in two rows of desk a two the boys on the other side the girls all dressed nice, boys in shoes, stockings, dark blue (navy) pants, vest and jackets, they wear, gray velt [sic] hats. The girls have a calico dress a moderate pattern, and their hair praited [sic] in two strains and tied together, hanging down.— Miss Lina Miles as teacher, was just bussy [sic] to call out the names of the boys, each one having now lost their Indian name and being christianed[11] The Superientendent Mr. Leger was there too. The teacher called for instance David, Mr. Leger had a list, children being numbered [sic], not on their person but the desks seats, he motioned to the boy to rise and say present, which was pretty well understood and pronounced, only with Big Cows boy it would not work so nice. Mr. Miles showed me the little organ they had also the receiving room behind schoolroom. Thence we went up stairs where there were sick, and sleeping rooms for girls and boys. thence he showed me on a stairs higher the Superiendend [sic] quarters with porch and finer view over the surrounding country. Thence he took me to his Office, which is very large he showed me the store rooms also a large place in the house where they had until now church but from Sunday next it will be in the Schoolroom in the Mission. There was in the old meeting room a pretty sight about 20 Indians had received tobacco (chewing) they had ap-

[9] John D. Miles, an orthodox Quaker had been agent of the Kickapoos until the death of Agent Darlington on April 1, 1872. At that time he was directed by Superintendent Enoch Hoag to take charge of the agency at Darlington.

[10] Chief Stone Calf and some seventy-five other Cheyennes who had been involved in numerous raids in 1874 and particularly in the return of the German sisters were sent to the prison at Fort Marion, Florida, in April, 1875. Stone Calf had turned the captives over to the military at the Darlington Agency and the remainder of his camp was placed on the reservation there.

[11] Lena Miles was the daughter of Agent Miles and was listed as the housekeeper at the agency in the fall of 1875, becoming a teacher in the agency school at a later date.

pointed one to divide, he having about 10 pieces which he had to cut in two to go all around he managed to get a big piece anyhow, he did throw it to their feet they had to pick it up, and went to chew and smoke, they had only one pipe but each took 3 whiffs The women had to clean and fill, outside there where other squas [sic] receiving sugar, coffee, one a coffee mill for the whole, there was papooses with and without dress one in a craddle, a bright child. I gave to the very young mother a dime-money (10 cts) piece where there was a hole in, and I motioned to her to draw a string through and hang it around her little one, she shook hands with me and seemed very proud. some other squas two especially pretty ones came a strolling [?] around, thence she moved with her little one to the other side, where there was some sun, but she put a very clean white piece of muslin over its face for shade; it was more than I expected to find. Enquired in Store after Mr. Reynolds who promised me yesterday something for the museum he being not there, I wanted some matches to buy, they had none, and showed me to the other, Mr. Hoppel's Store, they had them I asked for some Indian work, and a clerk there, as I afterwards found out Mr. Levvine [?] showed me three articles, for which he charged a piece 50 cts. I showed him my Museum papers and he gave me the money back and packed up a lot of other little things and as he told me would see me in Leavenworth in spring and if possible bring more I gave him my card and address. Thence I took Billy, with me to the Mission where I received 2 little moccasins for a doll, they where on them and taken off by little ——— and given to me. Doll is

The mission buildings at Darlington Agency as drawn by Hunnius during his visit to the agency in 1876.

Ca-e-ce [?] so I got a top and whip of one of the Cheyennes boys top—Oho-an-iss-a, Whip—Mis-ca-hair, boy—On-nath-ha-a give the boy a silver dime 12½ cts for it. they all like silver. By asking Mr. Leger the Superiententat to show Billy the Girls sleeping room, all nine double bedsteads with one green and one red blanket Mr. Leger saw a pair of girls leggings with the moccasin attached to it. I found them so pretty that I enquired whether she would sell, her mother said yes or nodded ascent I gave 2 Dollars paper and as she was a very promissing girl added two silver-quarter pieces and motioned to her by signs to have hooks made to them and to polish and wear as Ear rings, she understood very well what I ment so her mother, who motioned to me by pointing to the girl, thence taking the two money pieces with both hands, clasped over her heart, as meaning to love it and thence holding both pieces on her ears and pointing to me, as meaning as remember, so up to the sun as saying the day. I told Mr. Leger to ask that old Cheyenne Woman about the tops, telling him that I as a boy used one, she motioned that as a little girl she played with one another old woman was asked about through one interperter (Frank Keif.) with the same result, this young man Keif gave me a ring with engravings on. Mr. Leger gave me a piece of medicin [sic] wood, a knife scabbard, so some hair of the only son of Big Cow, a Cheyenne Chief a most powerful build [sic] man all boys entering the Mission have their hair cut, the boys all weep by the operation as hair is a sacred article and only parted with, with sorrow. this boy will be next 18th of February 10 years old. We saw also the children in the Mess-room, i.e. [?] having dinner it went off pretty well and sum [sic] did know allready what forks was made for, Knives they know so spoons. We had dinner (lunch) at the Mess house of the Mechanics of the Agency, all cold and very little, they do not practise to give any thing to strangers. I had to tell the man in charge that we were very hungry and would feel very much obliged to him, by giving us something to eat, anything, for the love of money. Thence I received from David Keborn [?], the Mail carrier a tobacco-pouch for myself for the kindness I had shown to him on Saturday last, by taking him along. thence to the Fort or New Post again from whence I walked to the Camp to find Lt. Hinkel, who had gone to town or somewhere said good bye to Hospital Steward Schofield, who told me that the Doctor would like to see me very much Dr. Steinmetz being alone, Mrs. St. to town which is called Darlington, Dr. St. gave me a knife scabbard and a pipe, made out of tin, also a bottle with cactus cap [?] for Dr. Lenkhardt, he went over all his grieves again and asked me to see that the hospital would be build at the N.E Corner of the Post on a certain little hill, the N.W. corner would be to dusty and not agreeable on account of the Stables and the main road to Ferry and Water after bidding him good bye, I purchased from the

butcher meat to take along as lunch paid 65 cts. #. a 8 cts. at 8¢ per lb. had some cooked for me and Billy for supper, this being the first decant [sic] meal of ours at the Cavalry kitchen. Billy feels awful bad about soldiers crop. about 7 o'clock P.M. saw Lt. Hinkel about my transportation and oats for the horses for 2 days—as Connell & Baissley have from thence feed on the road stored for their teams. Went to bed early.

Tuesday January 18" 1876.

Got up early had my cloves [sic] (fur) patched up as they got torn on road, by the Company tailor Wilson had to pay 25 cts. paid, the bill at the Company mess house also for two loaves of bread to Sergt. Seymour of the same Company got my transportation on A.T.& Santa Fe R.R from Wichita to Valley Falls, formerly Grasshopper Falls, and a second one from that place over the Kansas Central, Narrow Gauge to Leavenworth City, received oats for the team and hitched up and started at 8.25 A.M. at the store of Reynolds I halted and bought a tin cup, matches and Tobacco (5octs) Mr. Reynolds gave me a silver-mounted bridle, very pretty made and engraved on strap was a fixing like a half moon or crescent, a file scabbard also a pair of girls moccasins, all new and very pretty. Thence to the Mission once more where I bid good bye to Miss Miles and others, Legers being out to get wood. took up the mail again and went off at 9.15 A.M. it was very stormy from the N. West and very cold, my overcoat being still damp from Saturdays rain made me feel the more chilly, we had to take the Wagon sheet off, the roads very heavy, the horses had plenty work, it was not possible to take compass readings there being no shelter for the wind and hands benumped [sic], at King Fisher Creek we made dinner camp, I could not make a sketch of the dug out it was impossible, the storm was like a hurricane with much trouble we made a little coffee and had dry bread to it, it being 2 P.M. at 3 o'clock we started again, the Cottonwood trees along the Creek are already looking green so the grass looks just like spring and to-day so cold, at this time heavy rain and snow clouds were coming up and we hurried to make the Ranch but we could not escape and had two good showers arrived at 4.15 P.M. at Red Fork Ranch, formerly Lee & Reynolds, the wind houwling [sic] and very cold I was quite stiff. It must have been very blowing as we saw Mr. Daniel Webster Jones wearing a hat, though it was a curious nai [sic] crazy looking affair he had to prevent his hair of being blowen of his head. Well I took my satchel in and sat down at Mr. Jones' desk, there being such a thing at that place and wrote a few lines to Mrs. Hunnius telling her my safe arrival here, also my next stopping places on the road with dates and that I hope to be with her and the children on the 25th inst latest 26, if

there is no accident on the road, also that I was coming up over Winchester. David Keborn was by this time ready to go, he was to ride it on a horse this time, I gave him a drink Cognac, which had not been opened since my leaving Leavenworth until now, he took a very small sip only, he seems very temperate and off he went, Thence all at once came a wagon up and brought a family husband wife and two little girls a small Coach dog and announced that they would stay over night, all being half frozen, they brought in matresses [sic] a large box with eatables etc. and crowded the room in general, I did not like it at all, thought to have some of the meat fried for supper. I told Jones as I was alone for a moment about the meat and excused myself as good as I could he took it very kind and said he would make it anyhow for us. On his own suggestion I told him in presence of all, there being also two herders stoping at the Ranch that I had some meat along and would like to have it cooked, we made a good meal of it. I being very hungry. as the family was going to sleep in Mr. Jones' room, he had told the herders to take his store room and build a fire, we went in too, there being no stove the fire was build on the ground, but the smoke it was terrible, and we had to open the door all the while, to let the smoke out and the cold air in. I slept in my clothing on the ground but could not do much at three

Wednesday January 19" 1875 1876

at 3 A M. I got up and set by the fire thence at 3½ o'clock I woke the gentleman of the family I lent [?] of Mr. Jones, Eli Perkins, got one of our candles and started to read but I could not make much made a drawing of our sleeping appartment the men laying on the sacks are the herders, made a candle stick with a piece of wood in the pallisading [sic] and read until 6 o'clock Thence after the family made their own beakfeast we, that is Mr. Jones made another beafsteak for us it was very cold out clear the sun came up in glory after beakfeast over I walked to the sand hills ascented [sic] the highest one about 75 feet and looked for the families wagon the driver of which stopped with a train which came down from Agency empty. he had said to start with them at 6 A M. but I could not see anything of the train there being so much woods an the sand hills. I made after descenting [sic] the hill a drawing of the one I had climped [sic] up and the surrounding country, now I could hear the teamsters shouting and the family wagon was coming over to fetch them all at one the little girl was not seen, she was far out on the prairie. I paid Mr. Jones for us 2.50, he gave my [sic] a hair lasso and a fan made out of a turkeys tail he likes to have a drawing of his Ranch with the sand hills a bull train and some mules in front, chickens and showed

Sketch of the grave of J. Wilson, about two and one-half miles east of Buffalo Springs Ranch, made by Hunnius on January 19, 1876.

me the place where he will put up another stove pipe as chimney to let out the smoke of the room we were staying last night, I made the promise to make him one. At 9.5 A.M. we started I could not take compass readings the grass being to high you could not see not 100 feet in front and there was another bend in road it being quite enough to read the Odometers. at 11.10 A.M. we were at the Henessey Grave, from here not high grass and I took the angles of the road a train going ahead of us I could see the turns of the road and read longer distances took 23 angles and 24 Odometer readings in 7 miles, at 1 A M. we were at the Buffalo Spring Ranch again Odometers 1) 6314, 2) 6336, on first trip 1) 6319, 2)6328, Travelled 16 miles 643 feet.

We came in time for dinner after which I went out with the Rancher Needham and David Kerbon east over the prairie to the grave about 2½ miles out, the legend on head board is—J. Wilson June 18 1873 I tried to find the wagon in the breaks but could not so I returned and passing the grave I put a card of mine on the head board on which card I wrote "could not find you and went to Ranche." My lips are all parched and plistered [sic] from cold. It is pretty windy now and chilly but not so cold as this morning we met a great many teams to-day going to New Post, loaded mostly with lumber as there are about 20 teams to camp around the Ranche we concluded to sleep in the Wagon pulled the sheet over and made it as comfortable as we could. after supper over Mrs. Needham gave me a piece of Caddo Indian Work a little satchel peadwork [sic] for Mrs. Hunnius. I was quite perplexed about it, but she said I did her the other day a

great favour by making her a drawing of the Ranch.—about 9 P.M. we went to sleep, had to run the wagon against the haystack as a shelter for the wind which was very high and as south west pretty cold now. about 9½ o'clock I heard the Stage coming from south and they changed horses as this is stage station

Thursday January 20th 1876.

Had a good sleep all night, woke several times as Fanny, who was in the wagon on our feet sleeping tried to get as much of the buffalo robe as possible, got up at 6½ it was still very windy and cold, this morning I had the first chance since leaving Caldwell to see my face in a looking glass, my lips are very blistered and broken. Mr. David Keborn gave me some Glycerine, to put on. I remembered having seen some more apples in the box, got them, four, and gave them to little Paul, who was so much pleased so his mother Mrs. Needham, Mr. Needham is stepfather to the child. At 9.5 A.M. we started off again, but before I discharged my bill to Mr. Needham 6 meals for self and driver a 50 cts. Horses 50 cts and two pies, 50 cts for lunch which lunch we had at 1 P.M. at 1.45 we arrived at the Skeleton Creek, or Gillchrist Ranch. I made from Buffalo Spring Ranche to here 90. compass and Odometer readings Thursday Jan 13. 1. 6608, 2. 6618 today 1. 6582, 2. 6590 that will be 6599 revolutions a 13.4 ft or 16 miles 4167 feet travelled, made a sketch of the ranche as seen from East. We met several trains on the road, at the place we had lunch there was a small camp 3 wagons and one of the men told us that 4 of their horses got away and that they did not find them until now, he said to Billy if a certain bay horse would find the way back to Wichita he should put it in a livery stable. The road was very crooked and made a great many big bends, you can not see far, the grass is so high and there are on this part of the road a great many little hillocks which covered the road therefore the many compass readings. at 5½ P.M. we had supper had the meat fried I took from the Agency had a little chicken, fried potatoes, Nudles [sic] coffee with milk, as they keep two milch cows at this place, pudding, and custard and cranberry pie, it was the most what a man could expect, the bisquits were excellent. There camped a great many teams here, the man what lost the horses last night came in and enquired [sic] but nobody saw a sign of them. At 8 P.M. went to bed in our wagon

Friday January 21st 1876

Got up at 6 o'clock it rained a little but all the horizon was cloudy, for breakfeast we had coffee, Bisquits, butter, Beafsteak, Nudles fried Potatoes, Milk and Custard and Cranberry pie, bought a package of Tobacco 25

cts. paid Mr. John L. Roedke my bill, 2.50 for self, driver & team and for Lunch, Coffee & Sugar 50 cts. at 8.15 A.M. I started, it rained already in intervalls Took only 18 readings of instruments not quite to Sand Creek it rained in torrents by very strong Nord [sic] west wind it was very chilly, I wanted to put on my coat but I found out that I had left the same at Skeleton Ranche, well he is gone I wore him since 1869 christmass [sic] and as I tore him pretty badly on the trip the loss is in reallty [sic] a blessing to me, Put on my Indiarubber coat and felt as good. the rain came through the wagon cover and our blankets are pretty wet, met the other man who lost the horses, he found the mule anyhow, saw three coyotes or prairie wolves on the prairie, tasted the water in the Salt Fork, water very salty. at 1.15 we arrived at Pond Cr. or Hopkins Ranche had travelled 20 miles, 2304 feet. This Ranche is Stage Station. I put the coffee pot on the stove and as I heard that there was Indians, Kaws, or Kansas, camped near by I asked Mr. Hopkins to go with me, it was in a bend of the Pond Creek a ¼ of a mile up Creek two tents, we went in the first, the old man spoke pretty good english, they are very poor it was him 5 squaws 3 children and a baby in an Indian cradle, got some sinew, which they value very high some peaded [sic] ribbons to wear around the neck some peat [sic] chains, they asked very high prices but I think I got them cheap after all, as I can not trade with them, as a trader with goods or sugar or coffee, two cups of sugar = 1 dollar; after this all is priced. they made lard of skunk and fried skunks in a curious way as the drawing shows they had 5 in this way around the fireplace the kettle was on one pole hanging on a piece of chain, their moccasin are without or nearly so, peatwork. The old man had a pair leggings he asked $12 for it I offered him 7 and to night he promised to come and talk, a buckskin costs alone 2 dollars, that would be 4 only for the leather. In the other tent I got a Eagle feather 25 cts. and a neck chain with claws bones etc, also a head piece with a feather attached to it 75 cts. There was one man and 2 squaws, he being the son of the old man There are 15 heads belonging to these two tents, near supper I made for Hopkins a survey of his entire ranch, at supper the Indians came in, U-chie, in front, and all in their very best of clothing, such as they had, it was quite a show, to have the promissed [sic] talk with Washington, as they named me. they called Billy the driver "Texas talk" he wearing a red shirt, and speaks so much. We went, after hand shaking and smoking, to Hopkins Store house, where there is a stove, sat around it, had another smoke out of U-chie's pipe and talked, bought a horn spoon, 25 cts a musical instrument flute reed 1 00/100 [$1.00] and a bow string guard, which guards the arm of being hurt from the bowspring by shooting arrows. I said nothing of the leggings he wore, it being the ones which I liked to get for the museum. Mr.

Hopkins said it seems very doubtful of getting them as it seemed its best. Made them a drawing for Hopkins on large scale of him Ranche also a ground plan of the same, 1 inch = 40 feet. went to bed in the loft a 8.30.

Saturday January 22d, 1876

Woke early of a curious noise I heard, it came from the Indian Camp, U-chie sang his mourning song or "whaling." I being told afterwards by Mr. Hopkins that he lost in the last 6 weeks 9 out of his two tents most children. Some of the Indians were there already to say good morning, "Washington" A little boy offered to me a bow and two arrows of his which I took and gave him 25 cts. we had breakfeast early as I was going away as near 8 o'clock as possible. Old U-chie did not come, so I told Mr. Hopkins to go with me over to his camping place and see what I could do, as this was most likely my last chance to get leggings. I did not speak to the old man but went to work and sketched the two tents, sure he came out and he insisted that I put him and Hopkins on the picture shaking hands, well, so I did; thence he wanted to speak with "Washington," meaning me, and said, legging 12 dollar or no go, Peat [sic] much money, much work, me do on when big white man comes, big Chief comes, 12 dollars, much money, no go. Well I paid it after all but first I had to get from Mr. Hopkins 12 paper dollars, he refused to take one 2 and two 5. The museum must take them and make it up with the presents Mr. Hopkins gave me a Buffalo hair Lasso, which is much valued by Indians, about 10 dollars or a good pony. Also for Mrs. Hunnius a large Wolkskin as a matting for the bed. at 8.15 A M we started, it started to rain to, and pretty soon very lively, road very muddy, strong cold N. West wind, we expected every minute snow. at 10.35 AM on Cottonwood Creek I found the screw of Odometer No 1 out of its place again, fixed it as good as I could, at 11.30 we reached Pole Cat Creek, where we made Lunch it rained only a little now, had much trouble to light a fire, all being so wet, but I succeeded at last, made coffee, ate the last bread from Cheyenne New Post, also one of the boxes of preserved Ham, or Sausage meat. made a drawing of our Lunch place, also one of the remains of a ranche near by, there we found a well 25 feet to the water, water very good, which we did not notice on our last being here at the place, at 12.45 P.M we started, rain again and arrived at the Caldwell P.O. at 4.33 P.M.

Odometers 1. 10217. 2 10196. 1.——2. 10481.
Travelled to-day 26 miles 1072 feet.
New Post Cheyenne Agency

To Red Fork Ranch	= 31.	4636
To Buffalo Spring Ranch	= 16.	643

To Skeleton Ranch	= 16.	4167
To Hopkins, Pond Creek	= 20.	2304
To Caldwell Post Office	= 26.	1072
Total Travelled		111. 2262

Had a good supper and went to bed at 9 P.M.

Sunday 23rd January 1876

This morning rose at 7 A.M. the wind being pretty stiff from N. West after breakfeast got ready to go, they told me at the Hotel better to wait and see how the weather would turn out, but I thought better to start so after paying for my stay at the place $1 00/100 [$1.00] for myself we drove off. being out 2 or 3 miles the wind was so strong that we had to take off the wagon cover to make it lighter for the horses. It was now in earnest very disacreeable [sic] to be out, I could hardly keep myself protected from the wind which blew in a gale, wrapped up in two Horse blankets and the weather cloth at 1.55 we arrived in Wellington, we had started at 8.45. was pretty near frozen to death, Crossing the Chickaskia River. The Odometer came into the water and at my reading on the other bank I found the instrument perfectly tight frozen up, had a nice time to pick the ice out. I had only the one, as the N°.2 is entirely out of working order. arrived in time to have some warm dinner after which I looked at the place, it being quite a little town, with a Stone Court House in which they have church too and one very elegant Brick building owned by (Judge somebody) after supper there came quite a crowd in to talk and sit around the stove. and after Church still more came in all pretty near frozen to death, they had a big talk about a bell, to which the County will give 50 Doll. Scrib [script], if the town raises the amount in cash, all think it a fine thing but they are waiting for the man to lay down the 50 Doll bill; and if they ever get the 50 Doll cash together it seems very doubtful to me wether [whether] it will not take them at least a year and a half to raise the money to buy the rope to ring the bell with.

Monday Jan. 24" 1876

This morning I found the windows frozen and everything looked rather very cold and chilly, one thing in particular took my attention in my room this being not less than the Quilt on my bed, it was so stiff and thin that I took my knife and ripped a seam open and I found instead the batting 4 sheets of paper, that is a invention regular Yankee style. after breakfeast I looked around for my wagon and at the prospect of the weather in general, N. East wind and pretty sharp, before starting from the Moreland

House Wellington I settled my bill 2 Dollars for me and 1½ for Billy the Driver, at 9.30 got off, Roads very rough and very much cut open from heavy wagons about noon crossed the Ne-nes-scah River, much Ice and pretty deep water 150 feet wide, on north bank high bluffs about 1 P.M we passed through the City of London, 3 vorlorn [sic] old Houses a Hotel in the same condition and an big stable or barn, it is the bigest [sic] fraud to call this place London. after passing the last house of this big City you have about ½ mile public square, on east and west no limits at all, then you come to a church or schoolhouse or the two combined under one roof with two privets for accomodation. All the way high prairie and bunch grass 4 to 5 feet and very tall sun flowers road winds very much and the bends are very sharp and covered by grass and the sunflower stalks. at 2.55 crossed Cowskin which is bridged the Creek is here well timbered and all the country is well settled and the farm houses look all very neat and comfortable. at 4.15 arrived at the Bridge crossing the Arkansas River, 950 feet long, much ice in River at 4.25 took the last reading at the Depot Wichita the starting of the Measurement. travelled 30 miles 4261 feet to-day.

Caldwell P.O to Wellington	21.	3701
Wellington to Wichita Depot	30.	4261
	52.	2682
or by old trail	55.	3808
Caldwell to Cheyenne	111.	2262
old trail	167.	790
via Wellington	163	4944
Wellington shorter	3	1036
travelled in all wagon	331m.	64 ft
" " " Rail Road	446	
total	777 miles	
Leavenworth to Valley Falls	36	
Valley Falls to Topeka	25	
Topeka to Wichita	162	
	223	

Gave to the Government Agent Mr. Thompson my copy of the letter of instructions, settled with Mr. T. Connell, Billy's bill 15.10, got at Kaisers barber shop a shave and hair cut (50 cts) and went to the Occidential Hotel, after supper I visited Hess & Getty, so Mr. Reimers, Mr. Schaffner and went to bed at 10 o'clock.

1876 Ado Hunnius

WALTER S. CAMPBELL: OKLAHOMA WRITER

*By Julee Short**

a man's aspirations and pretensions are just as real an expression of his personality as any other.

—Stanley Vestal[1]

Not every man achieves the thing he sets his hand to. But most men do become the thing they set their hearts on.

—Stanley Vestal[2]

Promptly at noon the bugler blasted his instrument long and loud, and then dropped the flag. The race was on. Men, women, children, were riding horses, buggies, covered wagons and trains as they crossed the open prairie to claim land for their new homes. It was the promised land in Oklahoma Territory, opened April 22, 1889. In less than twenty years a new state would be born.

Two years prior to this dramatic moment, August 15, 1887, another birth occurred.[3] The infant, Walter Stanley Vestal, who later took the name Walter S. Campbell, arrived near Severy, Kansas, less than a hundred miles north of the Kansas-Oklahoma border where the "Run" took place. He would grow up with the new state, Oklahoma.

It was three years before the murder of Sitting Bull, eleven years after the Battle of Little Big Horn, twenty-three years after the Sand Creek Massacre and approximately forty years since the decline of the fur trade in the Rocky Mountain area—all events that were to influence Campbell's life and his writing.

These events alone could have made no impression on one born into what Mark Twain called "The Gilded Age." Had Vestal been born in Baltimore, Ohio, like Upton Sinclair, he might have become a social reformer and written *The Jungle*. Or had his circumstances been the same, he might have become a brilliant satirist like his contemporary, Sinclair Lewis.

But he grew up in the West: clung successfully to the back of a runaway

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* The author is a former student of Walter S. Campbell and compiled the article while attending Graduate School at the University of Oklahoma.

[1] Stanley Vestal, *Joe Meek: The Merry Mountain Man* (Caldwell, Kansas: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1952), p. 330.

[2] Stanley Vestal, *King of the Fur Traders: The Deeds and Deviltry of Pierre Esprit Radisson* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), p. 299.

[3] Walter S. Campbell, "Diary," Walter S. Campbell Papers, Manuscript Division, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma, p. 11.

Walter S. Campbell who under the pseudonym Stanley Vestal became one of Oklahoma's most famous writers.

horse at age four, imbibed deeds of death and battle from his Yankee grandmother and absorbed the heroic exploits of Kit Carson as she sang to him. Not only did his grandmother fill him with a sense of history, but his favorite book was John C. Ridpath's *Illustrated History of the World*.[4] He was close to his grandmother because his father, Walter Mallory Vestal, died shortly after his birth. His mother, Isabella Vestal, taught school.[5]

It is no wonder then, that his first book-length publication was *Fandango: Ballads of the Old West*. Printed in 1927, the poetry, reminiscent of Rudyard Kipling's style, mostly concerned Kit Carson, and other early American heroes of the West. One of the poems, "Riding Song," graphically portrays his love of riding and horses, a love that continued throughout his life.

"Riding Song"[6]

The cowboy rides a-standing' up,
The jockey on his nose;
The soldier sits on his saddle-soap,
The Indian on his clothes.
But me, I ride whenever I can
Any old time, any old where,
Any old seat, like any old man,
Any old thing with hair!

This love of horses was more than a physical feeling of lusty exuberance in riding. It was an expression of his delight and admiration of unfettered, unbridled living—in the courage to be one's self—traits exhibited by wild horses galloping free across the plains.[7] He even referred to his daughter Malory as a "plucky, self-sufficient little thoroughbred."[8]

Years after his first experience with the runaway horse, he played polo with the Oklahoma University Reserve Officer Training Corps for a dozen years during the 1920s and 1930s. He even illustrated writing techniques with a simile on polo: "A writer must be like a good polo-player, who, instead of following the ball, is always riding to the point where the ball is about to arrive."[9]

Another influence on his life came from his mother's marriage to James Robert Campbell, superintendent of schools at Fredonia, Kansas, where

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[4] Campbell, "Diary," p. 10.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.

[6] Stanley Vestal, *Fandango: Ballads of the Old West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927), p. 23.

[7] He once told me that a writer cannot let his opinions or what he writes be dictated by others—that the writer has to be free to make up his own mind.

[8] Campbell, "Diary," p. 18.

[9] Walter S. Campbell, *Writing Non-Fiction* (Boston: The Writer, Inc., 1944), p. 91.

his mother taught for a time. James Campbell moved the family to Guthrie, territorial capital of Oklahoma, in 1898.[10]

It was while the family lived in Guthrie that Walter Campbell sold his first magazine article to *Holiday Magazine for Children*. Published in 1904, when he was seventeen, the article was called, "Our Oklahoma Tribe." It concerned experiences gained during the summer of 1902 when he visited his uncle, John Campbell, on his ranch in the Cheyenne-Arapaho country near Watonga. His uncle adopted an Arapaho boy, named Warpath, who became Campbell's bosom companion.[11]

In 1903, James Campbell moved the family to Weatherford in Oklahoma Territory, where he became the first president of Southwestern State Normal School.[12] The elder Campbell had worked on H. H. Bancroft's staff studying the Plains Indians and pioneers, and one of his projects had been the Sand Creek Massacre.[13]

James Campbell not only filled his stepson's head with exciting stories about the Old West, but empathized with the Indians, a viewpoint Campbell absorbed. Moreover, James Campbell's appointment at Weatherford brought the family into the heart of the Cheyenne-Arapaho country. These fierce nomadic Plains Indians not only resented being confined to a small area through which they had once roamed freely, but as late as 1874 had participated in the Battle of Adobe Walls as a protest against depredations of white buffalo hunters.[14]

They were among the last Indian tribes to be contained by the United States government, and as a consequence, when the Campbell family moved to Weatherford there were many old warriors still alive who could recount tales of their battles with other tribes and against white men.

Campbell made friends with young Indians with whom he rode, wrestled and swam. He was also accepted by their elders. Further, he spent many hours with John Homer Seger, an Indian agent who had founded a school for Indians. He also became acquainted with John Washee, a onetime Indian scout for Colonel George A. Custer, and George Bent, a half-blood son of Colonel William Bent, the founder of Bent's Fort in Colorado. Years later Campbell would edit Seger's memoirs—*Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians*.[15]

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[10] Campbell, "Diary," p. 12.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[13] Raymond Jean Tassin, "Stanley Vestal: Champion of the Old West," unpublished Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, 1964, p. 19.

[14] Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman: Harlow Publishing Corp., 1965), pp. 257–258.

[15] John Homer Seger, *Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians*, ed. by Stanley

In the Foreword to the first edition, Campbell made it plain that Seger was the author, but Savoie Lottinville, for many years the director of the University of Oklahoma Press, said, "as far as we can determine his first book was *Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians*, which he generously declined to identify as his own work."[16]

While making friends with Indians and men like Seger, the bond between Campbell and his stepfather grew. Eventually, Campbell legally changed his name to Walter S. Campbell. It was only after he became an adult and wanted a pen name that his mother suggested Stanley Vestal. Thus his works are listed both ways.[17]

But a name and stories about the Old West and the Great Plains were not all he gained from his stepfather and his mother. Both were educators, and he was raised with a household of books and learning. One of Campbell's earliest recollections was his mother's teaching. In one of his numerous diaries he said:[18]

> I recall vividly our trips over the prairie north of the schoolhouse to look for fossils, primroses, and chinkapins—The vastness of that plain still lifts my heart when I think of it—And oddly, I always somehow superimposed the Homeric scenes & actions of the *Iliad* upon that place—Not that the scenes resemble it at all—But the underneath bedrock of Homeric topography lies there—Helen of Troy looks into the schoolhouse windows from the walls of the sacred city—Queerly, almost every story I know has this definite location underlying the dream—Why I cannot say. . . . Perhaps my historical interest led me to seek a local habitation for every dream.

This early idea concerning the Greeks was reinforced by later studies of Greek and Latin at Southwestern State Normal School.[19] As the years passed he became convinced that the Indians and fur traders performed deeds of heroic proportions and that their exploits were worthy of epic writing.

It became the theme of his work. It reoccurred again and again. For example, in *King of the Fur Traders: The Deeds and Deviltry of Pierre Esprit Radisson*, he stated:

Vestal (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956). According to Donald J. Berthrong, "Campbell's first book was published by the University of Oklahoma as John Homer Seger, *Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians*. A second edition appeared in 1934, with the word Arapaho changed to *Arapahoe* in the title." See: Donald J. Berthrong, "Walter Stanley Campbell: Plainsman," *Arizona and the West*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (Summer, 1965), p. 94.

[16] Savoie Lottinville, "Walter Stanley Campbell," *American Oxonian*, Vol. XLV (October, 1958), pp. 242–244.

[17] Tassin, "Stanley Vestal: Champion of the Old West," p. 121.

[18] Campbell, "Diary," pp. 11–12.

[19] Walter S. Campbell Biographical Record, Bureau of Public Relations, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

> The river, they said, came from the lake, and there the natives warred against the birds which fought them with bills as sharp as swords. Old Sious have told me that sandhill cranes would attack children thus, corroborating Homer's account of 'that small infantry warred on by cranes.'

In the same book, Campbell stated, "That old Ulysses, after his many voyages, must have found it dull to pause and made an end."[20]

When *Short Grass Country* was published in 1941, a year after the Radisson book, the same theme appeared:[21]

> By an heroic age, we mean, of course, some period or system of society in which the individual is captain of his soul, if not altogether master of his fate. . . . Such heroic ages have been comparatively rare in the history of men of European blood, and in every instance have produced a literature and a tradition which men would not willingly let die. The Homeric heroes, . . . and the frontier Plainsmen all occupy a place in the memory of man out of all proportion to their numbers and achievements. The Homeric poems, . . . and the heroic stories of the Western Plains possess a vitality, a virility, and an appeal to imagination unrivaled by any others.

The theme was carried on in *The Missouri*, which appeared in 1945. Again Campbell referred to the Great Plains and its people, relating them to the Greeks:[22]

> On those vast and perilous plains all men, rich and poor alike, had to meet the same strict conditions; the great man was great simply because he did what others did, and did it better—like Achilles, like Ulysses. Those Greek heroes would have felt perfectly at home with Sitting Bull or Buffalo Bill or 'Dad' Lemmon.

Continuing in *The Missouri*, he declared:[23]

> What song the Sirens sang to Odysseus is a puzzling question if not beyond all conjecture. But we know that the song sung by the sirens of the Big Muddy. For the Missouri River has its sirens too, . . . Some of them are spirits, others good, solid, respectable women of the Mandan village. Like the ancient Greeks, the Village tribes believe that spirit women, or—so to speak —hamadryads, dwell in the trees and buttes along the river.

Though these books were written during the same decade, earlier references and later ones might be cited. William Foster-Harris who worked

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[20] Vestal, *King of the Fur Traders: The Deeds and Deviltry of Pierre Esprit Radisson*, pp. 190, 298.

[21] Stanley Vestal, *Short Grass Country* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1941), p. 38.

[22] Stanley Vestal, *The Missouri: The Rivers of America* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart Inc., 1945), p. 162.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

with him for twenty years agreed that Campbell unquestionably believed that the Indians and other heroes of the Old West were of epic or heroic proportions.[24]

Not only did the Greeks influence the theme of Campbell's books, but Aristotle influenced his style—and the style of his students. "Read Aristotle's *Poetics* to learn writing techniques," he told them. It was no wonder then, that he referred to Aristotle in his books on writing.

An example appears in his first book on writing, in which he declared "there is the so-called pattern known as Recognition-and-Reversal, or Discovery-and-Revolution, first explained by Aristotle."[25]

Again in *Writing Non-Fiction*, he stated:[26]

> Having devised and arranged these essentials in order in his mind or on a sheet of paper, he the writer must then consider where the written article or chapter should begin, since it is a rule followed since the days of Aristotle that the written work should never begin at the beginning.

Another example may be found in the same book, and others appeared in *Writing Magazine Fiction*[27] and *Writing Advice and Devices*.[28]

Becoming familiar with the Greeks was but one of the steps Campbell took on the road to a Rhodes Scholarship. In January, 1908, he passed the examination, then sailed for Oxford, England, in August—Oklahoma's first Rhodes Scholar.[29]

The Oxford years were to have a profound effect upon Campbell's later years, particularly his teaching methods and writing techniques. He returned to the United States in 1911, not only with a Bachelor of Arts degree in English Language and Literature, but convinced that the tutorial method practiced at Oxford University was superior to the American system of higher education.[30]

Not only did he borrow Oxford techniques for his own classes, but in his first book on writing, he included an article by Frank Aydelotte on "What the American Rhodes Scholar Gets From Oxford."[31] He also was convinced

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[24] Interview with William Foster-Harris, January 16, 1969.

[25] Walter S. Campbell, *Professional Writing* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1938), p. 285.

[26] Campbell, *Writing Non-Fiction*, p. 60.

[27] Walter S. Campbell, *Writing Magazine Fiction* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1940), p. 20.

[28] Walter S. Campbell, *Writing: Advice and Devices* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1950), pp. 8, 74, 136–137.

[29] Campbell, "Diary," p. 14.

[30] Interview with Edith Copeland, January 16, 1969.

[31] Frank Aydelotte, "What the American Rhodes Scholar Gets From Oxford," in Campbell, *Professional Writing*, pp. 209–225.

that the best way to write was to memorize one's notes, then write from memory the next day. Later, facts could be checked for accuracy.[32] This practice has been criticised by at least one historian, who believed that it "caused him to make factual errors and inappropriate generalizations."[33]

Effects of the Oxford years were also to be found in relations with friends like Dr. Fayette Copeland, former director of the University of Oklahoma School of Journalism, and his wife Edith, former editor of the *Daily Oklahoman's Sunday Book Page.*

In a memorial Edith Copeland wrote shortly after Campbell's death, she said:[34]

> Yet he kept his love for the gentler world of Oxford. I treasure the memory of a winter evening when he sat beside our fireplace, his long fingers turning pages of Gertrude Bone's *Came To Oxford*, pointing out remembered scenes and places while his flexible, resonant voice read passages that pleased him, before he gave the book to us.

By the time Campbell graduated from Oxford University, from which he later received his Master of Arts degree in absentia in 1915, the pattern of his life, and his life's work had already been established. The scholar became a teacher, first in high school, then at the University of Oklahoma in 1915, where he remained until his death in 1957.[35]

There were but two other major events that were to mold the course of his life. The first was his service in the United States Army Field Artillery, which began in 1917 and ended in 1919.[36] The second was his marriage to Isabel Jones, on December 27, 1917. His service in the military permitted him to gain the confidence and respect of the Indians, who previously would not tell him of their exploits in battle. Now that he had been a warrior himself, he was admitted into their inner circles.[37]

As to Isabel, even after eight years of marriage and two children, it was perfectly clear that Campbell was a man deeply in love with his wife. In May, 1925, he described her as:[38]

> so vital, spontaneous, responsive, original, lovely . . . Our great love is what makes us so happy—the love of equals & champions . . . I think it is this untamed, proud spirit in each of us that makes our love such a glorious thing.

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[32] Campbell, *Writing Non-Fiction*, pp. 65–66.

[33] Berthrong, "Walter Stanley Campbell: Plainsman," *Arizona and the West*, Vol. VII, p. 95.

[34] Edith Copeland, "Books," *The Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), January 5, 1958.

[35] Walter S. Campbell Biographical Records, Bureau of Public Relations, University of Oklahoma.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] Tassin, "Stanley Vestal: Champion of the Old West," pp. 161–162.

[38] Campbell, "Diary," p. 5.

Both were writing. Campbell had published some of his ballads that were later to appear in *Fandango*, and in the *Southwest Review*.[39] These came to the attention of H. L. Mencken, editor of the *American Mercury*, and Harriet Monroe, editor of *Poetry, a Magazine of Verse*.[40]

The spring of his fortieth year was a turning point in Campbell's career. In April, 1927, B. A. Botkin gave *Fandango* a favorable review in the *Sunday Daily Oklahoman*.[41] That summer he and Isabel spent at Yaddo, a writers' colony near Saratoga Springs, New York. An article describing their invitation appeared in the March 27, *Oklahoma Daily*. It also mentioned the fact that some of Isabel's poems had been accepted by *Poetry, A Magazine of Verse*.[42]

Once he had been accepted, publication became almost yearly with Campbell. *Happy Hunting Grounds* appeared in 1928, the same year *Kit Carson* was published.[43] The year of 1929 was a big one for both of them—Campbell's *'Dobe Walls: A Story of Kit Carson's Southwest* and Isabel's *Jack Sprat* were issued.[44] Both were novels. It is significant that his writing almost always concerned the Old West, while his wife attempted more contemporary themes. Though she kept on writing, along with her duties as wife and mother, she was unable to sell as much as he did.

As the years passed, Campbell taught at the University of Oklahoma in the mornings and afternoons, while on nights and weekends he wrote. Summers were devoted to travel and research, a very costly process for a struggling professor and the Campbells were always in debt.[45]

A Guggenheim Fellowship gave the entire family eighteen months on the French Riviera during the years 1930 and 1931.[46] The result was *Sitting Bull*, which appeared under the Houghton Mifflin imprint in 1932, and was later reissued by the University of Oklahoma Press. One critic has con-

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[39] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[41] B. A. Botkin, "Objectivity Is Main Point In Ballad Story," *The Daily Oklahoman*, April 24, 1927.

[42] "Campbells To Go To Yaddo: Estate Of Creative Work," *Oklahoma Daily* (Norman), March 20, 1927.

[43] Stanley Vestal, *Happy Hunting Grounds* (Chicago: Lyons Carnahan, 1928): Stanley Vestal, *Kit Carson: The Happy Warrior of the Old West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928).

[44] Stanley Vestal, *'Dobe Walls: A Story Of Kit Carson's Southwest* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929); Mary Hayes Marable and Elain Boylan, *A Handbook of Oklahoma Writers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), p. 54.

[45] W. B. Bizzel to S. K. McCall, March 25, 1926 and Isabel Campbell to Walter Campbell, October 9, 1939, Campbell Papers.

[46] Walter S. Campbell Biographical Record, Bureau of Public Records, University of Oklahoma; Lottinville, "Walter Stanley Campbell," *American Oxonian*, Vol. XLV, p. 243.

sidered this his most important book.[47] In the amount of research, it was indeed his best work, as there are twenty cartons of research materials on *Sitting Bull* alone in the University of Oklahoma's Manuscript Division.[48]

While great clouds of dust engulfed Oklahoma as drought followed depression during the 1930s, Campbell continued to sell, publishing *Warpath* and *New Sources of Indian History* in 1934, *The Wine Room Murder*, 1935 and *Mountain Men* in 1937.[49]

As he was forty years old himself when he first began to sell regularly, Campbell well understood the frustrations and struggles that aspiring writers suffered.[50] Empathizing with other writers, and having taught creative writing to some of his English students, Campbell wrote his first book on the art of writing. When *Professional Writing* appeared in 1938, university officials asked him to "institute a group of courses in the craft of writing, and he later recalled:[51]

> 'When I was asked to direct these courses,' said Campbell, a quiet-speaking gray-haired man with the preoccupied air of a man with a hundred things on his mind, 'I requested freedom to teach them in my own way. I was unwilling to be a party to the fraud perpetrated upon all concerned in the old-fashioned creative writing courses. For the most part, they were turning out 'arty' amateurs who had no knowledge of the demands of the current commercial market. I decided to design my courses to turn out methodical calculating writers with professional habits of thought and professional methods of work.'

Having been given permission by university officials to proceed as he chose, Campbell established a series of professional writing courses on campus and by correspondence. Because he could not handle them all by himself, he chose Foster-Harris, a successful writer to collaborate with him—it was a partnership that was to last through the years.[52]

That same year, 1938, was momentous in more ways than one. His novel, *Revolt on the Border*, was published, and the annual summer Short Course in Professional Writing was begun with "a single speaker, the critic and

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[47] Stanley Vestal, *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932); Berthrong, "Walter Stanley Campbell: Plainsman" *Arizona and the West*, Vol. VII, p. 96.

[48] Campbell Papers.

[49] Stanley Vestal, *Warpath* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934); Stanley Vestal, *The Wine Room Murder* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1935); and Stanley Vestal, *Mountain Men* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937).

[50] When I requested admission to his professional writing course, he told me that writing was the most frustrating, discouraging profession in the world.

[51] Mike Gorman, "They Write Right," *The Daily Oklahoman*, May 12, 1946.

[52] Campbell to Fayette Copeland, November 25, 1938, Campbell Papers; Interview with Foster-Harris, January 16, 1969.

writer, Burton Rascoe."[53] Through the years it developed by the addition of other writers, editors and critics into a source of inspiration for many. It also produced wide sales.

As the years rolled by Campbell produced *The Old Santa Fe Trail* in 1939; *Writing Magazine Fiction* in 1940; and that same year, *King of the Fur Traders*.[54] The latter was based on the "Diary of Pierre Radisson which Campbell had uncovered many years before at Oxford.[55]

Closer to home, and even closer to his heart was his *Short Grass Country*, which appeared in 1941. Years later, when he was invited to speak at the opening of the Oklahoma Exhibition in the Library of Congress on Oklahoma's fiftieth anniversary as a state, in 1957, Campbell wrote Herbert J. Sanborn, the exhibits officer: "It is true that my books are not, for the most part, about Oklahoma; still my *Short Grass Country* is. In fact, it is a love letter to that part of Oklahoma in which I grew up."[56]

Both Foster-Harris, and Dwight Swain, who joined the writing team at the University of Oklahoma in 1952, believed that *Short Grass Country* summed up Campbell's philosophy of living—that of the Plains Indians, and the white plainsmen. In the book Campbell declared:[57]

> On the Plains, history was telescoped. Indians now live who hunted with and even manufactured stone arrow-points. White men still breathe who began as buffalo hunters, turned cowboy when the bison vanished, plowed and reaped on farms with the first settlers, freighted goods to the new towns and made fortunes as frontier merchants . . . . Such a man is likely to take civilization more casually than others do. At the same time he knows where its roots lie—in moral qualities. . . . He saw his companions create his institutions and traditions as they went along. And because he knew their weaknesses from the start, he is all the more impressed by their strength and their virtues. He is therefore, curiously enough, more stable in his loyalty to what has been created by them—and at the same time more willing to change it—and less able to reverse it! He unconsciously attains a certain maturity of outlook, a riper wisdom.

Like the Indians, Campbell respected persons who confronted him, and like the plainsmen, he was resourceful. Dwight Swain confirmed the first attribute of his personality when he discussed grading correspondence papers with Campbell. It was something Swain did not want to do, and when he expressed his opinion, Campbell did not insist.[58]

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[53] Stanley Vestal, *Revolt on the Border* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938); Campbell to Fayette Copeland, May 7, 1954, Campbell Papers.

[54] Stanley Vestal, *The Old Santa Fe Trail* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939).

[55] Tassin, "Stanley Vestal: Champion of the Old West." p. 305.

[56] Campbell to Herbert J. Sanborn October 9, 1957, Campbell Papers.

[57] Vestal, *Short Grass Country*, pp. 10–11.

[58] Interview with Dwight V. Swain, January 14, 1969.

As to his resourcefulness, a story is told of one of Campbell's many jaunts during the 1920s. Two of his friends were in the middle of the desert on their way to California. Gasoline stations were widely spaced on the journey, and Campbell's friends noticed a leak in their gasoline tank. They had stopped and were attempting to plug the leak, when who should appear unexpectedly, but the Campbells. When apprised of their difficulty, Campbell said, "Why, that's easy. All you have to do is find a nail and stick it through the hole."

"Out here in the middle of the desert?" his friend asked. Campbell searched through the sand, found a nail and filled the hole.[59]

Expressions of his admiration for Indians and plainsmen earlier encountered in *Short Grass Country* may also be found in *The Missouri.* Campbell retraced the steps of men like Manuel Lisa, Meriwether Louis and William Clark and detailed Indian life adjacent to the river. He also recounted George Custer's last stand. He began with the theme that the Missouri River was "no idyll or ecologue either, but an heroic poem, an epic." He repeated this idea frequently throughout the work.[60]

During the 1940s and 1950s he wrote other books about the West including *Big Foot Wallace, Queen of the Cowtowns: Dodge City, Jim Bridger, Warpath and Council Fire* and *Joe Meek: The Merry Mountain Man.* Two other books on writing appeared during this period—*Writing Non-Fiction,* and *Writing: Advice and Devices.* As in his books on the West, Campbell often used some materials over again, his last book on writing being a synthesis of much which had appeared before.[61]

As the years passed, he was heaped with honors. One of them was an invitation to become an honorary member of the International Mark Twain Society in 1945; and another from P.E.N., a world association of writers, in 1949.[62]

Even more remarkable were the records of sales by his students and graduates. In 1946 alone, more than one hundred short stories were sold by those who had studied under Campbell. It was also during the late 1940s that within a fifteen month period nineteen book-length works were published.[63]

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[59] Interview with Edith Copeland, January 14, 1969.

[60] Vestal, *The Missouri: The River of America,* p. 5.

[61] Stanley Vestal, *Big Foot Wallace* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942); Stanley Vestal, *Queen of Cowtowns: Dodge City* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952); Stanley Vestal, *Jim Bridger* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1946); and Stanley Vestal, *Warpath and Council Fire* (New York: Random House, 1948).

[62] W. S. Campbell to Stewart Harral, March 21, 1945 and December 13, 1949, Campbell Papers.

[63] Gorman, "They Write Right," *The Daily Oklahoman.*

Two years before Campbell died, he stated:[64]

> The longer I live, the better I like it. I wish I could live forever—seeing the rocks—& the evidences of man here so many thousand years ago—I hope there may be research in the Hereafter—if any, if so it will be heaven. Someone in my office raised the question of the Hereafter. Later my secretary remarked to me, 'I know what you'll do in the Hereafter. . . . You'll be interviewing old Indians.

That he had spent many hours interviewing Indians was general knowledge, but the rapport he had with them was not so well known. Valor E. Thiessen, one of his former students, cites the following incident:[65]

> Shortly after World War II, when I was a student in Campbell's classes, he asked me to drive him to Anadarko to buy a teepee (he didn't own a car then.) He promised me that if I would drive him he would pay for my gasoline and buy my lunch. I agreed, and shortly after we arrived we bought a teepee at the Indian Trading Post, but to find the poles to erect it was something else. We drove all over the country that afternoon talking to Indians in our search for the poles. Finally, after visiting with Indians in a dozen places we located the poles which he purchased. I wish I could describe to you the change that came over him and the Indians when he was talking to them. There was a kind of empathy there that was almost unbelievable. He understood them, and they understood him.

That same empathy which Campbell felt for the Indian might also be ascribed to his feelings for the men who conquered the untamed West. This he expressed in *Joe Meek: The Merry Mountain Man*:[66]

> For, as historians are forever reminding us, it was out on the frontier which made these states a nation. To understand him, Joe Meek, is to understand the westward drive and destiny of America, the courage, enterprise, patience, and good humor of the men who made it. And these are virtues that Americans must understand, love and practice now, if free societies are to survive.

When Campbell died, December 25, 1957, his death was mourned by countless friends, faculty, former students and fans. Those who knew him believed that he embodied characteristics which he had described in *Joe Meek*—courage, enterprise, patience and good humor. He also died a creature of his own aspirations and pretensions. He had not achieved all that he set his hand to, but he had become the thing he set his heart on. The boy

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[64] Campbell, "Diary," n.p.
[65] Interview with Valor E. Thiessen, January 21, 1969.
[66] Vestal, *Joe Meek: The Merry Mountain Man*, p. 6.

who believed that the Great Plains was the setting for new epics expressed this longing in the last lines of his last book, *The Book Lover's Southwest:*[67]

> What is needed before it is too late is some gifted author who comprehends the Southwest and its tradition, one able to seize this popular 'matter of the Southwest,' cast it into significant form, and make it the vehicle of his genius, so that the cream of our history, legend, and story may be fused into a great and lasting work. . . . Such an opportunity offers itself only once in a thousand years.

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[67] Walter S. Campbell, *The Book Lover's Southwest: A Guide to Good Reading* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955). p. 267.

☆ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE

Because of a new working agreement with the University of Oklahoma Press, which places *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* on a more seasonal date of publication, it is necessary to omit the October, 1973 minutes from the winter issue. However, they will appear in the Spring, 1974 issue. In the future the spring minutes will appear in the fall issue of the same year; the summer minutes in the winter issue of the same year; the fall minutes in the spring issue of the following year; and the winter minutes in the summer issue of the following year.

PERSIMMONS

In this season of the year, when the frost is almost on the pumpkin, people in this part of the country are reminded that it will soon be time to gather persimmons, a delectable wild fruit, which when ripe meant so much to the American Indians.

The written history of persimmons can be traced to Captain John Smith and the earliest English settlement in America—Jamestown. This fruit,

which resembles a yellow plum but shaped like a globe and about an inch in diameter, is exceedingly astringent before it is affected by the autumn cold. Captain Smith was the first to notice the fruit under the name of Patchamin, and he wrote it "draws a man's mouth awry with much torment." In the autumn, after bletting [ripening] and being softened by frost, it becomes fine flavored and very sweet."

The persimmon of the ebony family, also called date-plum or possumwood, is found over a large part of the United States. Other variations are regionally called Mexican persimmon, black persimmon and chapote. The fruit, a valuable product for the red man, had many names among the different tribes. Preserving persimmons by drying for year-round use, the Indians contested for the fruit with the wild animals who devoured it as soon as it fell to the ground.

The name has undergone many vicissitudes in spelling since colonial days, but the taste remains as sweet as it was when Pocahontas enjoyed it.

In the South, the fruit is used to make "simmon" beer, which is very popular, and also can be distilled into a potent liquor. The use of persimmons for drinks is not the only manner in which it is enjoyed—persimmon pudding is a delicious dessert when properly made and served with cream.

The name of the fruit was integrated into the English language in such expressions as "huckleberry above the persimmon," a southern phrase meaning to excel; "to rake up the persimmons," a gambling term denoting to pocket the stakes; "the longest pole knocks down the most persimmons," an adage meaning that the strongest party gains the day; and "that's persimmon," meaning "that's fine."

The Indian, especially in the Southern portion of the United States, utilized the persimmon in a variety of ways. It was not only eaten by the famous Algonquin Indians in Virginia, but the seeds were used in playing their dice game. Among the Natchez Indians, according to LePage du Pratz in his *History of Louisiana*, when the persimmon "is well ripened the natives make a bread of it, which keeps from one year to another, and the virtue of this bread, greater than that of fruit, is such that there is no diarrhea or dysentery which it does not arrest. . . ." Continuing, Du Pratz stated that "in order to make this bread the natives scrape the fruit in very open sieves to separate the flesh from the skin and seeds. From this flesh, which is like thick porridge, and from the pulp they make loaves of bread 1½ feet long, 1 foot broad, and of the thickness of the finger, which they put to dry in the oven on a grill, or, indeed in the sun." "In this latter fashion," Du Pratz declared "the bread preserves more of its taste." Apparently the Indians found a ready market for their produce for according to Du Pratz, "It is one of the merchandises which they sell to the French."

In John Gilmary Shea's *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, he discussed the Tunica Indians who lived on the lower Mississippi River until driven out by the Chickasaws and Alibamu tribes. Shea declared that concerning persimmons: "There are no peaches in this village as there are in Arkansea; but such an abundance of piakimina that they go into the woods with their families to harvest them, as the Illinois go with their families to hunt the buffalo, which is very rare in this country, where they live on this fruit in the woods for a month besides which they pound and dry great quantities, which they preserve for a long time."

Thus persimmons, along with corn, must rank as one of the major sources of food for the Indians of America. However, this delicacy also found a wide acceptance among the early white settlers of the United States. Perhaps it is fitting that the National Cowboy Hall of Fame, which honors the early-day pioneers, was constructed on "Persimmon Hill."

—Carolyn Thomas Foreman

FISH-HOOK GETTYSBURG

Mr. P. M. Work and Mr. Henry Bass have acquired for the Oklahoma Historical Society a reprint of a poem first published in *The Night Before Chancellorsville*, which is now out of print. The following is the first verse of "Fish-Hook Gettysburg:"

Two months have passed since Jackson died in the woods
And they brought his body back to the Richmond State House
To lie there, heaped with flowers, while the bells tolled,
Two months of feints and waiting.

And now, at length,
The South goes north again in a second raid
In the last cast for fortune.

A two-edged chance
And yet a chance that may burnish a failing star;
For now, on the wide expanse of the Western board,
Strong pieces that fought for the South have been swept away.
Or penned up in hollow Vicksburg.

One cool Spring night
Porter's ironclads run the shore-batteries
Through a velvet stabbed with hot flashes.
Grant lands his men,
Drives the relieving force of Johnston away

And sits at last in front of the hollow town
Like a huge brown bear on its haunches, terribly waiting.
His guns begin to peck at the pillared porches,
The sleepy, sun-spattered streets. His seige has begun.

Forty-eight days that siege and those guns go on
Like a slow hand closing around a hungry throat,
Ever more hungry.

The hunger of the hollow towns,
The hunger of sieges, the hunger of lost hope.
As day goes by after day and the shells still whine
Till the town is a great mole-borrow of pits and caves
Where the thin women hide their children, where the tired men
Burrow away from the death that falls from the air
And the common sky turned hostile—and still no hope,
Still no sight in the sky when the morning breaks
But the brown bear there on his haunches, steadfastly waiting.
Waiting like Time for the honey-tree to fall.

The news creeps back to the watchers oversea.
They ponder on it, aloof and irresolute.
The balance they watch is dipping against the South.
It will take great strokes to redress that balance again.
There will be one more moment of shaken scales
When the Laird rams almost alter the scheme of things,
But it is distant.
The watchers stare at the board
Waiting a surer omen than Chancellorsville
Or any battle won on Southern ground.

Lee sees that dip of the balance and so prepares
His cast for the surer omen and his last stroke
At the steel-bossed Northern shield. Once before he tried
That spear-rush North and was halted. It was a chance.
This is a chance. He weighs the chance in his hand
Like a stone, reflecting.

Four years from Harper's Ferry,
Two years since the First Manassas—and this last year
Stroke after stroke successful—but still no end.

He is a man with a knotty club in his hand
Beating off bulls from the breaks in the pasture fence
And he has beaten them back at each fresh assault,
McClellan—Burnside—Hooker at Chancellorsville—
Pope at the Second Manassas—Banks in the Valley—
But the pasture is trampled; his army needs new pasture.

An army moves like a locust, eating the grain,
And this grain is well-nigh eaten. He cannot mend
The breaks in his fence with famine or starving hands,
And if he waits the wheel of another year
The bulls will come back full-fed, shaking sharper horns
While he faces them empty, armed with a hunger-cracked
Unmagic stick.

There is only this thing to do.
To strike at the shield with the strength that he still can use
Hoping to burst it asunder with one stiff blow
And carry the war up North, to the untouched fields
Where his tattered men can feed on the bull's own grain,
Get shoes and clothes, take Washington if they can,
Holding the fighting-gage in any event.

He weighs
The chance in his hand. I think that he weighed it well
And felt a high-tide risen up in his heart
And in his men a high tide.

They were veterans,
They had never been beaten wholly and blocked but once,
He had driven four Union armies within a year
And broken three blue commanders from their command.

He cast his stone
Clanging at fortune, and set his fate on the odds.

JIM THORPE HOME

On September 16, 1973, the Oklahoma Historical Society opened the Jim Thorpe Home at Yale, Oklahoma. Located at 706 East Boston, the house, which has been restored as it was when the Thorpe family occupied the building between 1917 and 1923, is open to the public Tuesday through Friday, 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.; Saturday and Sunday, 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.; and is closed Monday.

Thorpe, who in 1950 was honored by the sports writers of America as the greatest athlete and football player of the preceding half century, originally purchased the structure to free his family from the strenuous travel schedule of professional athletics. Though only occupied by the Thorpe family for approximately six years, the house was the birthplace of their first son,

The Jim Thorpe home in Yale, Oklahoma, which was recently opened to the public by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

James Francis, Jr., and two of their three daughters. During the off-season Thorpe spent his leisure time at the home, and often could be seen playing ball with neighborhood children in the schoolyard across the street.

THE UNION MEN OF THE SOUTH

The review of the troops stationed near this town and Van Buren, and intended to have been held on the anniversary of the battle of Prairie Grove but postponed on account of the unfavorable weather, came off on the 9th inst. The day was most propitious, the weather being more like May than December.

Race track prairie was the place of rendezvous and about noon long

columns of Infantry were seen emerging from the woods, their burnished weapons glittering gaily in the splendor of an unclouded noonday sun. These were followed by Artillery and horse.

The head of the column, consisting of the 18th Iowa, commanded by Lieut. Col. [Hugh J.] Campbell, (Col. [John] Edwards being Commander of the Post,) took position just below the fine mansion, once owned by that notorious rebel, Elias Rector, formerly U. S. Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

The 1st Kansas colored Infantry, Col. [James M.] Williams commanding, next wheeled into line, followed by the 2nd Kansas colored Infantry, Col. [S. J.] Crawford commanding, 2nd Kansas Battery, . . . , 6th Kansas Cavalry, Lieut. Col. [William T.] Campbell commanding, 13th Kansas Infantry, Major [W. E.] Woodruff commanding, 3d Kansas Battery, (taken from the rebels,) . . . , 3d Wisconsin Cavalry, Maj. John C. Schroeling Commanding, 14th Kansas Cavalry, Lieut. Col. [Thomas] Moonlight commanding.

There were in all about 10,000 effective men on the ground, ready to meet the foe and battle for their country. A salute of 13 guns announced the arrival of Major Gen'l James G. Blunt and Brig. Gen'l John McNeil with their staffs. The inspection then took place, the Generals and staffs passing along the whole front of the extensive line, and after passing up in the rear, posted themselves opposite the center, in front, ready for review. The different regiments then filed past in "common time," making a fine and most war-like appearance. The mounted part of the command then passed review the second time in "double quick," giving the uninitiated a faint idea of the shock produced by a cavalry charge.

The whole affair passed off very satisfactorily to the participants as well as the spectators. It was indeed, the finest treat that could be offered to a loyal man, to witness such a display, after having seen nothing but "greybacks" for years.

Fort Smith, Arkansas, *The New Era*, December 12, 1863

STATE SEAL

E. K. Gaylord offers the following reminiscence of the controversy over the location of Oklahoma's capital shortly after statehood, and of the part he played in the circulation of petitions pleading for removal of the seat of government to Oklahoma City.

"I did not have a direct connection with bringing the State Seal from Guthrie to Oklahoma City and the Huckins Hotel," Gaylord stated. How-

ever, he has access to "unquestionable information about the matter because Earl Keys, who had formerly been an employee of the Oklahoma Publishing Company, was assistant to the Secretary of State," during the time of the removal of the State Seal.

Previous to the transfer of government to Oklahoma City, two elections were held in an effort to settle the issue. The first election, Gaylord declared, was "between Guthrie, Shawnee and Oklahoma City, which our state supreme court threw out on the grounds of the vague wording of the question as phrased in the statute providing for an initiative petition." "The meaning of the question, as prepared by Judge [Bud] Ledbetter, was an exact equivalent, but although Oklahoma City won by more than 50,000 majority, the election was invalidated." Gaylord pointed out that, "Judge Ledbetter then drew up a new petition with the exact wording as outlined in the statute, and we again circulated the petition and left out Shawnee and the vote was solely between Guthrie and Oklahoma City and . . . Oklahoma City won by more than 50,000 in both elections."

After the election it was necessary to move the governmental machinery to Oklahoma City. To accomplish this Gaylord recalled that Keys "hired an automobile at the Huckins Hotel from a man whom I believe was named Franklin." "It was practically the only car for hire in the city at that time," he recalled and later "Mr. Keys drove to Guthrie in the evening and unlocked the door of the Secretary's office with his own key, went in and took possession of the Seal, carried it out to the car and drove back to the Huckins Hotel."

THE NICARAGUA ROUTE. By David I. Folkman, Jr. (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1972. Pp. vii, 173. Illustrations. Endnotes. Index. Appendices.)

The rumor of the discovery of gold in California in May, 1848, and President James K. Polk's subsequent confirmation of the strike in his annual message to the United States Congress in December sent hundreds of thousands of gold-hungry Americans scurrying across the continent to the gold fields. Soon various routes were developed to lead the eager miners to the bonanza. The best known of these routes were across the Isthmus of Panama and the longer and more dangerous passage around Cape Horn. Many avid prospectors sought to save time and money via a shorter passage farther north. Some chose the difficult overland trail across North America or the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in southwestern Mexico. Thousands of others, however, were attracted by a Central American route through Nicaragua.

Taking advantage of the natural waterways of Nicaragua, passengers could embark at San Juan del Norte on the Atlantic Coast and ascend the San Juan River 122 miles to Lake Nicaragua. After a 120-mile passage across the lake to the city of Granada, they would then proceed 134 miles by land to the port of Realejo (Corinto) on the Pacific Ocean. The Nicaragua route was approximately 500 miles shorter than that across Panama, and the increasingly crowded conditions, lack of facilities and skyrocketing prices of the Isthmian route made it a tempting alternative.

The Nicaragua route also attracted the attention of shipping magnate Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt. Besides wishing to capitalize on the fortune to be earned by transporting passengers, Vanderbilt conceived a plan to construct an interoceanic canal through Nicaragua. Vanderbilt headed the formation of the American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Company, which in August, 1849, secured an exclusive contract from the Nicaraguan government to construct a canal across its territory. In 1851 Vanderbilt opened the Nicaragua route for overland transportation and made plans to build a canal. His grandiose scheme collapsed in 1852, when, in spite of favorable survey reports, London capitalists declined to finance the venture. Unwilling to go it alone, Vanderbilt sold his interests in Nicaragua to the Accessory Transit Company in the fall of 1852.

Between 1852 and 1855, the Accessory Transit Company improved the route to attract passengers as well as to make it faster and more comfortable in order to compete with the Panama route. By 1855, the Nicaragua route reached its peak of popularity and efficiency. Although it still did not service

as many passengers as the Isthmian route, it did compete effectively and promised to surpass the southern route in passengers and profits.

The bright prospects of the Nicaragua route crumbled between 1855 and 1857. A civil war, the intervention of American filibuster William Walker and an allied invasion by its neighbors led to political and economic chaos which tore Nicaragua for two years. When Walker was finally ousted in 1857, all hopes for the future of the route were ruined.

After 1857 the Nicaragua route operated only sporadically. A series of financial problems, political complications and the development of sand bars at the eastern terminus of the route decreased passenger transport to a mere trickle. The linking of the east and west coasts of the United States by the transcontinental railroad in 1869 ended the immediate need for overland transportation across the isthmus.

David I. Folkman, Jr. has concisely traced the story of the Nicaragua route from the 1840s to 1869. It is a story replete with civil war, international rivalry, filibusters and battles of financial titans. Folkman has utilized pertinent archival materials and significant secondary sources to depict, for the first time, the importance of the Nicaragua route in the rush to the gold fields of California. *The Nicaragua Route* will be welcomed by both students of the American West and Latin America.

Michael M. Smith
Oklahoma State University

"PHOTOGRAPHED ALL THE BEST SCENERY." JACK HILLERS'S DIARY OF THE POWELL EXPEDITIONS, 1871–1875. Ed. by Don D. Fowler. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Publications in the American West, 1972. Vol. IX. Pp. 225. Maps. Photographs. Index. $10.00)

Would you like to view Grand Canyon through the eyes of the first American surveyors? Well, here it is! Western exploration springs to life through the photographs and descriptions found in Jack Hillers's travel accounts of 1871–1879. An additional dimension is added to the John Wesley Powell explorations of the Green and Colorado rivers during 1871–1872 as most of the photographs and diary entries deal with these two years of exploration. The diary entries are informative, but more valuable are the photographs taken, primarily by Hillers and E. O. Beaman, from 1871 to 1879. The Powell explorers used photography for geological and ethnographical purposes, sale to stereoscope owners and to persuade politicians to continue their support of the surveying of the American West.

Oklahoma receives direct attention in this publication. True, most of the

photographs and descriptions are of Utah and Arizona, but in 1875 Hillers recorded his visit to Indian Territory. Hillers, the chief photographer for the United States Geological Survey, came to Indian Territory to take pictures for the Smithsonian Institution's Indian Exhibit subsequently shown at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. Five portraits of Cheyenne, Arapaho and Pawnee Indians should interest Oklahomans. He described the countryside in vivid terms calling the Wewoka region a dreamland—the garden spot of America.

Photographed All the Best Scenery merits serious purchase consideration. Any library with a comprehensive collection of the American West must include it. All public and school libraries in Utah, Arizona and Oklahoma will want the volume for its contributions to an understanding of the early developments of their respective states. Individuals should add it if they hold other works on the Powell explorations. Anthropologists and Ethnologists will relish the pictures of Indian people, pueblos, relics and ruins. Shutterbugs interested in the development of the photographic art will be fascinated by the trials, tribulations and successes of the early photographers of the American West.

The book avoids serious errors; however, the correction of some minor points would enhance its worthiness. The title is lengthy, yet it inaccurately conveys the impression that only the Powell expeditions of 1871–1875 are found within the book. The photographs are grouped in the rear of the book with references in the text to them by number; hence it becomes tiresome searching for the page on which the correctly numbered photograph may be found. The offsetting advantage, of course, is if the reader looks only at the pictures. The introduction, editorial comments and verifying footnotes add much to the reproduction of Hillers's diary. The epilogue adds nothing and could easily be deleted.

The qualifications of the editor, Don D. Fowler, are above reproach. He has authored numerous studies on John W. Powell, the Powell Surveys, anthropology and early Western photography. He received a doctorate from the University of Pittsburgh. Currently, he serves as Director and Research Professor at the Western Studies Center for the Desert Research Institute and as a Professor at the University of Nevada-Reno. Dr. Fowler has edited a volume well suited for inclusion in the University of Utah Publications in the American West.

Delbert F. Schafer
Missouri Southern State College

THE MAGNIFICENT WEST: YOSEMITE. By Milton Goldstein. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1972. Pp. vii, 210. Illustrations. Map. Bibliography. Appendixes. $19.95.)

Never before has Yosemite National Park been so vividly portrayed in all its aspects and in all its seasons as in this book. The author has built this beautiful portrayal around sixty full-color, full-page photographs, some old favorites and others never before photographed for publication.

Although these photographs comprise the major section of the book, Goldstein, in a thirty page Introduction, briefly describes the seven mile long Yosemite valley, giving particular attention to the glacial rock formations, the numerous water falls, the giant trees and the high country. Throughout this section Goldstein relies heavily on the writings of John Muir, whose interest in Yosemite is legendary; in fact, these various selections from Muir's writings are themselves one of the many pleasures to be found in *The Magnificent West: Yosemite.*

The most fascinating part of the book is the color photographs which the author has divided into seven sections. First there is Goldstein's selections on the *Entrance to Yosemite Valley*, photos portraying the two beautiful approaches to the valley. Next is the series of photos on *The Great Rocks*, majestic peaks and domes shrouded in mists and shining in sunlight. From *The Rocks* the author turns the reader's attention to *The Falls*, colorful rainbows, deep blue mists and glorious cascades in the early morning sunrise. Next is a section on *The Rivers*, principal among them the Merced River with its still pools sparkling in autumnal reds and golds, and from there the reader moves to *The Trees*, particularly the great Sequoia. *Half Dome From Sentinal Bridge* is the next selection, featuring pictures chosen to illustrate the moods of the great peak, Half Dome, during the four seasons. Finally Goldstein concentrates on *The High Country*—the seven thousand foot plus region—a dazzling world different unto itself.

Although predominantly revolving about the photographic section, the book also contains several appendixes, including a *Guide to Yosemite National Park*, a glossary of terms, a selected bibliography and finally John Muir's 1876 plea for the preservation of the national environment.

The Magnificent West: Yosemite is more than just a book of pictures; it is a tribute to one of the most inspiring of the many scenic treasures of the West, and, as such, the book presents Yosemite for the first time in its full glory. Although it is somewhat expensive, the sixty full-color, full-page photographs more than compensate the cost, making *The Magnificent West: Yosemite* a beautiful addition to the library of any lover of the American West.

Also, Doubleday has published a *Yosemite Portfolio* in conjunction with the book and at an additional expense of $6.95. The portfolio consists of a map and five full-color, full-page photographs, the latter particularly suitable for framing.

Sherry Warrick
Edmond, Oklahoma

WHOOP-UP COUNTRY, THE CANADIAN-AMERICAN WEST, 1865–1885. By Paul F. Sharp. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973. Pp. xix, 347. Illustrations. Notes. Index. Acknowledgments. $7.95.)

The University of Oklahoma Press has reissued *Whoop-Up Country* by Dr. Paul F. Sharp. The work was originally issued by the University of Minnesota and received wide acclaim at that time.

Whoop-Up Country included most of the present state of Montana and substantial portions of Alberta and Saskatchewan provinces of Canada. Dr. Sharp's book is a survey of economic and social life along this portion of the Canadian-American western border in the two decades following the Civil War.

A survey work has the virtue of introducing many topics for the reader's consideration and the vice of not covering the topics in depth. Dr. Sharp's book is no exception. For example, he sketches the rise and decline of the wolfers, but he devotes very little attention to their use by private groups in the struggle for economic power. An even greater defect is the failure of the book to treat the political life of *Whoop-Up Country*. There are only the most cursory references to what must have been a very rich and colorful aspect of existence in this frontier area. This is perhaps the greatest failing of the volume.

Regardless of these deficiencies, however, the book has many redeeming features. The two chapters on Sitting Bull are superb. Uncommon for a survey work, they treat in depth the problems Sitting Bull's presence in Canada posed the governments of London, Washington and Ottawa, and the intricate negotiations necessary to resolve these problems.

In many ways, Chapter Four is the best of the entire book. It deals with the massacre at Cypress Hills, and Dr. Sharp offers some very interesting observations concerning the proper allocation of blame for the incident. The real value of this portion, however, is in the demonstration of the proper uses of evidence by the historian. The author pieces together the story of the incident by relating the evidence of various individuals, comments whether the witness was interested or disinterested, weighs the credibility of the

"testimony" and makes judgments concerning the probative value of the evidence. Even if one does not agree with the judgments made, it is difficult to fault the process employed to arrive at the judgments. This portion alone gives the volume significant worth.

One theme central to the work is the impact of dissimilar institutional arrangements on the treatment of similar problems. This theme is developed throughout the book, with perhaps the most detailed consideration in the chapters dealing with law enforcement. The author demonstrates very convincingly that institutional ties made the political boundary between Canada and the United States a reality even though the area was one geographically.

In conclusion, *Whoop-Up Country* is interesting and well-written. It should be of interest to any serious student of social and economic life in the Western United States.

Von Russell Creel
Oklahoma City University

INDIAN TREATIES, 1778–1883. By Charles J. Kappler. (Reprint of 1904 edition by Interland Publishing Company, New York, 1973. Pp. 1099. Illustrations. Map. Teacher's Guide. $67.50.)

On May 20, 1902, the United States Senate passed a resolution authorizing a "compilation of all treaties, laws and executive orders now in force relating to Indian affairs." Responsible for compilation of these documents was Charles J. Kappler, attorney-at-law and clerk to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs who wrote on February 1, 1903, in the Foreword of the first edition of *Treaties*, "Much difficulty and vexacious delay have heretofore preceded the finding of the texts of Indian treaties. . . in the scattered form in which they have only been obtainable."

Although printed initially for use by Congress, the volume containing the 392 treaties and agreements contracted between 1778 and 1883 was soon in use by attorneys, Indian leaders, ethnologists, historians and others. Its usefulness was particularly apparent after 1946 with the establishment of the Indian Court of Claims by which Indian nations sought reparations for unfulfilled treaty agreements. Within its pages are documented the style, tenor and changes of United States Indian treaty policy over the years. Boundaries of Indian lands ceded to the Federal government, payments promised for such cessions, division of these amounts into government held trust funds and annual annuity payments in money or goods are detailed. For the purpose of acculturating or "civilizing" the Indian, the government promised to place farmers, blacksmiths, teachers and others among the

Indians. Provisions for supplying various articles including seeds, farm equipment, school houses, and, in some cases, houses and funds for certain chiefs are described. In return for their land and friendship, the Indians were promised certain small areas of their former holdings or new locations upon which they could remain forever. Hunting and fishing rights were also stipulated in the agreements. In many treaties, the Indians agreed to allow the United States to construct roads and military posts upon their lands, and they promised to maintain peaceful relations with the whites who should legally enter their lands or be their neighbors in surrounding areas. Railroad right-of-way was permitted in some later treaties. Treaty signers' names are given and each treaty is annotated alongside the main text treaty articles.

The reprinting of this important work is a response to the growing interest in and demand for obtaining facts on United States and Indian relationships. Research in this field is largely impossible without this work, and students, scholars and others will welcome its appearance and consequent greater accessibility than hithertofore.

In the present edition are an introduction by Brantley Blue, a member of the United States Indian Claims Commission; three paintings specially prepared for the text; a teacher's guide, supplied on request; and a fold out map, valuable for indicating tribal locations, but outdated in its population figures gathered in the 1950s and 1960s.

Martha Royce Blaine
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

THE FIRST TEN: THE FOUNDING PRESIDENTS AND THEIR ADMINISTRATIONS. By Albert Steinberg. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967. Pp. ix, 493. Bibliography. Index. $6.50.)

In light of the growing public interest in the presidency, new perspectives on this subject are to be welcomed. *The First Ten*, a series of brief portraitures of American presidents from George Washington to John Tyler, purports to be such a contribution. The author asserts that by combining these biographies into serial form, a "panoramic view of the development of the United States from its colonial old age to its vigorous spread westward" may be obtained. In actuality, the product is little more than ten nondescript biographies arranged in chronological order, with an occasional glance into administrative history. The only advantage this work offers is convenience. The "lives" are condensed into one volume, precluding the necessity of searching out the respective subjects in the *Dictionary of American Biography* for the interested reader. For the serious student, Steinberg's work will

not replace the definitive presidential biographies by Dorothy Flectner, C. Page Smith, Dumas Malone, Irving Brant, Samuel F. Bemis and Marquis James. In the area of administrative history, Leonard White's massive series provides a more complete picture of the growth of national government and the presidency.

Although this volume is neither incisive nor innovative, the reader will find it well-written and moderately interesting. The lives of Washington, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison stand out as above-average biography, while John Adams, John Q. Adams and James Monroe receive the poorest coverage. The chapters concerning Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren can be described as mediocre at best.

Invariably, the text follows the standard outline: Washington's austere personality gave the executive office dignity; Jefferson, flexibility and power; Jackson, more power; and Tyler, continuity. Never straying far from the beaten path, Steinberg does open himself to interpretive criticism. However, his general observation that "Americans tend to make a clear distinction between the Presidency and the President" is highly questionable. Indeed the man and the office appear to have become increasingly one in public opinion, particularly during the recent difficulties.

Generally this work will be of little use to the scholar. The author's research, while covering a wide spectrum of secondary literature, includes few primary sources and no new materials. Notes unfortunately are omitted, and the bibliography offers little help to the reader interested in further information. However, *The First Ten* should appeal to a wide audience of general readers and provide some insights into the formative years of the United States.

Carl N. Tyson
Cushing, Oklahoma

FRANCIS LEE JAQUES: ARTIST OF THE WILDERNESS WORLD. By Florence Page Jaques. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1973. Pp. vii, 370. Paintings. Critique. Pencil Sketches. Selection of Prose. Appendix. Index. $25.00.)

> The wonder of the world, the beauty and the power, the shape of things, their colors, lights and shade. These I saw. Look ye also while life lasts.
>
> Gravestone in Cumberland, England.

Francis Lee Jaques lived by this quotation. He wrote, "The shape of things has always given me the most intense satisfaction. Such beauty one wants to preserve—to make it available, as far as one can, to others."

Born at Geneseo, Illinois in 1887, he moved, when still a small boy to a farm in Kansas, and later, when he was sixteen, to the vicinity of Duluth, Minnesota. Here, while engaged in various occupations, he developed the technique of painting which established the foundation for his later achievements.

Jaques worked in a variety of mediums and excelled in all of them. He left to the world a legacy of oil paintings, museum habitat groups, scratchboard drawings and pencil sketches of wildlife; however, his museum works are the most widely known. His distinctive trademark can be found throughout the country. He constructed great panoramic habitat groups of animal and bird life, murals and dome paintings in the best known museums in America, including the renowned American Museum of Natural History in New York City; the James Ford Bell Museum of Natural History in Minneapolis, Minnesota; the Peabody Museum of Natural History in New Haven, Connecticut; and the Museum of Science in Boston, Massachusetts. He was indeed the dean of museum preparators and he brought the diorama to its highest degree of development.

Adept at solving the special technical problems in diorama work, he established precedents in his conception of the glass panels and mirrored ceilings. Three-dimensional activity—movement in space, this was his forte.

This richly illustrated biography of their life together, written after his death in 1969 by his wife, the former Florence Page, contains a selection of her naturalist writings; sixty-four full-color reproductions of his bird and mammal paintings and dioramas; and a selection of one hundred superb black and white pencil, pen and scratchboard nature drawings.

A talented author in her own right, Florence Jaques died in 1972 at the age of eighty-two, but not before compiling a beautiful book which eloquently introduces to the reader a modest man with a touch of genius.

Janet Campbell
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

THE FINGERHUT GUIDE: SOURCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Eugene R. Fingerhut. (Santa Barbara: American Bibliographical Center—Clio Press, 1973. Pp. 148, xii. Index. $3.25 paperback.)

Attempting to solve the perennial problem of locating bibliographic tools that will provide historians with research information relative to specific topics, Professor Eugene Fingerhut at California State College presents this compact volume. The scope of the book is limited to American history and only basic reference sources that have been published since 1942 are in-

cluded. The guide is aimed at the "lay researcher, the undergraduate student, and the first year graduate student," who must research a topic within a short period of time and present a research paper. But the intent of the author is twofold. Not only does Fingerhut list the basic bibliographies available in most academic libraries for American historical research, but he also includes a brief explanation of how an aspiring historian can use the guide to assist him in the production of a research paper.

The book is organized in two basic sections. The first lists bibliographies by basic subject breakdowns such as personal accounts, military, economics, politics, population, intellectual life, social life and specific chronological periods. The 577 bibliographies that are brought together here have brief notes as to indexes and annotations within the volume and are entered by author. The second half of the book lists general reference sources within such categories as newspapers, government documents, texts, historical series, indexes and abstracts together with basic reference sources for the social sciences and history in general. The author's listing of the various periodical subject indexes is perhaps the most useful portion of the section. However, some sources such as *Social Science Citation Index*, a number of government document reference tools such as the current *Index to U.S. Government Publications, The Monthly Catalog* and other aids such as *Congressional Indexing Service* are not included.

In spite of the excellent subject approach to American historical bibliographies, some weaknesses are apparent in this volume. As the entries to the sources are by author the usefulness of the book is considerably curtailed by the exclusion of a title index to the works cited in the text. The second section of the guide displays the author's limited knowledge of reference tools relating to government documents, legislation, newspapers and some general reference sources in an academic library. Helen Poulton's *The Historian's Handbook* complements Fingerhut's excellent first section by expanding the description and sources that appeared in the second section of the guide. However, excellent treatment of government documents and general social science reference sources can also be found in John Brown Mason's *Research Resources* which Fingerhut also cites.

Nonetheless, *The Fingerhut Guide* is valuable as a basic instructional tool because of its good organization, readable format and subject approach to bibliographies.

Charles R. McClure
University of Texas at El Paso Library

☆ FOR THE RECORD

PUBLICATIONS

The following publications of the Oklahoma Historical Society are available upon request at the prices indicated, plus postage (10¢ for six items or less and 15¢ for more than six items and bound volumes). Orders should be addressed to: Publications Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105.

A GUIDE TO THE INDIAN TRIBES OF OKLAHOMA. By Dr. Muriel H. Wright.

The present encyclopedic treatment of the subject of the sixty-seven different Indian tribes within the boundaries of Oklahoma offers the following information: origin of tribal name, linguistic stock, physical characteristics, location, numbers, history, government, contemporary life, culture and ceremonial and public dances. $6.95.

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THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The Quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine $1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article VI, Section 5—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma* shall publish the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors and of the Society; and shall pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history, including necrologies, reviews, reprints of journals and reports and other activities of the Society. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

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For

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

VOLUME LI, 1973

Compiled by

Rella Looney, Archivist
Oklahoma Historical Society

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